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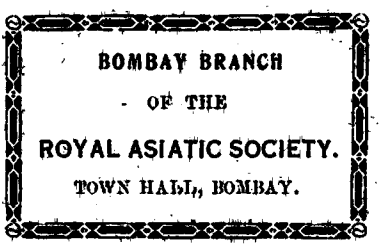

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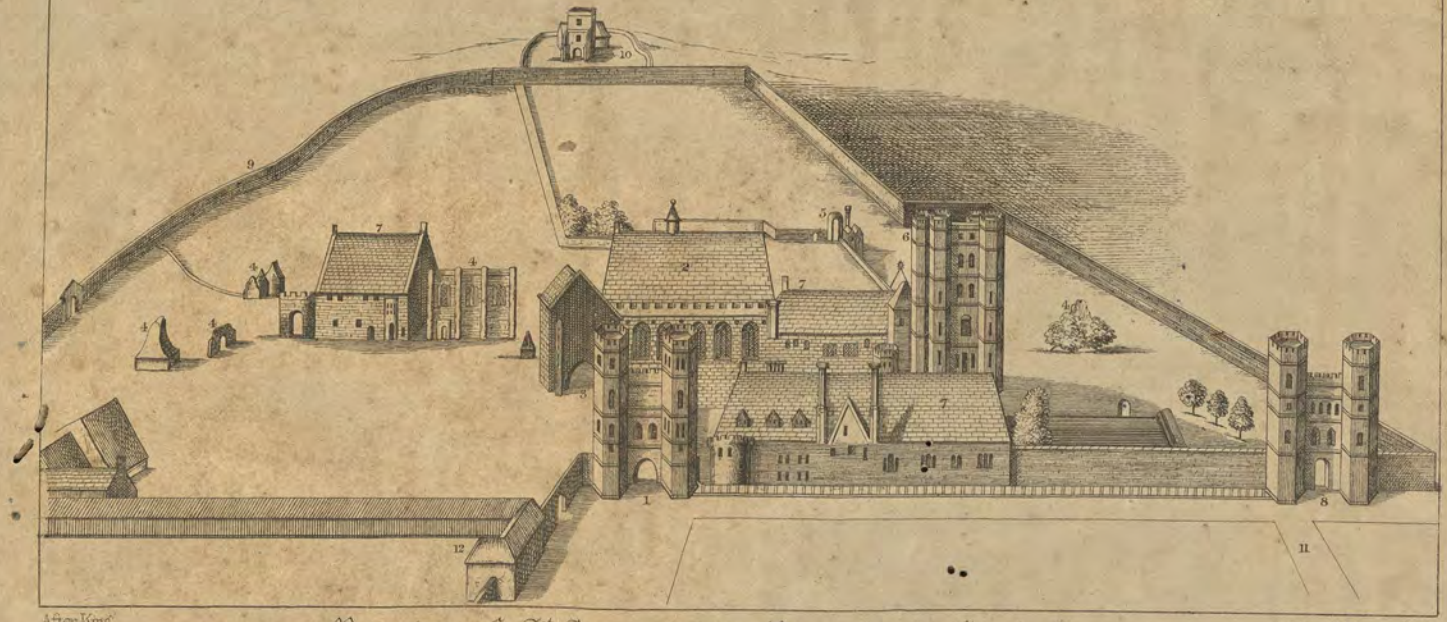
1. Porta Cænoby primaria.
2. Aula magna Cænobij five monachorum communis Refectorium.
3. Pruadium in quo gradus lapidei quibus è curiâ in eandem aulam ascenditur.
4. Ruinæ aliquot five quædam Cænobij reliquiæ.
5. Capella St Pancratij.
6. Turris Ethelberti vulgo dicta.
7. Quædam Cænobij particulæ in ædes dudum regias hodie privatas conversæ.
8. Cœmeterij in horum nunc translati porta Occidentalis.
9. Murus Cænobij fedem ambiens intra quem 16 aut eo circiter terræ jugera inclusa.
10. Ecclesia St Martini ad Orien. Cænoby.
11. Platea ab Urbe ducens ad cænobium.
12. Hortus Cænobij.



After King

Remains of St Augustine's Monastery, Canterbury.

As seen from the Tower of the Cathedral, Circa A.D. 1655.

Ashbee & Dangerfield

MEMOIRS OF LIBRARIES:

64641
a.c.

INCLUDING

A HANDBOOK

OF

LIBRARY ECONOMY.

BY

EDWARD EDWARDS.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER & CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1859.

00064641

PREFACE.

For the defects of the book now submitted to the Subscribers and to the Public, the Writer alone is responsible. Such merits as it may be thought to have belong, in a large measure, to the Friends and Correspondents, at home and abroad, who have generously contributed much of the information on which it is based.

But a long list of names, set out in a Preface, might seem to partake as much of ostentation as of gratitude. I have preferred to acknowledge my obligations in foot-notes, at the various sections of the work to which they more specifically relate. If omissions have occurred, they were unintentional, and will be regretted.

Whilst the book has been in preparation, many portions of its subject-matter have been in rapid growth. I have striven to keep pace, to the best of my ability, with new information; but, unavoidably, some sections are brought down to a later date than others. The endeavour has entailed on the Printer an additional amount of exertion, which has been so kindly and efficiently put forth as to merit my hearty acknowledgements. The Reader may, perhaps, notice

with some surprise that a book almost wholly written, and entirely revised, in England, has been printed in Saxony; but assuredly he will not find that its typography has suffered, by being entrusted to a House of European renown in that department.

These volumes, it will be seen, have considerably exceeded the extent named in the 'Prospectus', and within which I had hoped to have restricted them. It has been necessary, therefore, to omit, for the present, the STATISTICAL TABLES that were intended to form the concluding division.

OLD TRAFFORD, near MANCHESTER,
6 November, 1858.

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COMPARATIVE TABLES OF THE PRINCIPAL SCHEMES FOR THE CLASSIFICATION OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE, AND MORE PARTICULARLY OF BOOKS, WHICH HAVE BEEN DEVISED BY PHILOSOPHERS, OR ADOPTED IN LIBRARIES:—

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"I know that the Argument ... required the pen of some excellent Artizan; but fearing that none would attempt and finish it, ... I chose rather (among other my labours,) to handle it, after my plain fashion, than to leave it unperformed."

JOHN STOW (1598).

PART THE FIRST.

HISTORY OF LIBRARIES.

BOOK I.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE ANCIENTS.

"We are not, without circumspection, to receive some books even of authentic and renowned Fathers;.... and, seeing the lapses of these worthy pens, [ought] to cast a wary eye on those ... treatises daily published amongst us. ..... Thus, I say, must these authors be read, and thus must we be read ourselves. For, discoursing of matters dubious and of many controvertible truths, we cannot, without arrogancy, ... implore any further assent than the probability of our reasons may induce."—

BROWNE, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica,*
B. I, c. viii. §. 11—14.

MEMOIRS OF LIBRARIES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"Books contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are. ...
"I know they are as lively and as vigorously productive as those fabulous dragon's teeth, and being sown up and down may chance to spring up armed men." MILTON, *Areopagitica*, §. 3.

THE sight of a Library must often have brought to mind the noble words of Milton respecting the vitality of books; and may sometimes have suggested the further and correlative thought that any great Collection of books must have had, so to speak, its individual life,—full of significance and rich in interest,—if only there were at hand the insight and the skill so to tell the story as to elicit, not to bury, its true meaning.

But it would need rare powers and diversified acquirements—amongst them a talent for the combination of extreme brevity with the utmost clearness—to perform such a task in a way that should bring an untired reader face to face with the founders and patrons, the organizers and the students, who, generation after generation, busied themselves in building up one of the great Libraries of the world, or in diffusing the knowledge there amassed. A biographer of this sort would have to tell

of the hopes and fears, the obstacles and encouragements, which by turns chilled or stimulated the exertions of these workers for posterity; not a few of whom must occasionally have braced their relaxing energies with the conviction that the result of their labours would be living and working, when they themselves had long slept with the dead. To very few of any generation can it be given to write immortal books. Such books will live, be the care taken about Libraries great or small. But, though the immortality of books cannot (since the invention of printing) depend on the pains taken to form Libraries, yet the best fruits of that immortality may in this way be widely diffused; and written words be sown broadcast throughout the world, to become (in a different sense from that of the old Cadmean fable) the "dragon's teeth" which everywhere shall spring up "armed men," fighting for truth and right, and assured of ultimate victory. And in that diffusion very humble men may play a great part.

The future historian of Libraries will have incidents to relate, some of which are quite as strange as any that occur in the life-battles of statesmen, or in the wanderings of travellers. Chance has not infrequently helped to furnish these storehouses of the intellect almost as efficiently as world-wide research. Fire and flood, crusades and sieges, foreign invasion and domestic revolution, would all figure in the tale,—sometimes as the cause of irreparable losses, at others as bringing to light long-buried treasures. Nor would it be the least interesting portion of the narrator's task to record some of the many ambitious literary projects known to have been

first conceived within those book-lined walls; in certain cases to be by their aid carried out into renowned achievement, and in other cases to be crushed by the mass and weight of materials too vast for the hands that had tried to grasp them.

Fortunately both for writer and reader, the work now submitted to the public has a more restricted scope and humbler aims. It will, indeed, be part of my endeavour to commemorate—however inadequately—some founders and some librarians whose names are less known, even to persons habitually taking interest in such matters, than they deserve to be. But as respects the "HISTORY OF LIBRARIES," in the full extent and significance of that phrase, I cannot hope to do much more than bring together materials which have hitherto been widely scattered, and arrange them, to the best of my ability, in serviceable order.

In this way, the present book, whilst aiding, as I hope it will, even in its narrative portions, certain measures for the extension and increased efficiency of British Libraries, belonging to the public,—measures which seem to me to possess practical and immediate importance,—may also help to pioneer the way for a better book hereafter from a worthier pen.

The rise and progress of collections of books, and more especially of public collections, is not merely a matter of minute and antiquarian research. Not that such matters are at all to be decried. Opinions may be divided as to the best methods of writing history,

Practical bearings of the history of Libraries.

and that opinion may not have least weight which looks with something of distrust at histories that are avowedly didactic or philosophical. But, be this as it may, few will doubt that, other things being equal, the history of a nation is likely to be best worth reading when it shall have been written with a keen sense of the ceaseless labours, the humble duties, and the interminable conflicts, which in their aggregate make up a nation's present life. And as with the larger concerns of a country, so will it be with the simpler affairs of institutions for national culture: the narrative that shall worthily tell of the growth of great Libraries will be none the less truly historical for the care that may be taken to link with the story its true bearings on the present management, the assured permanence, and the liberal extension, of those mind-armouries with which it has to deal. It is, after all, in their character as powerful agents—directly or indirectly—of public education that Libraries are chiefly worth writing about.

Practical bearings of the comparative statistics of Libraries.

Nor are even the relative numbers and comparative magnitude of the Libraries of different countries, topics of merely curious but barren inquiry. Englishmen have at all times been inquisitive as to the culture, the organization, the public establishments, of their neighbours. When our Roman Catholic disabilities were under discussion it was deemed a reasonable thing to collect, by the agency of the British ministers abroad, the laws which affected similar dissidents in other states. When our tariff needed reform, it was thought useful to gather foreign tariffs. In like manner, information about fo-

reign Libraries may be again, as it has been heretofore, worth collecting, and worth applying to home use. Assuredly some instruction may always thus be gained, and to seek it will be neither unprofitable nor unpatriotic. If, in some things, Englishmen may, at almost all periods since they were a people, have warrant to claim, with a pride untainted by arrogance, their hard-won privilege of "teaching the nations how to live,"—most certainly they may acknowledge, without either humiliation or reluctance, that in many others they have still much to learn.

So far, then, as concerns the writer's aim, these volumes may be looked upon as a contribution towards a more widely-spread acquaintance with Libraries, when regarded especially—though not exclusively—as public property maintained for public uses. My highest ambition for the book will be satisfied if it be found to give some real furtherance to the efforts which on many sides are now being made to add to the number of our accessible collections, and to increase the usefulness of those we have already. The existing provision and the present utility of such institutions amongst us are now pretty generally regarded as far from being proportionate to the wealth or the advantages, the literary renown or the national rank, of Britain. And the admission has rightly brought with it energetic endeavour to remove the reproach.

The economical part of these volumes is intended for the beginner in the art of organizing a Library, not for the proficient in that art. Of it, as of the rest of the

BOOK I. Chapter I. Introductory.

book, I would say, in the words of the nameless epitomizer of old Jason of Cyrene:—"*If I have done well, and as is fitting the story, it is that which I desired*; *but if slenderly and meanly, it is that which I could attain unto.*"[1]

Libraries of the Ancients.

The charm which clings to classic antiquity is so potent with all students, whether they belong to the imaginative or to the plodding sections of the fraternity, that it may well be deemed a matter of course that a treatise on Libraries should at least begin with those of the Greeks and Romans, if not with those of the Egyptians,—slender as may be the trustworthy information concerning either, and remote as must needs be the relation between such collections and those of modern times. In the opinion of some inquirers, indeed, to begin even with the ancient Egyptians is to begin too recently. The worthy old Carmelite Louis Jacob, for example, after telling us that "*all* antiquity" was fertile in learned men, of whose writings traditions have been handed down, goes on to quote a passage from another good monk,—belonging like himself to the seventeenth century,—and then adds, with inimitable naiveté:—"This passage from Father Rocca manifestly *proves* that there were Libraries before the deluge."[2]

As being himself the founder and the liberal endower of a public Library,—the Angelican at Rome,—Father Rocca has in these pages an incontrovertible claim to respect. But as this claim is scarcely elastic enough to

[1] 2 Macc. xv. 38.

[2] *Traité des plus belles Bibliothèques* (1644), p. 5.

cover testimony concerning Ante-Noachian doings, we must here venture to "pass on to the deluge," and even a little beyond it.

There is a paragraph in Diodorus Siculus—adopted by him from that work of Hecatæus of which only fragments are now extant—which has done yeoman's service in lucubrations as to the origin of Libraries, although it is both brief and vague. With this fragment of testimony our historical summary may not unreasonably begin. But a preliminary remark on the character and the chronology of the authorities which have to be chiefly relied on, in any account of the "Libraries of the Ancients," may serve to throw a little light on our onward path.

Doubtful authority of many of the passages in ancient authors which bear on this subject.

A paragraph or two in the Letters of Cicero carry us into the midst of his beloved books, and indicate both the pains and the pleasure he took in the care of them. But if these and a few very fragmentary passages of other classic writers be excepted, the main accounts that have come down to us of ancient collections are (first), the accounts of writers who lived long subsequently to the occurrences which they narrate; and are (secondly), for the most part, the accounts either of compilers on miscellaneous and encyclopædical subjects, or of geographers and historians, intent on a wider theme, and who speak of Libraries only in a very incidental fashion.

Athenæus and Aulus Gellius, for example, are, each of them, open to both objections. In point of time they belong, the one to the second, the other (probably) to

the third, century. But both are more copious in assertions as to the Libraries of Pisistratus and of Aristotle, of Athens before the Persian invasion, and of Alexandria under the Ptolemies, than as to those collections which they personally knew and had visited. The *Deipnosophistæ* is a rich mine of most curious and most amusing lore on all kinds of topics,—from philosophy to gastronomy,—but Athenæus's discursiveness is far more obvious than his care for truth. And as to the *Noctes Atticæ*, it is enough to remember that the author avowedly compiled his book as a miscellany for the amusement of his children, and that, by his own confession, he put down indifferently whatever he deemed "worthy of record, *or* pleasing to the imagination." It would be easy to illustrate this cautionary statement by other instances quite as much to the purpose, and quite as frequently occurring in the shape of authorities for very loose assertions respecting ancient Libraries. But to do so here can scarcely be needful. Most of the witnesses, in a word, who are usually called to speak to this matter are neither eye-witnesses to the facts they vouch for, nor inquirers who have specially directed their judicial attention to the subject after comparison of the extant testimony. What they say needs, therefore, to be carefully winnowed.

Distrusting my own sufficient ability to elicit from evidence often discrepant, and oftener obscure and doubtful, its whole value, and no more than its value, I have thought that to quote textually the most important passages of these authors will be worth the space it may occupy. Any errors of mine on this part of the sub-

ject will thus carry with them the means of immediate examination and correction.

It will be obvious, however, that no quotations can satisfactorily supply the place of a narrative of the generally accepted facts, such as they are, or seem to be; and also that the purposes of inquirers into this matter are likely to be most efficiently met, if the best narrative or summary that I am able to offer, be kept apart from the full array of the evidence on which it is based, and by which it may be rectified.

Plan of the historical part this work.

I proceed, then, to give, as succinctly as I can: *first,* a general view of the principal facts that are known respecting the Libraries of the Ancient World; and, *secondly,* the chief testimonies on this subject that occur amongst ancient authors themselves. I shall then offer a few notices of those book-collections of the Middle Ages which may, in some sort, serve to bridge over for us the vast interval that lies between an Alexandrian *Serapeum* of ancient, and a Parisian *Bibliothèque Impériale* of modern, days. As respects the majority of the mediæval Libraries the evidence is fragmentary, but, so far as it goes, is for the most part trustworthy. When the narrative shall reach Libraries which yet exist, the main difficulty will usually lie in the selection of the essential from the superfluous, amidst a mass of evidence, rather than in the reconciliation of the testimonies of conflicting witnesses, or in the detection of doubtful footmarks almost obliterated in the lapse of time.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE LIBRARIES OF THE ANCIENTS.

"The testimonies of Antiquity and such as pass oraculously amongst us, were not, if we consider them, always so exact as to examine the doctrine they delivered. For some (and those the acutest of them) have left unto us many things of falsity controllable, not only by critical and collective reason, but by common observation. Other authors write often dubiously, ... extenuating their affirmations with *aiunt, ferunt, fortasse.* ... Others by hearsay, taking upon trust most they have delivered."—

BROWNE, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, B. I. c. 6.

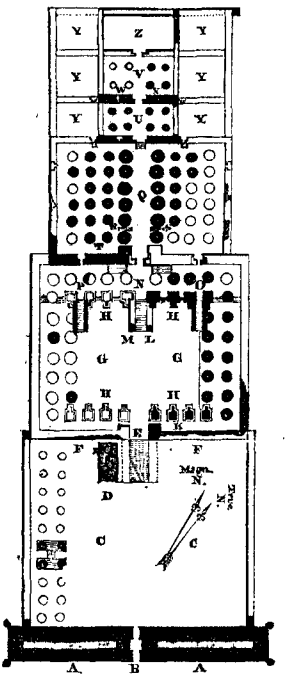
Library of Osymandyas.

THE so-called "Library of Osymandyas" until very lately owed most of its fame to the often-quoted passage of Diodorus Siculus which records its expressive inscription. But recent explorers in that wonderful field of monumental history which it is now the fashion to term "Egyptology," have given it new interest by identifying the well-known palace-temple near Thebes (designated by Champollion and by Wilkinson the "*Rameseium*," but more popularly known as the "*Memnonium*"), with the Library described by Diodorus as "THE DISPENSARY OF THE MIND." [1]

In the elaborate plan of the "Memnonium" given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, and of which I here subjoin a copy, he points out the two inner chambers *(a, b)* as

[1] Εξῆς δ'ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἱερὰν βιβλιοθήκην ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγεγράφθαι ΨΥΧΗΣ ΙΑΤΡΕΙΟΝ, κ. τ. λ.—Diod. Sic. (ed. Wesseling), i. 58.

having, one or other of them, contained this "Sacred Library."[1] M. Champollion goes a step further and expressly states that on the jambs of the *first* of these inner rooms are sculptured "Thoth, the inventor of letters," and the "Goddess Saf, his companion," with the titles "Lady of Letters" and "President of the Hall of books."[2] This monument is ascribed to the 14th Century, B. C.[3]



Several inscriptions in which the Libraries of Egyptian kings are mentioned, occur on the walls of tombs. They usually record the appropriation of plots of land to Libraries. One of these is in the immediate vicinity of the great pyramid of Suphis (or Cheops), and has been rendered the land of the Library (literally, of the collected books) of Suphis.[4] This brief indication is all that is recorded. It carries us back to the remoteness of two centuries

[1] Wilkinson.—*The Ancient Egyptians,* i. 111—117.

[2] *Lettres,* p. 285, as quoted in Kenrick's *Ancient Egypt,* i. 55.

[3] Mr. Osburn says *(Monumental History of Egypt,* ii. 459), but without giving the inscription referred to: "The *last* of these halls was a Library, and the approach to it was through a gilded doorway, according to the inscription that still remains upon it." This monument is now known, indirectly, to many thousands of persons by means of that famous specimen of Egyptian art called the "Head of the Young Memnon," which has so long adorned the great gallery of the British Museum.

[4] Osburn, *ut supra,* i. 277, 310.

before the commencement of the Christian era. Two other tombs, supposed to be nearly co-eval with this, commemorate "The land devoted to the Library of Sephres."

Other Egyptian Libraries.

The discoveries which have immortalized the names of Layard and of Botta make it necessary to include in any survey of the "Libraries of the Ancients" some notice, however brief and unsatisfactory, of those singular collections of inscribed bricks, or "Libraries of clay," as a recent French writer has designated them, which have already yielded priceless treasures to the Museums of Europe.

Clay Libraries of Assyria.

"The most common mode," says Mr. Layard, "of keeping records in Assyria and Babylonia was on prepared bricks, tiles, or cylinders of clay, baked after the inscription was impressed. The characters appear to have been formed by an instrument, or may sometimes have been stamped. The Chaldean priests informed Callisthenes that they kept their astronomical observations on bricks baked in the furnace;[1] and we have the testimony of Epigenes to the same effect.[2] Ezekiel, who prophesied near the river Chebar in Assyria, was commanded to 'take a tile' and pourtray upon it the City of Jerusalem.[3] Of such records we have many specimens ..... The inscriptions on the Babylonian bricks are generally enclosed in a small square, and are formed with considerable care and nicety. They appear to have been im-

[1] Simplicius, *in Aristot. de Cœlo*, l. ii.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, l. vii. c. 56.

[3] "Thou also, Son of Man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and pourtray upon it the City, even Jerusalem."—*Ezek.* iv. 1.

pressed with a stamp..... This art, so nearly approaching to the modern invention of printing, is proved to have been known at a very remote epoch to the Egyptians and Chinese ... ... No kind of letter can be better adapted to resist the ordinary process of decay than the Assyrian when well sculptured. Simple horizontal or perpendicular lines, deeply incised, will defy for ages the effects of decay. When an inscription is so much injured that .... an attempt to copy it [might be regarded] as hopeless, it is frequently possible, by watching the shadows thrown by the sun, to transcribe the whole." [1]

M. Jules Oppert, to whom was entrusted by the French government the mission of examining and reporting on the Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, has recently copied a considerable series of inscriptions of this character, and has been led by his study of them to the conclusion that there is a large class of inscribed tablets to which, in a special and unique sense, the term of a "Public Library in clay" is applicable. These he believes to have been prepared by command of Sardanapalus V. about the year 650 B. C. expressly for purposes of public instruction. In support of this opinion he quotes a remarkable inscription to this effect: "Palace of Sardanapalus, King of the world, King of Assyria, to whom the God Nebo and the Goddess Ourmit have given ears to hear and eyes to see what is the foundation of government. They have revealed to the kings, my predecessors, this cuneiform writing. The manifestation of the God Nebo, .. of the

[1] *Layard, Nineveh and its remains,* ii. 185—189 (6th Ed. 1854).

'God of supreme intellect,—I have written it upon tablets, I have signed it, I have put it in order, I have placed it in the midst of my palace for the instruction of my subjects." [1]

With this brief notice of investigations which are of the highest interest, indeed, but which belong rather to the domain of archæology than to that of bibliography, we pass on to Greece and to the time of Pisistratus. Even here we shall probably be treading rather the cloud-land of conjecture than the solid earth of history.

First public Library at ATHENS, alleged to have been founded by Pisistratus. (B. C. 537—527.)

The statement that Pisistratus founded a Library at Athens, and opened it to public use, rests mainly on the testimony of Aulus Gellius, [2] who wrote about seven hundred years after the date of that alleged foundation. Athenæus, almost a century later (or, more properly, his anonymous ēpitomist), also mentions Pisistratus as one of those who were famous for the collection of Libraries. [3]

That Pisistratus brought together the works of the poets, and that in various ways he was a liberal promoter of learning,—preeminently so by his labours (whether personal or vicarious) in preserving the works of the "Prince of Poets,"—seem to be well-established facts; but tha the formed any "Library," even remotely resembling what we now understand by that term, can only be matter of conjecture. If accepted on the author-

[1] *Rapport à M. le Ministre*, etc., in the *Archives des Missions Scientifiques* (May, 1856), v. 179.

[2] A. Gellius, *Noctes Atticæ*, l. vi. c. 17.

[3] Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, lib. e. 4.

ority of Aulus Gellius, we have also to accept, on the same authority, the absurd story that Xerxes carried this library into Persia, and that it was brought back to Athens by Seleucus Nicator.

Besides Pisistratus, the epitomist of Athenæus mentions, "Polycrates of Samos," the friend of Anacreon, as being a famous collector of books. He also attributes the same distinction to a certain "Euclid, an Athenian" (who may possibly have been the Euclid whose Archonship, B. C. 403, is memorable for the restoration, or modified restoration, of the laws of Solon and Draco),[1] as well as to "Nicocrates the Cyprian, and the kings of Pergamus, to Euripides, the Poet, to Aristotle, the Philosopher, and Neleus, his librarian."[2]

Library of Aristotle, bequeathed (B. C. 322) to Theophrastus, and by him to Neleus.

According to Strabo, Aristotle was the first known collector of a library, and to him was also due the honour of having in some way suggested to the Ptolemies the formation of that noble library of Alexandria, which was the wonder of antiquity and is the conundrum of modern scholarship. His own collection, including his writings, he bequeathed to Theophrastus, who is said to have made considerable additions to the library and to have bequeathed it in his turn to Neleus.[3] The latter, as it would seem from Strabo's account of the matter, carried the collection to Scepsis in Troas, where it subsequently fell into disorder and neglect, being at last

[1] Andocides, Περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, p. 11, quoted in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, ii. 74.

[2] Athenæus, *ubi supra*.

[3] "All my books I leave to Neleus."—Diog. Laert. *in Vit. Theoph.* xiv. (*De vitis philosophorum*), etc.

concealed in a cave,[1] from some jealousy of the eager and not very scrupulous researches after books which were set on foot by the kings of Pergamus. "At length," continues Strabo, "but not before they had been injured by damp and worms, the books were sold to Apellicon of Teos—a collector rather than a philosopher (φιλόβιβλος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος), who, by unskilful attempts at the restoration of defective and mutilated passages in the writings of Aristotle, increased the injury by corrupting the text." On the capture of Athens by Sylla, the Library of Apellicon was seized by the conqueror and carried to Rome. The writings of Aristotle were placed in the hands of Tyrannion the grammarian, and by him communicated to Andronicus Rhodius.[2]

Strabo's account, however, does not agree with that of the epitomist of Athenæus, who, after the words previously quoted, goes on to say: "Our countryman Ptolemæus Philadelphus bought them [the books of Neleus] and transported them, with all those which he had collected at Athens and at Rhodes, to his own beautiful Alexandria. So that one may apply to him the verses of Antiphanes:—

> 'You court the Heavenly Muse with ceaseless zeal,
> And seek to open all the varied stores
> Of high Philosophy.'" [3]

Possibly we may reconcile the two accounts by the

[1] Where they remained, it has been said, for a period of 200 years, but this is a mere conjecture. Nor can it be true, as has been so often repeated, that the writings thus concealed were during this period—whatever its duration—utterly lost to the world. Many of them, at all events, were unquestionably extant in other copies.

[2] Strabo, lib. xiii.

[3] Athenæus, *ubi supra*.

inference, long ago suggested by Vossius, that what Ptolemy purchased of Neleus was but a portion of his Library, and that the remainder, including the writings of Aristotle, both published and unpublished, was afterwards hidden in the way described by Strabo, and long subsequently purchased by Apellicon.[1] Here, nothing but conjecture is attainable, and the conjecture of Vossius, although undeniably less novel and sweeping than that of some recent critics (who get rid of the difficulty by applying a sponge to the whole story), may perhaps better commend itself to cautious readers.

On this hypothesis, the fears which led to the burying of the MSS. of Aristotle would become the more intelligible by the consideration, that if Alexandria could really boast the possession of part of the Library which had descended from Aristotle to Neleus, the known rivalry of the Attalic kings with the Ptolemies may well have given a keener edge to their covetousness of what had been left at Scepsis.

But, be this as it may, we now approach the formation of that great Ptolemaic Library which was for so many ages, and under such varied circumstances, the glory of Alexandria. It was founded by Ptolemy Soter. By some writers, as we have seen, the first suggestion of it is said to have been Aristotle's; by others it is ascribed to Demetrius Phalerus, who unquestionably *may* have assisted in the collection of the treasures which were there brought together. Under Ptolemy Philadelphus it made great

Foundation of the Library of ALEXANDRIA.

1. Vossius, *ut infra.*

progress, and was placed under the charge of a librarian.[1] His successor Ptolemy Euergetes also made large additions to the collection, as indeed most of the succeeding Ptolemies—even the corruptest and most feeble—appear to have done. It is of Euergetes that the well-known story is told that he obtained, on pledge, the original writings of Sophocles, Æschylus, and Euripides, as the indispensable condition of permitting the purchase of Egyptian corn for the relief of a famine at Athens. The manuscripts—thus runs the story—were carefully copied at Alexandria and the *copies* returned to the Athenians, who were allowed to retain the fifteen talents (about £2900 sterling) which had guaranteed the safety of the originals.[2]

Works of Greek dramatists added to the Alexandrian Library by Ptol. Euergetes about B. C. 233.

Of the extent of this great collection the most conflicting accounts are given. Nor will the utmost allowance for the possible difference of the period referred to by different authors go far towards harmonizing them. Here, as in so many other questions of numbers, the sources of even unintentional error are at once so various and so difficult of detection, that all attempts to

[1] Josephus, it will be remembered, in his account of the origin of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, asserts that Demetrius Phalerus was Library keeper in the reign of Philadelphus. But there seems to be as little authority for this statement as there is for the speech which he attributes to Aristeas, or for the too famous "Letter to Philocrates," the claims of which were set at rest by Hody a hundred and seventy years ago. Josephus has also given us the number of volumes which, at some period in the reign of Philadelphus, the Library contained, and this from the lips of Demetrius himself: "When Ptolemy asked him how many ten thousands of books he had collected, he replied, that he had already about twenty times ten thousand, and that in a little time he should have fifty times ten thousand." (*Works*, by Whiston, ii. 135. Edit. of 1806.) But, unfortunately for the story, Demetrius was never librarian at any period.

[2] See chapter iii. *infra*.

set them right may well seem hopeless. The use of numerals obscurely expressed perhaps by one scribe, and their conversion into words by another,—a slight misconception on the part of an early monastic copyist or of his reader in the scriptorium,—may easily have led to a blunder which not the most careful attention to syntax or the most elaborate collation of manuscripts could give the means of correcting. If to this obvious consideration we add those of the special vagueness and looseness which have at all times characterized statements about the contents of libraries, and of the facility with which conjecture slides into assertion on matters, the exact verification of which is sometimes sheer drudgery, it will scarcely seem surprising that the number of "volumes" (or rolls) assigned to the Alexandrian collection by different authors should take so wide a range as from 700,000 to 100,000.

The earliest statement is that of Seneca,[1] who gives the number of volumes at 400,000. According to Aulus Gellius (writing a century later) it was no less than 700,000.[2] Eusebius (writing early in the fourth century) says that *at the death of Philadelphus* (B.C. 247) the number of volumes was 100,000.[3] There are other statements bearing more or less directly on this point, but these are the most important.

It has been often suggested that some part of this numerical disparity must be owing to the circumstance

[1] *De tranquillitate animi*, c. 9.

[2] *Noctes Atticæ*, lib. vi. c. 17.

[3] I quote this at second-hand on the authority of Bonamy. (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* ix. 10 seqq.)

that whilst the smaller numbers refer to one library only, the larger refer to more libraries than one. That besides the great and original library in that palatial quarter of the city which was called "Brucheion," there was another library designated "Serapeum," from its position in the Temple of Serapis, is well established. But by whom, and when, this second library was founded, no trustworthy account has come down to us.

The illustrious orientalist Silvestre de Sacy examined this question when writing his notes on "Abdu-l-Lattif's *Compendium of the History of Egypt*," and arrived at the conclusion that there were *four* separate Ancient Libraries at Alexandria, namely: (1) the library collected by the early Ptolemies (or Library of the *Brucheion*); (2) the Library of the *Serapeum*; (3) the Library of the *Sebasteum* or Temple of Augustus; and (4) the Library of the *School of Alexandria*, founded long subsequently to the preceding collections, and perhaps subsequently to their entire destruction.

The names of the recorded librarians of the first great library of Alexandria run this:—

1. ZENODOTUS the Ephesian [circa B. C. 280].
2. CALLIMACHUS the Poet [circa B. C. 260—240].
3. ERATOSTHENES[1] of Cyrene [circa B. C. 223—196].
4. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS [circa B. C. 196—183].

[5. ARISTONYMUS[2] [circa B. C. 183—171].]

[1] Prideaux (*The old and new Testament connected*, 9th edit., iii. 121) argues that Eratosthenes was called *Beta* as having been the second, in order of time, of the Librarians of Alexandria, and quotes Marcianus Heracliotes; but it is difficult to perceive why the statements of Suidas should be followed as respects Zenodotus, Eratosthenes, and Apollonius, and rejected as respects Callimachus.

[2] Suidas, § *Aristonymus*.

At this point the list breaks off. The first four names only can be regarded as well established in their respective places. As to the fifth, there are but guesses, more or less plausible; but with these guesses the curious story told by Vitruvius as to the literary competitions which helped to fill this great repository of literature, is much mixed up. According to that writer, it was the practice of the Ptolemies to invite literary men to come to Alexandria on certain festive occasions to recite their compositions before seven appointed judges; those who were deemed to have surpassed their rivals being honoured and rewarded for their works. On one such occasion, says Vitruvius,[1] the king had selected six judges but could not so readily satisfy himself as to the seventh. In this strait, he applied to the officers of the Library for their aid, and was told that one Aristophanes had long been a most diligent reader there,—so diligent, in deed, that he seemed to be steadily working his way through the collection. He, it was thought, might worthily acquit himself of this duty. Aristophanes, accordingly, took his place amongst the judges.

The recitations proceeded. Some were loudly applauded. Others were listened to in cold silence. When the time came for distribution of the prizes, six of the judges were speedily of one mind, but the seventh—our plodding student, Aristophanes—was of quite another. The best poet, said he, has had little applause or none. The king grew impatient and the people became angry. Aristophanes, however, persisted in his opinion. *These* he said, are not poets, but plagiarists. One man only

[1] Vitruvius, lib. vii. præf. (Ed. Marinius, Romæ, 1836. Fol.)

has recited what he had himself composed. Summoned to bring proof of his allegations, he named the books in the library from which the thefts had been committed. The upshot of the matter was, of course, the disgrace of the plagiarists, and the elevation of Aristophanes to the superintendence of the Library.

But was the Library, the custody of which was conferred on Aristophanes of Byzantium, that of the *Brucheion* or that of the *Serapeum?* Here, again, all is conjecture. The date commonly assigned as that at which Aristophanes "flourished," and the other circumstances recorded of him, do not harmonize either with the received succession of the Librarians of the Brucheion up to the death of Apollonius, or with the positive assertion of Suidas that the latter was succeeded by Aristonymus the grammarian.[1] With all respect for the eminent authority of Meineke, it can hardly be denied that his hypothesis as to the "accidental dropping out," from the text of Suidas, of the name of Aristophanes[2] would in any case be almost as hard a nut to crack as was the paragraph which lately amused English newspaper readers touching the "accidental tacking on," in a Biographical Dictionary of living British Celebrities, of part of the article "*Owen,* Robert," to the article "*Oxford,* Bishop of." Such accidents are possible, but stand in need of proof. In this instance, however, the conjecture is especially unfortunate, since Ἀριστοφάνης Βυζάντιος stands plainly in the text.[3]

[1] Suidas, § *Aristonymus.*

[2] Meineke, apud Bonamy *ut supra.*

[3] Suidas (Kuster's Edit.), i. 329.

"Whether the kings of Alexandrian Egypt or [those] of Pergamus *began* this enterprise before (who upon a certain emulation and strife one with another went in hand to make them stately and sumptuous libraries), I am not able to avouch for certain," are the words of the elder Pliny, as they stand Englished in the quaint translation of Philemon Holland. It has been shown already that on this point there need be no doubt. The priority of the first great Library of Alexandria at all events cannot be questioned.

Foundation of the Library of PERGAMUS, by Attalus I. (B. C. 241—197.)

The founder of the Pergamus Library was probably Attalus I., whose reign extended from B. C. 241 to 197. It was greatly enlarged by his successer Eumenes,[1] and by those who followed him, until at length it became a formidable rival to the Library of Alexandria, in spite of the efforts of the Ptolemies to obstruct its progress by (amongst other expedients) prohibiting the exportation of papyrus. It survived its rival, but only to supply its rival's place at Alexandria, being sent thither by Antony, as a trophy of successful war, and as a gift to Cleopatra.[2] At the time of this donation, or spoliation, it is said by Plutarch to have contained 200,000 volumes.

Libraries of ROME.

The doubt which, as we have seen, was expressed by Pliny as to the relative priority of the great Libraries of Alexandria and of Pergamus, would have better applied to his unhesitating statement that C. Asinius Pollio

[1] In the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* (ii. 91), § *Eumenes*, it is said: "He (Eumenes) founded that celebrated Library which rose to be a rival even to that of Alexandria;" but the evidence for this statement is inconclusive.

[2] It is, however, to be borne in mind that Plutarch records this as one of several *accusations* brought against Antony by Calvisius, and that after reciting them all he adds: "The veracity of Calvisius was nevertheless suspected."

BOOK I. Chapter II. Libraries of the Ancients.

was the first who established a Public Library in Rome. Lucullus was undoubtedly before him in this claim upon

The Library of Lucullus.

the gratitude of the lovers of books. Plutarch tells us expressly that not only was the Library of Lucullus remarkable for its extent and for the beauty of the volumes which composed it, but that the use he made of them was even more to his honour than the pains he had taken in their acquisition. The Library, he says, "was open to all. The Greeks who were at Rome resorted thither, as it were to the retreat of the Muses."

It is important to notice that, according to Pliny, the benefaction of Asinius Pollio to the literate among the Romans was "*ex manubiis*." This expression, conjoined with the fact that the statue of M. Varro was placed in the Library of Pollio, has led a recent distinguished

Alleged formation of the first Public Library at ROME by Asinius Pollio.

historian of Rome under the Empire, Mr. Merivale, to suggest, that very probably Pollio only made additions to that Library which, as we know from Suetonius, Julius Cæsar had directed to be formed for public use under the care of Varro.

Or preferably by Julius Cæsar?

These exploits of Pollio, which are most likely to have yielded him the "spoils of war," were of a date many years subsequent to the commission given by Cæsar to Varro. It has been usually, and somewhat rashly perhaps, inferred that this project, like many other schemes that were surging in that busy brain, remained a project only. In the absence of proof either way, may it not be reasonably conjectured that Varro's bust was placed in the Library called Pollio's because Varro had in truth carried out Cæsar's plan, with the ultimate concurrence and aid of Pollio? This Library—by whomsoever

formed—was probably in the "*atrium libertatis*" on the Aventine Mount.

From Suetonius we further learn that Augustus added porticoes to the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine Mount, with (as appears from monumental inscriptions to those who had charge of them) two distinct Libraries of Greek and Latin authors; that Tiberius added to the Public Libraries the works of the Greek poets Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius,—authors whom he especially admired and tried to imitate,—and also their statues; that Caligula (in addition to a scheme for suppressing Homer) had thoughts of banishing both the works and the busts of Virgil and of Livy—characterizing the one as a writer of no genius and of little learning, and the other (not quite so unfortunately) as a careless and verbose historian—from all the Libraries; and that Domitian early in his reign restored at vast expense the Libraries in the Capitol which had been burnt,[1] and

[1] ... "Bibliothecæ [in Capitolio] præter Eusebium et Horatium, Orosius quoque (lib. vii. cap. 16) meminit:—'Fulmine capitolium ictum, ex quo facta inflammatio Bibliothecam illam majorum cura studioque compositam, ædesque alias juxta sitas, rapaci turbine concremavit.' Quis hujus auctor fuerit, inter eruditos disceptatur. Rycquius eam Sullæ attribuit, vel Cæsari, vel Augusto; quoniam Sulla, teste Plutarcho, celebrem Apollinis Teii bibliothecam Romam transtulit: duo vero reliqui Principes, ut est apud Suetonium, ingentem in conquirendis libris Græcis Latinisque ad construendas bibliothecas curam adhibuerunt. Verum optime ad hæc respondet Donatus, etiamsi Sulla bibliothecam illam Romam transtulerit, non tamen compertum hanc ab eo fuisse umquam publicatam.....[quoting Pliny, as to the Library of A. Pollio, and Suetonius as to that planned by Cæsar, and also his account of the Library established by Augustus]: Tandem, ut earum bibliothecarum numerus cognoscatur, quæ in urbe principatu Augusti publico servierunt usui, nil me judice rectius fiat, quam ut ad Ovidii lib. iii. Trist. El. i. recurratur: qui eleganti prosopopœia librum suum in urbe receptum sibi aliquem quærentem inducit: Pergit igitur primum ad Apollinis Palatini:—

to this end both collected MSS. from various countries, and sent scribes to Alexandria expressly to copy or to correct works which were there preserved.

In addition to the Libraries mentioned by Suetonius, we read in Plutarch of the Library dedicated by Octavia to the memory of Marcellus; in Aulus Gellius of a Library in the Palace of Tiberius and of another in the Temple of Peace; and in Dion Cassius of the more famous Ulpian Library founded by Trajan. This Library, we are told by Vopiscus, was in his day added, by way of adornment, to the Baths of Diocletian.

Private Libraries of the Romans.

Of private Libraries amongst the Romans one of the earliest recorded is that which Emilius Paulus found amongst the spoils of Perseus, and which he is said to have shared between his sons. The collection of Tyrannion, some eighty years later (perhaps), amounted, according to a passage in Suidas, to 30,000 volumes. That of Lucullus—which, some will think, ought to be placed in this category—has been mentioned already. With that—the most famous of all—which was the delight and the pride of Cicero, every reader of his letters has an almost personal familiarity, extending even to the names and services of those who were employed in binding and in placing the books.

Those who find pleasure in an occasional lounge in the shops of booksellers will sometimes have heard

'*Ducor ad intonsi candida tecta Dei.*'

Hinc repulsus ad Octaviæ recurrit,... &c. Famiani Nardini *Roma Vetus*, lib. V. c. xiii. apud Græv. *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum* IV. 1220.

amusing stories of customers who are more anxious about the appearance than critical as to the contents of their purchases. "Big books on the lower, and little books on the upper shelves, but let them be nicely bound," was a mode of patronizing literature which was as well known in the *Vicus Sandalarius* or the *Argiletum* as in Little Britain or Pall Mall. Some specimens of collectors of this class have been embalmed for us by Seneca, and others of them have their little niches in the galleries of the satirical poets. But the brilliant invention of what the bookbinders call "dumbies" appears to have been reserved for the moderns,—although something approximating towards it has been noticed on the walls of a room in the "House of the Tragic Poet" at Pompeii.

Libraries of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

Of the Libraries of the long-buried cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum there is not a scintilla of information extant, other than that which has been gathered from their ruins. At one time, great hopes were entertained of important additions to classical learning from remains, the discovery of which has so largely increased our knowledge both of the arts and of the manners of the Romans. But all effort in this direction has hitherto been either fruitless or else only tantalizing, from the fragmentary character of the results attained. The story of these researches is, however, curious and instructive, and will elsewhere have its due notice.

Ancient Libraries of Constantinople.

Of the Ancient Libraries of Constantinople, as of these of Herculaneum, we know the destruction better than the formation. Constantine the Great, when he gave a new metropolis to the Roman Empire and for a brief period a new centre to the World's history, is said to have given a share of his attention to the collection of a Library, and to have bestowed especial pains on the rescue, as far as was possible, of what remained of those Christian books which not long before had been so fiercely persecuted. But the interval between the inauguration of Constantinople and the death of Constantine was too brief to admit of much success in this effort. He had gathered scarcely seven thousand volumes. But the task was renewed by his son Constantius, and by the Emperor Theodosius II.; and was continued by some of their successors, until, according to certain accounts, a hundred thousand, and according to others, six hundred thousand, volumes had been amassed.

Library founded by Constantine (330) and augmented by Theodosius II.

It has been asserted that Julian "the Apostate" augmented the Library founded by Constantine, but the assertion is insufficiently supported and the fact is unlikely. That he founded other Libraries, and those of a different and special character, is better sustained by evidence, and is in harmony with what is known as to his character and policy. He is said to have inscribed on his Libraries these words:—"*Alii quidem equos amant, alii aves, alii feras; mihi verò à puerulo mirandum acquirendi et possidendi libros insedit desiderium.*"

One of these Libraries—established at Nisibis—Suidas has made to figure in his story as to the orgy of Jovian, before yielding to the Persians that famous bul-

wark of the Empire. But the story conflicts with statements much better authenticated, and is not, in all its particulars, even at harmony with itself. It is, perhaps, but a pale reflection of that older Persepolitan orgy in which the too-charming Thais, "like another Helen, fired another Troy."

CHAPTER III.

PASSAGES FROM GREEK WRITERS, RELATING TO ANCIENT LIBRARIES.

"...If the physiological question be not settled yet, and there is reason to suppose that the New Hollander and the Greek never had one common ancestor, then you would have the races of mankind divided into those improveable by themselves and those improveable only by others; the first created originally with such means in their possession that out of these they could work indefinitely their own improvement, the ποῦ στῶ being in a manner given to them; the second without the ποῦ στῶ, and intended to receive it in time through the instrumentality of their fellow-creatures. And this would be sufficiently analogous to the course of Providence in other known cases, e. g. the communicating all religious knowledge to mankind through the Jewish people, and all intellectual civilisation through the Greeks; no people having ever yet possessed that activity of mind, and that power of reflection and questioning of things, which are the marks of intellectual advancement, without having derived them mediately or immediately from Greece."—

ARNOLD to Whately (*Life and Correspondence*, I. 418).

§ 1. DIODORUS SICULUS.[1]

Ἐξῆς δ' ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἱερὰν βιβλιοθήκην, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγεγράφθαι, ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον. κ.τ.λ.[2]

[1] Ed. Wesseling. i. p. 58, line 85. (Fol. Amst. 1746.)

[2] Ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον] Quod de lusu et quiete *Aristoteles* VIII. Politic. 5. τῆς γὰρ διὰ τῶν πόνων λύπης ἰατρεία τίς ἐστι, Medicinam quandam esse ait tristitiæ, quæ nascitur ex laboribus, id de libris et bibliotheca merito adfirmaveris: commode ergo ψυχῆς ἰατρεῖον *Medicinæ* seu *officina Medici*, nam *Medicatorium* interpretis haud placet, *in qua animus persanari possit*. Verius tamen *Jo. Chrysostomus* Homil. de non Evulgandis alior. Delict. T. III. p. 344. A. Καὶ γὰρ ἰατρεῖον θαυμαστὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἐστιν, ἰατρεῖον οὐχὶ σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν. *Mirabilis enim quædam*

§ 2. STRABO.[1]

Ταῦτα γαρ ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης λαμβάνει πάντα, ως καὶ ἐκ μαρτυρούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις γενομένων, ἐντετυχηκὼς ὑπομνήμαστι πολλοῖς ὧν εὐπορεῖ, βιβλιοθήκην ἔχων τηλικαύτην, ἡλίκην αὐτὸς Ἵππαρχος φησί.[2]

....Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σκήψεως οἵτε Σωκρατικοὶ[3] γεγόνασιν, Ἔραστος καὶ Κορίσκος, καὶ[4] ὁ τοῦ Κορίσκου υἱὸς Νηλεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀριστοτέλους ἠκροαμένος καὶ Θεοφράστου, διαδεδεγμένος[5] δὲ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ Θεοφράστου, ἐν ᾗ ἦν καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους· ὁ γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ Θεοφράστου παρέδωκεν, ᾧπερ καὶ τὴν σχολὴν ἀπέλιπε, πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν συναγαγὼν βιβλία, καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης συνταξιν. Θεοφράστος δὲ Νηλεῖ παρέδωκεν· ὁ δ' εἰς Σκῆψιν κομίσας τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν ἰδιώταις ἀκδρώποις, οἳ κατάκλειστα εἶχον τὰ βιβλία, οὐδ, ἐπιμελῶς κείμενα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤσθοντο τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Ἀτταλικῶν βασιλέων, ὑφ' οἷς ἦν

Medici officina Ecclesiæ schola est: officina non corporum, sed animorum. Et qui *Joannis* ejus nomen mentitur Homiliæ auctor in Natal. Jean. T. x. p. 812, de S. Lucæ Evangelio ἠκούσατε γὰρ τοῦ εὐαγτελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ, ποῦ ἀνοίξαντος ἡμῖν σήγερον τὸ ψυχωφελὲς ἰατρεῖον. *Weiss.*

[1] Lib. ii. p. 69.

[2] Nam hæc omnia sumit Eratosthenes, ut testimonio eorum qui istis in locis fuerunt, comprobata, cum multos ipse legerit commentarios, copia eorum instructus, ut qui tantam possideret bibliothecam, quantam ei fuisse ipse scribit Hipparchus. Lib. i.

[3] Σωκρατικοὶ γεγόνασιν Ἔραστος καὶ Κορίσκος] Laertius inter Platonis discipulos refert Ἔραστον καὶ Κορίσκον. *Casaubon.*

[4] Καὶ ὁ τοῦ Κορίσκου υἱὸς Νηλεὺς] Neleum fuisse auditorem Aristotelis et Theophrasti condiscipulum ex Laertio intelligimus. *Idem.*

[5] Διαδεδεγμένος δὲ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην τοῦ Θεοφράστου] Norunt omnes eruditi et quod Athenæus ait libro primo c. 2, Neleum hunc Aristotelis libros διατηρῆσαι, et quæ de eodem Neleo, itemque de Appelliconte et de Tyrannione à Plutarcho narrantur in vita Syllæ: Athenæus iterum libro quinto c. 14, p. 214, quam fuerit hic Appellicon φιλοβίβλος pluribus docet. *Idem.*

ἡ πόλις, ζητούντων βιβλία εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἐν Περγάμῳ βιβλιοθήκης, κατὰ γῆς ἔκρυψαν ἐν διώρυγί τινι. ὑπὲρ δὲ νοτίας καὶ σητῶν κακωθέντα, ὄψέ ποτε ἀπέδοντο οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένοις Ἀπελλίκοντι τῷ Τηΐῳ πολλῶν ἀργυρίων, τά τε Ἀριστοτέλους, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοφράστου βιβλία· ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀπελλίκων φιλόβιβλος μᾶλλον, ἢ φιλόσοφος· διὸ καὶ ζητῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν διαβρωμάτων, εἰς ἀντίγραφα καινὰ μετήνεγκε τὴν γραφὴν ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὖ, καὶ ἐξέδωκεν αμαρτάδων πλήρη τὰ βιβλία. Συνέβη δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν περιπατῶν, τοῖς μὲν πάλαι τοῖς μετὰ Θεοφράστον ὅλως οὐκ ἔχουσι τὰ βιβλία πλὴν ὀλίγων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν, μηδὲν ἔχειν φιλοσοφεῖν πραγματικῶς, ἀλλὰ[1] θέσεις ληκυθίζειν. τοῖς δ' ὕστερον ἀφ' οὗ τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα προῆλθον, ἄμεινον μὲν ἐκείνων φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ Ἀριστοτελίζειν, ἀναγκάζεσθαι μέν τοι τὰ πολλὰ εἰκότως[2] λέγειν, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν· πολὺ δὲ εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη προσελάβετο· εὐθὺς γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀπελλίκοντος τελευτὴν, Σύλλας εἵλε τὴν Ἀπελλίκοντος βιβλιοθήκην ὁ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἑλών· δεῦρο δὲ κομισθεῖσαν, Τυραννίων τε ὁ γραμματικὸς διεχειρίσατο[3] φιλαριστοτέλης ὤν, θεραπεύσας τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βιβλιοθήκης· καὶ βιβλιοπῶλαί τινες γραφεῦσι

[1] Ἀλλὰ θέσεις ληκυθίζειν] Notum est, λήκυθον valere *vas oleo unguentoque servando factum;* Inde tamen ad alias res ostendendas transferebatur: ut Cicero quoque cepit hoc nomen in *primo Epistolarum ad Atticum,* quum ait: *Totum hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es, soleo pingere; de flamma, de ferro, (nosti illas* ληκύθους,) *valde graviter pertexuit.* Sed etiam *Plinius in secunda epistola libri primi,* cujus hæc sunt verba: *Non tamen omnino Ministri* ληκύθους *fugimus, quotiens paulum itinere decedere non intempestivis amœnitatibus admonebamur.* Appellat autem (ni fallor) Cicero ληκύθους *locos communes summo artificio expolitos,* et in quibus exornandis arculæ illæ adhibitæ sunt. Nam in Bruto quamvis Græcum nomen non ponat, idem videtur significasse, ita de Catonis oratione loquens: *Intelliges nihil illius lineamentis, nisi eorum ornamentorum, quæ inventa nondum erant, florem et colorem defuisse, &c. Petr. Victor. Variar. lect.* lib. xxv. c. vii.

[2] Script. εἰκότα. [3] Manuss. ἐνεχειρίσατο.

φαύλοις χρώμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβαίνει τῶν εἰς πράσιν γραφομένων βιβλίων καὶ ἐνθάδε, καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ· περὶ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἀπόχρη.[1]

§ 3. PLUTARCH.

....Χαρίσασθαι μὲν αὐτῇ [Κλεοπ] τὰς ἐκ Περγάμου βιβλιοθήκας, ἐν αἷς εἴκοσι μυριάδες βιβλίων ἁπλῶν ἦσαν.[2]

Μόνα τὰ βιβλία τοῦ βασιλέως φιλογραμματοῦσι τοῖς υἱέσιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξελέσθαι.[3]

XLII. Σπουδῆς δ' ἄξια καὶ λόγου τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν βιβ-

[1] ...Protulit Scepsis Socraticos Erastum et Coriscum, et Neleum Corisci F. qui auditor fuit Aristotelis et Theophrasti: et hujus etiam bibliothecam successione pactus est, in qua Aristotelis etiam fuit bibliotheca: nam Aristoteles suam Theophrasto tradidit, cui et scholam reliquit. Primus omnium, qui nobis sunt noti, Aristoteles bibliothecam conductis libris composuit, idque Aegypti reges facere docuit. Theophrastus bibliothecam Neleo tradidit. Is libros Scepsin translatos posteris suis reliquit, ineruditis hominibus: qui incuriè positos sub clavibus retinuerunt. Cumque Attalicorum regum studium intellexissent, quibus Scepsis parebat, conquirentium libros ad instruendam Pergami bibliothecam: sub terra suos in fossa quadam occultaverunt Ibi ab humore et blattis vitiatos tandem, qui ex ea erant stirpe, Aristotelis Theophrastique libros Apelliconi Tejo Magna pecunia vendiderunt. Tenebatur is Apellico librorum amore, quam philosophiæ studio majore: itaque erosarum particularum quærens instaurationem, in nova libros transtulit exempla, lacunas non rectè implens: ediditque libros mendorum plenos. Usu venit peripateticis antiquis, qui post Theophrastum vixerunt, cùm omnino libris carerent, paucosque duntaxat, præcipuè exotericos haberent: ut nulla de re exquisitè pertractando eam philosophari possent,—sed tantum de propositis disputarent. Posterioribus ab eo tempore quo libri isti sunt editi, faciliùs fuit philosophari et Aristotelem imitari: quanquam ob mendorum multitudinem cogerentur multa probabiliter modò dicere. Multum huc etiam Roma contulit (Statim enim à morte Apellicontis Sylla cum Athenas cepisset bibliothecam illius recepit: quæ cum huc esset allata, Tyrannio à bibliothecæ præfecto obtinuit, ut sibi eorum usus permitteretur, homo Aristoteles studiosus) et librorum venditores nonnulli ineptis usi librariis, neque cum exemplari descripta comparantes: quod et aliis accidit libris qui exscribuntur vendendi causa et Romæ, et Alexandriæ. De his quidem satis.

[2] *Antonius*, 58. [3] *Æmilius*, 28 (8).

λίων κατασκευήν. Καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ γεγραμμένα καλῶς συνῆγε, ἥ τε χρῆσις ἦν φιλοτιμοτέρα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀνειμένων πᾶσι τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς περιπάτων καὶ σχολαστηρίων ἀκωλύτως ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὥσπερ εἰς Μουσῶν τι καταγώγιον ἐκεῖσε φοιτῶντας καὶ συνδιημερευόντας ἀλλήλοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλαν χρειῶν ἀσμένως ἀποτρέχοντας.[1]....

Εἰς δὲ τιμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ μνήμην Ὀκταβία μὲν ἡ μήτηρ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην ἀνέθηκε, Καῖσαρ δὲ θέατρον ἐπιγράψας Μαρκέλλου.[2]....

§ 4. DION CASSIUS.

....Κἀκ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν μάχαι καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπραντο· ὥστε ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ νεώριον, τάς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου καὶ τῶν βίβλων[3] (πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὥς φασι, γενομένων) καυθῆναι. κ.τ.λ.

[1] *Lucullus*, 42. [2] *Marcellus*, 30.

[3] Lib. xlii, 38, (fol. Hamb. 1750 p. 327.)

[4] καὶ τῶν βίβλων] Seneca de tranquillitate animi, c. 9. *T. Livium laudamus auctorem: quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arserant, pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum.* Vitiosum est, *quadraginta millia*, quod alicubi se reperisse ait Julius Celsus p. 160. Gellius VI. 17. *Ingens postea numerus librorum in Ægypto a Ptolemæis Regibus, vel conquisitus vel confectus est ad millia ferme voluminum septingenta: sed ea omnia bello priore Alexandrino, dum diripitur ea civitas, non sponte neque opera consulta, sed a militibus forte auxiliariis incensa sunt.* Ammianus XXII. 17. *In Serapeo Alexandriæ, Bibliothecæ fuerunt inæstimabiles, et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, septingenta voluminum millia, Ptolemæis Regibus vigiliis intentis composita, bello Alexandrino, dum diripitur civitas, sub Dictatore Cæsare conflagrasse.* Utrum in Serapeo fuerit illa Bibliotheca, merito dubitat eruditissimus Valesius: nam Ptolemæos in Bruchio eam dedicasse, alterumque fuisse diu post in Serapeo conditam S. Epiphanius lib. *de ponderibus* T. II. p. 166 et 168. tradit. Atque Apththonius in descriptione arcis Alexandrinæ p. 94,—παρῳκοδόμηνται δὲ σηκοὶ τῶν στοῶν ἔνδοθεν, ἐν μὲν ταμεῖα γεγενημένοι ταῖς βίβλοις, τοῖς φιλοπονοῦσιν ἀνεῳγμένοι φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ πόλιν ἅπασαν εἰς ἐξουσίαν τῆς σοφίας ἐπαίροντες. Neque in di-

οἱ Δαλμάται παντελῶς ἐκεχείρωντο, τάς τε στοὰς ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων αὐτῶν, καὶ[1] τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν βίβλων, τὰς Ὀκταουϊανὰς "ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ κληθείσας, κατεσκεύασεν.[3] τό, τε Ἀπολλώνειον το, τε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ, καὶ τὸ τε μένισμα τὸ περὶ αὐτοῦ, τάς τε ἀποθήκας βιβλίων, ἐξεποίησε καὶ καθιέρωσε.[4]....

Κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ βιβλίων[5] ἀποθήκας.[6].... [Trajan.]

reptione urbis incendium illud contigit, sed flammis ex classe incensa ædes corripientibus. Orosius Livii narrationem secutus VI. 15,—*In ipso prælio negia classis forte subducta, jubetur (a Cæsare) incendi. Ea flamma cum partem quoque urbis invasisset, quadringenta millia librorum, proximis forte ædibus condita exussit, singulare profecto monimentum studii curæque majorum, qui tot tantaque illustrium ingeniorum opera congesserant.* Plutarchus in Cæsare p. 731,—περικοπτόμενος τὸν στόλον ἠναγκάσθη διὰ πυρὸς ἀπώσασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ὃ καὶ τὴν μεγάλην βιβλιοθήκην ἐκ τῶν νέωρίων ἐπινεμόμενον διέφθειρεν. Omitto alia quæ de Bibliothecis Alexandrinis notarunt viri docti ad laudata Gellii et Ammiani loca, et Lipsius Syntagmate *de Bibliothecis* c. 2.

[1] Τὰς ἀποθήκας τῶν βίβλων]. Dioni potius habenda fides, quam Plutarcho, qui in vita M. Marcelli p. 316. Mentionem faciens Marcelli junioris, qui Octaviæ filius fuit, narrat, Bibliothecam hanc a matre in memoriam filii dedicatam esse, quam Dio multis ante Marcelli mortem annis testatur ab Augusto sororis consecratam honori. Plutarchi verba sunt: εἰς δὲ τιμὴν αἰτοῦ καὶ μνήμην Ὀκταβία μὲν ἡ μήτηρ τὴν βιβλιοθήκην ἀνέθηκε, Καῖσαρ δὲ θέατρον, ἐπιγράψας Μαρκέλλου. Titi Imperatoris temporibus hæc bibliotheca conflagravit, infra p. 756. E. πῦρ τὰ Ὀκταούϊα οἰκήματα μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων κατέκαυσεν. Conf. eruditum librum Silvestri Lursenii, Regiomontani, *de templo et bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini* (quæ ab hac Octaviana fuit diversissima) p. 284 sq. Franequ. 1719. 8vo. Cajo Melissa curam ordinandarum in Octaviæ porticu bibliothecarum delegasse Augustum, notat Suetonius lib. *de Grammaticis* c. 21.

[2] ἀπὸ, sic HSL, ἐπὶ RS. [3] Lib. xlix, 43, p. 601. [4] Lib. liii. I, p. 696.

[5] βιβλίων ἀποθήκας] Numus apud Mediobarbum p. 160. Trajano Cos. VI. in cujus aversa—ECA. TRA. forte BIBLIOTHECA TRAJANI. Erat in foro ejus ad templum et Basilicam, translata deinde ad Thermas Diocletianas. Sed et Bibliothecæ plurium numero memorantur, quod de Græca et Latina intelligi solet, unde et Dio ἀποθήκας. Ibi et veterum fuere Prætorum edicta, teste *Gellio* Jr. A. XI. 17. ibidem libro Cintei et elephantini, Principum gesta et Senatus-consulta, auctore *Vopisco* in Aureliano c. I. et 8. et in Tacito cap. 8. et Probo c. 2,—confer *Famianum Nardinum* Rom. Vet. lib. V. c. 9. Tom. IV. Græc. p. 1189, et *Sylvest. Lürsenium* de Bibliothecis Romanis, p. 294, sq. et *de templo ac Bibl. Apollinis Palatini*, passim. [6] Lib. lxviii, 16, p. 1133.

§ 5. ATHENÆUS.

IV. Εἶτα εἰσβάλλει μετ' ὀλίγον εἰς τὸν τοῦ Δαρηνσίου ἔπαινον..... Ἦν δὲ, φησὶ, καὶ βιβλίων κτῆσις αὐτῷ ἀρχαίων Ἑλληνικῶν[1] τοσαύτη, ὡς ὑπερβάλλειν πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ συναγωγῇ τεθαυμασμένους, Πολυκράτην τε τὸν Σάμιον, καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τυραννήσαντα, Εὐκλείδην τε τὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίον, καὶ Νικοκράτην τὸν Κύπριον, ἔτι τε τοὺς Περγάμου βασιλέας, Εὐριπίδην τε τὸν ποιητὴν, Ἀριστοτέλην τε τὸν φιλόσοφον, καὶ τὸν τὰ ταύτου[2] διατηρήσαντα βιβλία Νηλέα· παρ' οὗ πάντα φησὶ πριάμενος ὁ ἡμεδαπὸς βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαιος, Φιλάδελφος δὲ ἐπίκλην, μετὰ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥόδου, εἰς τὴν καλὴν Ἀλεξανδρειαν μετήγαγε. Διόπερ ἐκεῖνα τῶν Ἀντιφάνους ἐρεῖ τις εἰς αὐτόν.

Ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς Μούσαιοις καὶ λόγοις πάρει,
ὅπου τε σοφίας ἔργον ἐξετάζεται·
Ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ
μουσικᾶς ἐν αὔτῳ·
οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν

[1] Ἑλληνικῶν, τε edd.

[2] Vulgo omnes καὶ τὸν τὰ τούτων. Quod si bene habet, inserendum ante ista verba, cum viris doctis, *Theophrasti* nomen.

[3] Athenæus. *Deipnosoph.* I. 4. Ed. Schweigh. 4. Paucis deinde interiectis, ad Larensii laudes pergit Athenæus . . . . . Porro, vetustorum librorum græcorum tantam copiam possedisse eum ait, ut omnes libris coacervandis nobilitatos superaret; Polycratem dico Samium; Pisistratum, Atheniensium tyrannum; Euclidem, Atheniensem; Nicocratem, Cyprium: quin et Pergami reges, et Euripidem poëtam, et Aristotelem philosophum,

ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ Σαμὰ
τραπέζαν.[3]

et, qui huius libros conseryavit, Neleum; a quo (inquit) omnes mercatus est rex nostrûs Ptolemæus, cognomine Philadelphus, simulque cum his, quos Athenis et Rhodi coëmerat, in puleram Alexandriam transferri curavit. Quare in eundem (Larensium) rite aliquis dixerit illud Antiphanis :.

Musarum studiis assides usque, et literis,
ubi certamen cernitur sapientiæ.

tum id, quod ait Thebanus poëta: *Splendet vero et Musicæ flore, qualiter frequenter ludimus nos poëtæ amicam circa mensam.*

CHAPTER IV.

PASSAGES FROM LATIN WRITERS, RELATING TO ANCIENT LIBRARIES.

"... In vain does a man ... be at any notable charge for Books, who has not a design to devote and consecrate them to the publick use, or denies to communicate them to the least who may reap any benefit thereby; so true is the saying of the Poet—

'... Vile latens virtus. Quid enim submersa tenebris
Proderit obscuro? veluti sine remige puppis;
Vel lyra, quæ reticet; vel, qui non tenditur, arcus.'

So far was it one of the principal maximes of the most sumptuous and splendid amongst the Romans, or of those who were most affected to the publique good, to enrich many of those Libraries, to bequeath and destine them afterwards to the use of all the learned men,—so that even according to the calculations of Petrus Victor there were nine and twenty at Rome; [1] and, as Palladius reports, thirty-seven, which were so evident indications of the grandeur, magnificence, and sumptuosity of the Romans, that Pancirollus had reason to attribute to our negligence, and to range amongst these memorable things of antiquity which descended not to our times, these assured testimonies of the opulency and good affection of the Ancients towards those who made profession of letters."—

NAUDÉ, *Instructions concerning erecting of a Library* ... Interpreted by John EVELYN. (1661.)—

§ 1. CICERO.

BOOK I. Chapter IV. Passages from Latin Authors.

Cicero Attico S.

Apud Matrem recte est,[2] eaque nobis curæ est. L. Cincio[3] H-S XXCD[4] constitui me curaturum[5] idibus

[1] The passage of P. Victor here referred to runs thus: "Bibliothecæ undetriginta publicæ. Ex iis præcipuæ duæ, Palatina et Ulpia." *De regionibus Urbis Romæ libellus. (Script. Hist. Rom.* Heid. 1743. iii. 666.)

[2] *Apud matrem recte est.*] Mater tua bene valet. Amisit eam nonagenariam, quum ipse natus esset annos sexaginta septem. *Muret.*

[3] *Cincio.*] Attici procuratori.

[4] H-S. XXCD,] i. Sestertium viginti millia quadrigentos.—

[5] *Curaturum.*] Nempe pro ornamentis Tusculani, Ciceroni emptis.

febr. Tu, velim, ea quæ nobis emisse et parasse scribis, des operam, ut quam primum habeamus; et velim cogites, id quod mihi pollicitus es, quemadmodum bibliothecam nobis conficere possis. Omnem spem delectationis nostræ, quam, quum in otium venerimus, habere volumus, in tua humanitate positam habemus.[1]

....Bibliothecam tuam[2] cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis aerem amatorem inveheris: nam ego omnes meas vindemiolas[3] eo reservo, ut illud subsidium senectuti parem.[4]....

....Bibliothecam mihi tui pinxerunt constructione et sittybis.[5] Eos velim laudes.[6]

Ad Q. Fratrem.

....De bibliotheca tua græca supplenda, libris commutandis, latinis comparandis; valde velim ista confici, præsertim quum ad meum quoque usum spectent. Sed ego, mihi ipsi ista per quem agam, non habeo. Neque enim venalia sunt, quæ quidem placeant; et confici nisi per hominem et peritum, et diligentem non possunt.

[1] Lib. i. Ep. 7.

[2] *Bibliothecam tuam.*] Venalem scilicet, quam tibi pueri tui confecerunt, quæstus causa. Complures enim Atticus librarios habuit, unde fructum perciperet. Nepos in ejus vita. *Malasp.*

[3] *Vindemiolas.*] Reditus meos, et quidquid pecuniæ possumus hinc inde contrahere. *Nian.*

[4] *Epistolæ,* i. 10.

[5] *Pinxerunt constructione et sittybis.*] Id est, in re utraque artificiose variaverunt et ornaverunt eam: tum in pegmatis, ubi est loculorum librariorum constructio; tum in libris ipsis, quorum sittybas curaverunt elegantissime. Sunt enim *sittybæ,* scortea librorum integumenta, et bestes e corio παρὰ τῶν σίττων, a capris (quarum adhibebantur pelles), antiquo nomine facto, quo caprarii in pecudibus agendis utebantur. *Junius.*—Pro *sittybis* legendum *sillybis* jam contendit Græv. supr. epist. 4.

[6] Lib. iv. 5.

Chrysippo tamen imperabo, et cum Tyrannione loquar.[1] ....

Cicero Fabio Gallo S. D.

....Bacchas[2] istas cum Musis Metelli comparas. Quid simile? primum, ipsas ego Musas nunquam tanti putassem; atque id fecissem Musis omnibus approbantibus: sed tamen erat aptum bibliothecæ, studiisque nostris congruens.[3] ....

§ 2. VITRUVIUS.

Reges Attalici magnis philologiæ dulcedinibus inducti cum egregiam bibliothecam Pergami ad communem delectationem instituissent; tunc item Ptolemæus infinito zelo cupiditatisque incitatus studio, non minoribus industriis ad eumdem modum contenderat Alexandriæ comparare.[4]

[1] Lib. iii. 4.

[2] *Bacchas.*] Baccharum imagines, id est, Mulierum ebarirum, quasi celebrantium orgia. *Cell.*

[3] *Epist. ad divers.*, vii, 23.

[4] Lib. vii. Præf. (ed. Marinius, fol. Romæ, 1836. De contentione inter Reges Pergami, et Alexandriæ in comparandis libris pro suis bibliothecis loquuntur Galenus *(Comment. in I. Hipp. de Nat. Hum.* Cap. 42), Plinius *(Hist. Nat.* XIII. 21, XXXV. 2.) et D. Hieron. *(Epist. ad Chromatium).* Sed non tam facile est definire, quí fuerint ex Regibus Attalicis, et qui ex Ptolemæis. Opinatur Heynius (*Opusc. Acad.* Vol. I, p. 130), Reges Attalicos esse potuisse Eumenem II, et Attalum II, qui Pergamum multis artium operibus, et librariis opibus ditaverunt: regnavit primus ab anno CXCVII, et alter ab anno CLVIII ante Christum, quibus respondent Ptolemæi Epiphanes, Philometor, et Euergetes II dictus Physcon. At cum Vitruvius de Ptolemæo Philadelpho historiam narravisse probabiliter videatur, tunc ad Reges Attalicos Phileterum, et Eumenem I res retrahenda esset. Hæc tamen sunt incerta, licet plures de Bibliotheca Alexandrina egerint, inter quos præcipue recensentur Bonamyus *(Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* Vol. IX, pag. 397), Beckius *(Spec. Hist. Biblioth. Alex.)*, et laudatus Heynius. In Pergamensi bibliotheca fuisse ducenta millia volumina, scripsit Plutarchus (in *Antonio,* p. 125): et in Alexandrina usque ad septingenta millia pervenisse, auctor est Gellius (*Noct. Att.*

§ 3. Seneca.

..... Studiorum quoque, quæ liberalissima impensa est, tamdiu rationem habebo, quamdiu modum. Quo mihi innumerabiles libros et bibliothecas, quarum dominus vix tota vita sua indices [1] perlegit? Onerat discentem turba, non instruit: multoque satius est paucis te auctoribus tradere, quam errare per multos.[2] Quadringenta millia librorum Alexandriæ arserunt, pulcherrimum regiæ opulentiæ monumentum; alius laudaverit, sicut Livius, qui elegantiæ regum curæque egregium id opus ait fuisse.[3] Non fuit elegantia illud, aut cura, sed studiosa luxuria: immo ne studiosa quidem, quoniam non in studium, sed in spectaculum comparaverunt: sicut plerisque, ignaris etiam servilium literarum,[4] libri non studiorum instrumenta, sed cœnationum ornamenta sunt. Paretur itaque librorum quantum satis sit, nihil in apparatum. Honestius, inquis, in hos impensas, quam in Corinthia[5] pictasque tabulas effuderim. Vitiosum est

VI, cap. ult.).—Ceterum in Vitruvii narratione nullus error deprehenditur, uti audacter quidam oblatrant; quia etiamsi Ptolemæo Philadelpho tribuatur librorum collectio, tamen Pergami Reges ante ejus decessum jam extiterunt, nempe memorati Phileterus et Eumenes I, uti, inter alia testimonia, aperte evincitur ex Opere *l'Art de vérifier les Dates*, p. 255.

[1] *Indices.*] Quos alias titulos librorum vocabant, e. c. Ovid. IV ex Pont. El. XIII 7. Sic et Schwarzius (Altdorfin., olim professor), in opere suo de Ornamentis libror, interpretatus est. Etiam de catalogo librorum intelligas.

[2] *Paucis.... multos.*] Cf. Ep. 2. Sic aiunt; *timeo virum unius libro.*

[3] *Quadringenta.... fuisse.*] Intelligit incendium bibliothecæ in oppugnatione Alexandriæ a Julio Cæsare facta. Dio. Cass. lib. XLII, cap. 38, ib. Intpp. Magna pars arsit: reliquia post Christ. nat. 640. Cf. Tiedemann, lib. IV, p. 7, sqq. Livius hoc incendium enarraverat, lib. 112, nunc deperdito. Conf. Flori *Epitom.* et Freinshem, *Supplem.*

[4] *Servilium literarum.*] Quas vel servi sciunt, ut legere, scribere, etc., liberalibus manifesto opponit. Spectat autem ad homines infimo loco natos summosque honores nactos.

[5] *Corinthia.*] Vasa, ideoque antiquissima, confici jam desita aliquot sæ-

ubique, quod nimium est. Quid habes, cur ignoscas homini armarium cedro atque ebore captanti;[1] corpora conquirenti aut ignotorum auctorum, aut improbatorum, et inter tot millia librorum oscitanti, cui voluminum suorum frontes[2] maxime placent, titulique? Apud desidiosissimos ergo videbis, quidquid orationum historiarumque est, et tecto tenus exstructa loculamenta, jam enim inter bolnearia et thermas bibliotheca quoque, ut necessarium domus ornamentum, expolitur. Ignoscerem plane, si e studiorum nimia cupidine oriretur: nunc ista exquisita, et cum imaginibus[3] suis descripta sacrorum opera ingeniorum, in speciem et cultum parietum comparantur.[4]

culis ante Corinthum captam, id est, A. U. C. 608, s. Ol. 161, 3. Ob vetustatem inprimis æstimata esse magni, apparet e Plin. *N. H.* lib. XXXIV, cap. 3, Bip. Tom. V. Senec. *de Brev. Vit.* cap. 2. Ex odore dignoscebantur. Martial. lib. IV, Epig. lx: "Consuluit nares, an olerent æra Corinthon." Plura de his vasis Corinthiis, quæ et thericlea vocabantur, a Thericle, figulo, Socratis coævo, quem cum Anglo *Wedgwood* conferas, inventa, et deinde ab insequentibus artificibus in diversa materia expressa, dabunt Bentleius, *Dissert. upon the epistles of Phalaris,* et Martini Exc. XX, ad Ernesti Archæolog.

[1] *Quid habes, cur ignoscas homini armarium cedro atque ebore captanti.*] Sic dedit codex Lipsii a quo alii non multum abludunt. Erasm. *Quid habes, cur ignoscas nomen marmore atque ebore captanti.* Lectionem Lipsii prætuli; nisi quod *armarium* refinxi, quod codex habuit. Mox *corpora* recepit Lipsius; antea *opera:* e. c. ap. Erasm. Elzev. edit. *armaria aptanti.*

[2] *Frontes.*] Bases cylindri, seu teretis baculi (umbilici), cujus eminentes utrimque partes auro, argento, vel alio metallo præmuniri solitæ, et varie pictæ, dicta cornua, inter quæ frontes erant mediæ, circumcisæ et pumice politæ. Cf. *Heyne* ad Tibull. lib. III, cap. 1, 13.

[3] *Cum imaginibus.*] Tradit idem Plin. *N. H.* lib. XXXV, cap. 2; Bip. Tom. V, p. 275. "Non est prætereundum et novitium inventum. Siquidem non solum ex auro argentove, aut certe ex ære dicantur. Quin etiam quæ non sunt finguntur, etc. As. Pollionis hoc Romæ inventum."

[4] *De Tranquillitate,* c. 8.

§ 4. PLINY.

M. Varronis in bibliotheca, quæ prima in orbe [1] ab Asinio Pollione ex manubiis publicata Romæ est, unius viventis posita imago est, *etc.* [2]

....Siquidem non solum ex auro argentove, aut certe ex ære in Bibliothecis [3] dicantur illi, quorum immortales animæ in locis iisdem loquuntur: quinimmo etiam quæ non sunt, finguntur, pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit. Quo majus (ut equidem arbitror) nullum est felicitatis specimen, quam semper omnes scire cupere qualis fuerit aliquis. Asinii Pollionis [4] hoc Romæ inventum, qui primus, Bibliothecam dicando [5] ingenia hominum rem publicam fecit. An priores [6] cœperint Alexandriæ et Pergami reges, qui Bibliothecas magno certamine instituere, non facile dixerim. [7]

[1] *Prima in orbe.*] Jam antea et Philadelphus in Ægypto, et Pergami reges, et Romæ Lucullus, Bibliothecas instruxerant: sed sibi paraverant illi, non omnibus, quemadmodum fecit Pollio, publicavere: qui primus ingenia hominum, ut Plinius ait XXXV, 2, rem publicam fecit.

[2] *Hist. Nat.* Lib. VII. 30.

[3] *In Bibliothecis.*] De hoc more eleganter Seneca de Tranq. c. 8. p. 682, quem consule. Suetonius in Tiberio c. 70, 'Fecit et Græca poëmata, imitatus Euphorionem, et Arrianum, et Parthenium: quibus poëtis admodum delectatus,—scripta eorum et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter veteres et præcipuos auctores dedicavit.'

[4] See the passage hereinafter quoted from Isidorus, VI. 5.

[5] *Bibliothecam dicando.*] Dedicando, consecrando, publici juris faciendo. Plinius Junior Epist. I, 8. Meminit sermonis ejus, "quem apud municipes suos habuit, bibliothecam dedicaturus."

[6] *An priores.*] Scribit Galenus, *Comment. I. in Hippocr. de Natura Hist.* inter Alexandriæ et Pergami reges contentionem fuisse, quis plura veterum volumina compararet. Tum vero multos ab hominibus pecuniæ avidis falsis auctorem nominibus libros inscriptos esse, quo vetustatis plurimum iis et auctoritatis accederet. In Pergamensi Bibliotheca fuisse ducenta voluminum millia, auctor est Plutarchus in Antonio. In Alexandrina, usque ad septingenta, Gellius lib. XL. cap. ult. sub finem. Conflagravit ea casu bello civili, cum Cæsar in urbe ipsa Alexandria bellum cum incolis gereret.

[7] *Non facile dixerim.*] Antecessit horum ætatem Aristotelis ac Theo-

Imaginum amore flagrasse quosdam testes sunt et Atticus ille Ciceronis edito de his volumine, et Marcus Varro benignissimo invento, insertis voluminum suorum fœcunditati, non nominibus tantum septingentorum illustrium, sed et aliquo modo imaginibus, non passus intercidere figuras, aut vetustatem ævi contra homines valere, inventor muneris etiam Diis invidiosi, quando immortalitatem non solum dedit, verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut præsentes esse ubique, et credi possent.[1]

§ 5. PLINY *the Younger.*

[Silius Italicus] ....Multum ubique librorum, multum statuarum, multum imaginum, quas non habebat modo, verum etiam venerabatur, *etc.*[2]

C. Plinius Severo[3] *suo S.*

Herennius Severus, vir doctissimus, magni æstimat in bibliotheca sua ponere imagines municipum tuorum, Cornelii Nepotis et Titi Cassii: petitque, si sunt isthic, ut esse credibile est, exscribendas pingendasque delegem.

phrasti cura in Bibliotheca adornanda, a Neleo deinde Corisci filio cōmta: a quo postea libros eos mercatus Ptolemæus Philadelphus Alexandriam transtulit, teste Athenæo lib. I, pag. 3. Clearchi quoque primi Heracleæ Ponticæ tyranni, ejus qui Platonis et Isocratis auditor fuit; is enim Bibliothecam struxit, quam laudat impense Memnon apud Photium, cod. CCXXIV. *Hist. Nat.* XXXV, c. 2.

[1] *Et credi* [*claudi*] *possent.*] Quidam MSS. *ubique credi possent.* Male: *Claudi* hic est in bibliothecis detineri, asservari, includi virorum summorum imagines: qui ope picturæ non modo esse præsentes ubique subinde possint: sed et simul ubique claudi.

[2] *Epistolæ,* iii, 7.

[3] *Severus* fuit Veronensis qui enim hic *municipes* ejus nominantur, Veronenses traduntur fuisse. Ergo diversus est a *Severo* Comensi, ad quem III, epist. 6. Puto esse *Tatilium Severum,* de quo ad I, ep. 22. ED.—Inscr. Rom. *Julio Severo* II.

Quam curam tibi potissimum injungo: primum, quia desideriis meis amicissime obsequeris: deinde, tibi studiorum summa reverentia, summus amor studiosorum: postremo, quod patriam tuam, omnesque qui nomen ejus anxerunt ut patriam ipsam, veneraris et diligis. Peto autem, ut pictorem quam diligentissimum adsumas. Nam quum est arduum similitudinem effingere ex vero, tum longe difficillima est imitationis imitatio. A qua, rogo, ut artificem, quem elegeris, ne in melius quidem, sinas aberrare. Vale.[1]

§ 6. SUETONIUS.

....bibliothecas Græcas et Latinas,[2] quam maximas posset, publicare [3] data M. Varroni [4] cura comparandarum ac digerendarum,[5] *etc.*

....Addidit porticus [6] cum bibliotheca [7] Latina Græcaque, *etc.* [8]

....Quibus poetis [sc. Euphorionem, Rhianum et Parthenium] admodum delectatus, scripta eorum et ima-

[1] Epist. iv, 28.

[2] *Gr. Latinasque.*] Med. duo, Pal. 1, 2. Pin. Voss. Fonc. Cort. Edd. Rom. Corrigit Grut. cum aliis *Græcam Latinamque.* Dein *quam maximas* vel *quantas max.* malebat. Torr. et illud habent Ald. Steph.

[3] *Publicare.*] Publice utendas permittere.

[4] *M. Varroni.*] Illi qui doctissimus togatorum habita est.

[5] Prave *dirigend.* Periz. Copes. Ven. tres, Steph. Mediol. pr. Gryph. Plant. *Jul.* 44.

[6] *Porticus.*] Locus erat, totus ad amœnitatem et magnificentiam compositus ex exstructus, ubi deambulationes et umbracula. Ovid de porticu Pompeii: 'In modo Pompeia lætus spatiare sub umbra,' etc. Martial. non semel.

[7] *Bibliotheca.*] De qua Horatius, Epist. I, lib. II., 'Si munus Apolline dignum Vis complere libris, et vatibus addere calcar.' Et Ode 31, lib. I. 'Quid dedicatum possit Apollinem Vates, quid orat,' etc. Et lib. I, Epist. 3. 'Scripta Palatinus quæcumque recepit Apollo,' etc. Idem voluerat Julius, c. 44. [8] *Oct. Aug,* 29.

BOOK I. Chapter IV. Passages from Latin Authors.

gines publicis bibliothecis [1] inter veteres [2] et præcipuos auctores dedicavit, *etc.* [3]

Calig., 34. .... Sed et Virgilii ac [4] Titi Livii scripta et imagines,[5] paulum afuit, quin ex omnibus bibliothecis amoveret, *etc.* [6]

Fecit et nova opera, Templum Pacis,[7] Foro proximum, *etc.* [8]

Liberalia studia imperii initio [9] neglexit, quanquam bibliothecas incendio absumtas impensissime [10] reparare curasset, exemplaribus undique petitis, missisque Alexandriam,[11] qui describerent, emendarentque, *etc.* [12]

[1] *Bibl.* deest Huls. in Fonc. *præcipue auct.* *Publicis bibliothecis.*] Primus bibliothecam publicavit Asinus Pollio, tum Julius supra cap. 44 in *Julio,* ac *Augusto* cap. 29.

[2] *Inter veteres.*] Dicatæ enim illæ in bibliothecis imagines, et omnes pro suo quæque genere distinctæ, ut Scriptorum imaginibus suus esset locus, ab eorum loco secretas, qui aliter quam literarum studio inclaruerant. Parthenium illum, de quo hic sermo est, Tiberio coætaneum facit Suidas; unde maxima illi a Tiberio delata gloria, quem inter Veteres collocaverit, quemadmodum Pollio unius viventis statuam, Marci nempe Varronis, in sua bibliotheca collocavat. Vide Martialem Epistola et Epigrammate 1, lib. IX, et Ciceronem ad Atticum, lib. IV. Epist. 9, et Augustum cap. 7.

[3] *Tib.* 70.

[4] Sic rescripsit Oud., fide Medic. Polit. Ving. Voss. pro vulg. *et T.* Dein *paululum abfuit.* Fonc. et *amoverit* in MSS. plurimis et Edd. Vett. præter Steph. *admoveret* Medic. 3.

[5] *Imagines.*] Ponebantur enim in bibliothecis doctorum imagines, supra in Tiberio 70.

[6] *Calig.* 34.

[7] *Templum Pacis.*] Hoc omnium tota Urbe maximum et pulcherrimum; utpote in quod totius ferme Orbis divitiæ congestæ, auctor est Herodianus in Commodo, cujus tempore nocturni casu fulminis deflagrasse dicit. Quam magnificentiam morum in modum extollit Joseph. lib. VII, c. 24.

[8] *Vesp.* 9.

[9] Sic Memm. Medic. Polit. Vind. 1. Cop. quos secutus est Oud. et recentt. Al. *init. imp.* Abest *in* a Vind. 2. Cort.

[10] *Impendissime* Cop. Dein. *reparari* conj. Bernecc. probante Duk.

[11] *Alexandream* Memm. Ed. Oud. *Missisque Alexandriam.*] Ubi comparata fuerat a Ptolemæis, ac maxime Philadelpho, celeberrima illa bibliotheca, quam bello Alexandrino combustam tradit Plutarchus; sed vel libros alios ab eo tempore comparatos ex hoc Suetonii loco colligas, aut totam non arsisse vero simillime ex Sen. lib. de Tranq. c. 9, ubi quadringenta combusta fuisse librorum millia dicit, tamen septingenta ferme fuisse affirmat Gellius lib. VI, cap. ultimo. [12] *Dom.* 20.

§ 7. Aulus Gellius.

Quis omnium primus libros publice præbuerit legendos, quantusque numerus fuerit Athenis ante-clades Persicas librorum in bibliothecis publicorum.

sicas librorum in bibliothecis publicorum.

1. Libros Athenis disciplinarum liberalium publice ad legendum præbendos primus posuisse dicitur Pisistratus tyrannus: deinceps[1] studiosius accuratiusque ipsi Athenienses auxerunt: sed omnem illam postea librorum copiam Xerxes, Athenarum potitus, urbe ipsa præter arcem incensa abstulit asportavitque in Persas. 2. Hos[2] porro libros universos multis post tempestatibus Seleucus rex, qui Nicanor appellatus est, referendos Athenas curavit. 3. Ingens postea numerus librorum[3] in Ægypto a Ptolemæis regibus vel conquisitus vel confectus est ad millia ferme voluminum septingenta: sed ea omnia bello priore Alexandrino, dum diripitur ea civitas, non sponte, neque opera consulta, sed a militibus forte auxiliariis incensa sunt.[4]

Quid significet in veteribus prætorum edictis: Qui flumina retanda publice redemta habent.

1. Edicta veterum prætorum, sedentibus forte nobis in bibliotheca templi Trajani, et aliud quid requirentibus,

[1] *Deinceps.*] Edd. ante Gunt. *deinde.—Omnem - libr.*] Guelf. *omnem postea illum libr.*

[2] *Hos.*] Edd. ante Gunt. *eos.—Nicanor.*] Sciopp.: f. *Nicator.* Atque sic legend. esse censuit Falster. v. quos laudavit et quos Long. *Nicanorem* quendam, qui res gestas Alexandri scripsit, memorat Lactant. de Fals. Rel. 7, 6, 8. V. Fabric. *Bibl. Gr.* V. 3, p. 46, seq. ed. Harl. cf. *Meiner's Gesch. des Lux. der Alten*, p. 15.

[3] *Numerus librorum.*] Guelf.. *libror. numer.—confectus*] Gron. explicat *comparatus;* contra ab ipsis Ptolemæis libros *confectos* esse ostendit Falster.

[4] *Noctes Atticæ.* Lib. VI. Cap. 17, ed. Gœtting. 1842.

cum in manus incidissent, legere atque[1] cognoscere libitum est.[2]....

De genere atque[3] *nominibus familiæ Porciæ.* Cum in domus[4] Tiberianæ bibliotheca sederemus ego et Apollinaris Sulpicius, et alii quidam mihi aut illi familiares, prolatus forte liber est ita inscriptus: M. CATONIS NEPOTIS, *etc.*[5]

....eumque in Pacis[6] bibliotheca repertum legimus.[7]

§ 8. AURELIUS VICTOR.

Dom. Imp. A.D. 81.

....Bibliothecas incendio consumptas, petitis undique, præsertim Alexandria, exemplis, reparavit.[8] ....

§. 9 JULIUS CAPITOLINUS.

....Sereno Sammonico, qui patri ejus amicissimus, sibi autem præceptor fuit, nimis acceptus, et carus usque adeò ut omnes libros Sereni Sammonici patris sui, qui censebantur ad LX. et duo millia, Gordiano minori moriens ille relinqueret: quod eum ad cœlum tulit. Siquidem tantæ bibliothecæ copia et splendore donatus in famam hominum litterarum decore pervenit.....[9]

[1] *Atque.*] Guelf. *aut.*

[2] Lib. xi. c. 19.

[3] *Atque.*] Pet. *ac.* Tabula familiæ Porciæ propaginem complexus est Falster, p. 291. cf. Funk. *Realschullex.* sub v. *Porcia gens*, p. 671.

[4] *Domus,* etc.] MS. in Marg. Cod Voss. *domo T. bibliothecæ.* Guelf. *in domos Tib. bibliothece.—Alii quidam*] Ita edd. ante Gunt. et Guelf. pro vulg. ordine *quidam alii.*

[5] Lib. xiii. c. 19.

[6] *Pacis.*] Cf. 5, 21. Sinnii Capitonis, doctissimi viri, epistolæ sunt uno in libro multæ, opinor, positæ in templo Pacis.]—V. *Bibl.* om. Carr. l. 7.

[7] Lib. xvi. c. 8.

[8] *S. Aurelii Victoris Epitome,* in *Scriptores Historiæ Romanæ* (Heid. 1743), ii. 147.

[9] *Hist. Augusta* (Gordianus Junior), in *Scriptores Historiæ Romanæ* (Heid. 1743), ii. 370.

§ 10. Flavius Vopiscus.

Ac nequis me Græcorum alicui vel Latinorum existimet temere credidisse,[1] habet bibliotheca Vlpia, in Armario sexto,[2] librum elephantinum, in quo hoc Senatus Consultum perscriptum est: cui Tacitus ipse manu sua subscripsit. Nam diu hæc S. C. quæ ad principes pertinebant, in libris elephantinis scribebantur[3]....

[1] *Ac nequis me—credidisse.*] Vetus editio, item Palatinus liber: *ac nequis me Græcorum alicui Latinorum ut æstimet credidisse* facile emendatu est: *ac nequis me Græcorum alicui, Latinorumve æstimet credidisse. Salmasius.*

[2] *In armario sexto.*] Palatinus liber: *in sexto armerio; armerium* pro *armarium.* Sic *pomerium* pro *pomario* dicebant.

[3] *Nam diu hæc S. C. quæ ad principes pertinebant in libris elephantinis scribebantur.*] *Elephantinos libros* heic Josephus Scaliger, non *eboreos,* sed ex elephantorum omentis esse vult, testimonio Isidori qui historias majore modulo scribi solitas refert, non tantum in charta, aut membranis, sed etiam omentis elephantinis, quæ præstantissimi viri sententia fortasse vera est: quod ille tamen aliud Latinis *elephantinum,* aliud *eboreum;* ut aliud *ebur* aliud *elephantum.* fuisse existimat, id aliter habere facile ostendi potest. nam Latini et elephantum pro ebore, et elephantinum pro eboreo non raro usurpant; apud Virgilium:

—auro gravio, sectoque elephanto.

Ibi Servius: *pro ebrore posuit, Græce dixit.* Sic elephantinum pro eboreo apud Martianum Capellam legere memini. Isidori Glossæ: *Ebore, elephantino osse. Elephantini* igitur *libri* sic esse possunt, ut *codices chorei* apud Ulpianum: sed ibi idem *codices roboreos* legit, quem vide in tractatu de papyro adversus Guilandinum. Ego ne quid dissimilem, et *codices eboreos* apud Ulpianum retinendos censeo, et *libros elephantinos* heic apud Vopiscum, eboreos a capi debere existimo. Nam quod ille vir præstantissimus, ebur ineptam materiam scribendo esse affirmat, et eadem opera negat veteres in ebore scripsisse, et ei rei comprobandæ adjicit, sibi experienti in ebore politissimo scribere, usu venisse sæpe, ut litteræ fugerent in lubrico illius materiæ: id non moror de nostris istis calamis pennacei generis, quibus hodie scribimus. Nam veteres alios de harundine habuere, quos etiam aliter temperabant: atramentum quoque, quo utebantur, a nostro atramento diversum, ebori pingendo aptius fuerit, quam quo hodie utimur: de qua re nos plura dicemus aliquando in alio opere et loco. Nunc id tantum habemus probandum, veteres in ebore scripsisse et eboreis tabulis, ut et in ligneis: quod qui negare paratus erit, eum frustra negare ostendam ex hoc Martialis disticho in apophoretis, cujus lemma:

Usus autem sum, ne in aliquo fallam carissimam mihi familiaritatem tuam, præcipuè libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia ætate mea thermis Diocletianis;[1] item ex domo Tiberiana.[2]

§ 11. Ammianus Marcellinus.

.... His accedunt altis sublata fastigiis templa; inter quæ eminet Serapeum ..... In quo bibliothecæ fuerunt inæstimabiles: et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, septingenta voluminum millia, Ptolemæis Regibus vigiliis intentis composita, bello Alexandrino dum diripitur civitas sub Dictatore Cæsare, conflagrasse.[3]

§ 12. Isidorus.

De bibliothecis.

Bibliotheca à Græco nomen accepit, eo quod ibi re condantur libri. Nam βίβλιον librum Θήκη repositio-

Eborei pugillares: *Languida ne tristes obscurent lumina ceræ,*
Nigra tibi niveum littera pingat ebur.

Nec eo possis confugere, de ceratis pugillaribus accipiendum apud Martialem stat contra Martiales ipse, et alios a ceratis eboreos pugillares facit. quia apertissime candidum et nudum ebur atramento pingi, perscribique indicat. quo ego allusum esse a Plauto suspicor in Mostellaria, cum dixit:

Una opera ebur atramento candefacere postules.

sectiles igitur ex elephanto hoc est ebore tabellas, *elephantinos libros* vocat Vopiscus. aliter dicuntur *elephantina omenta* Isidoro, nempe quæ sunt *elephantis*. aliter elephantini libri, ex elephanto hoc est ebore sectile. *Hist. Aug.* (Tacitus,) 229. (Par. 1620).

[1] *Ætate mea, thermis Diocletianis.*] Doctissimo viro magis placeret legi: *Thermis Diocletiani.* sed cur displicuit *Diocletianis*? sic enim passim eas appellant omnes auctores, *thermas Diocletianas* pro Diocletiani. Græcis quoque Διοκλητιαναί: ut in excerptis Olympiodori: αἱ δὲ Διοκλητιαναὶ ἐγγὺς διπλασίοις. et sic etiam in veteribus inscriptionibus vocantur. *Diocletianæ*, inquam pro *Diocletianinæ*. sic *argenteos Valerianos* supra habemus. et infra: *argenteos Aurelianos.* [2] *Ibid.* Prob. 2.

[3] Amm. Marc. xxii. 16. (*Scriptores Historiæ Romanæ*, Heid. 1743, ii. 417.)

nem interpretatur. Bibliothecam veteris testamenti Esdras scriba post incensam legem à Chaldæis, dum Judæi regressi fuissent in Hierusalem, divino afflatus spiritu reparavit, cunctaque legis ac prophetarum volumina, quæ fuerunt a gentibus corrupta correxit, totumque vetus testamentum in viginti duos libros constituit, ut tot libri essent in lege, quot et literæ habebantur.

Apud Græcos autem bibliothecam primus instituisse Pisistratus creditur, Atheniensium tyrannus: quam deinceps ab Atheniensibus auctam Xerxes incensis Athenis evexit in Persas, longoque post tempore Seleucus Nicanor rursus in Græciam retulit. Hinc studium regibus urbibusque cæteris natum est comparandi volumina diversarum gentium, et per interpretes in Græcam linguam vertendi: dehinc magnus Alexander vel successores ejus instruendis omnium librorum bibliothecis animum intenderunt, maxime Ptolemæus cognomento Philadelphus omnis literaturæ sagacissimus cum studio bibliothecarum Pisistratum æmularetur, non solum scripturas, sed etiam et divinas literas in bibliothecam suam contulit. Nam septuaginta millia librorum hujus temporibus Alexandriæ inventa sunt.[1]

De eo qui primum Romam libros advexit.

Romæ primus librorum copiam advexit Æmilius Paulus, Perse Macedonum rege devicto. Deinde Lucullus è Pontica præda. Post hos Cæsar dedit Marco Varroni negocium causa maxime bibliothecæ construendæ. Primum autem Romæ bibliothecas publicavit Pollio, Græ-

[1] *Origines*, lib. vi. 3.

cas simul atque Latinas, additis autorum imaginibus in atrio quod de manubiis magnificentissimum instruxerat.

Qui apud nos bibliothecas instituerunt.

Apud nos quoque Pamphilus Martyr, cuius vitam Eusebius Cæsareensis conscripsit, Pisistratum in sacræ bibliothecæ studio adæquare primus contendit. Hic enim in bibliotheca sua prope triginta voluminum milia habuit. Hieronymus quoque atque Gennadius ecclesiasticos scriptores toto orbe quærentes ordine prosecuti sunt, eorumque studia in uno volumine indiculo comprehenderunt.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

MINOR EXTRACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF OR ALLUDING TO THE INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT AND DECORATION OF ANCIENT LIBRARIES.

§ 13. OVID.

Tristia, Lib. III, 1, 59—ad finem.

59. Inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis
Ducor ad intonsi[1] candida templa Dei.
Signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis
Belides, et stricto barbarus ense pater:
63. Quæque[2] viri docto veteres cepere novique
Pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.
Quærebam fratres, exceptis scilicet illis,
Quos suus optaret non genuisse parens

[1] *Intonsi.*] Apollinis, non Capitolini, ut scripserunt, sed Palatini, cui in domus Suæ parte templum, una cum bibliotheca, Augustus ædificavit.

[2] *Quæque.*] Bibliothecam designat quam supra modo diximus.

Quærentem frustra custos [1] me, sedibus illis
Præpositus, sancto [2] jussit, abire loco.
Altera templa peto, vicino juncta theatro:
Hæc quoque erant pedibus non adeunda meis.
Nec me, quæ doctis patuerunt prima [3] libellis,
Atria Libertas [4] tangere passa sua est.
In genus auctoris miseri fortuna redundat;
Et patimur nati, quam tulit ipse, fugam.
Forsitan et nobis olim minus asper, et illi
Evictus longo tempore Cæsar erit.
Di, precor, atque adeo, (neque enim mihi turba roganda est,)
Cæsar, ades voto, maxime Dive, meo.
Interea, statio quoniam mihi publica clausa est;
Privato liceat delituisse loco.
Vos quoque, si fas est, confusa pudore repulsæ [5]
Sumite plebeiæ carmina nostra manus.

§ 14. JUVENAL.

Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet, et glacialem Sat. II.
Oceanum, quoties aliquid de moribus audent,
Qui Curios simulant, et Bacchanalia vivunt.
Indocti primum, quanquam plena omnia gypso

[1] *Custos.*] Bibliothecæ præfectus.

[2] *Sancto.*] Quia quoddam quasi Sapientiæ templum erat Bibliotheca illa: deinde ad Augustum spectabat.

[3] *Prima.*] Ante alias Bibliothecas. 'Nam Asinii Pollionis hoc Romæ inventum, qui primus Bibliothecam dicando, ingenuam hominum Rempublicam fecit:' ut scribit Plinius.

[4] *Libertas.*] Cui ædes sacra, in qua Bibliotheca olim.

[5] *Repulsæ* [Neque enim custos Bibliothecæ Palatinæ, neque Libertas excipere libellum voluit.

BOOK I. Appendix to Chapter IV. Arrangement and decoration of ancient Libraries.

Chrysippi invenias: nam perfectissimus horum est,
Si quis Aristotelem similem, vel Pittacon emit,
Et jubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas. [1]

[1] *Et jubet, pluteum*[1] *servare,* in eo reponit, recondit. *Cleanthas* Cleanthis Stoici imagines. Cleanthes primum pugil, inde Zenonis discipulus fuit, cujus defuncti scholam accepit regendam. Quum adolescens, inops admodum esset, interdiu studiis operam dabat, nocte vero mercenariam operam in hortis irrigandis, et aqua haurienda locabat; unde vocatus *Phreantles*, αφρέαρ puteus, et ἀντλάω, haurio. Arch.—*Archetypos*, adject. ut apud Græcos et Mart. VII, 10; XII, 70: Ἀρχέτυπον, exemplar primum, ad quod alia effinguntur (Gall. *Original*), quodque maximi putatur. Sermo est de hominibus, quales etiam nunc reperiuntur, qui, quamvis sint indocti, ut fucum faciant imperitis, utque docti, doctorumque virorum et bonarum artium cultores, videantur, ostentationis causa, musea ornant magna picturarum copia et librorum, quos neque legunt neque intelligunt. Confer. Senec. *de Tranq. An.* c. 8. et *La Bruyère, Caractères, Chap. de la Mode.*

[1] Memorabilis est lectio *puteum* in 59 et 60. Ita jam olim conjecere H. Valesius et Grævius. Ille hoc loco ita interpretabatur: "Si quis Aristotelis et Pittaci statuam in bibliothecam collocat, Cleanthis autem signum aliquod archetypon ad *puteum* ponit, quod hic, antequam philosophus stoicus esset, aqua ex puteis haurienda sese tutebatur; et videtur mos fuisse tum Cleanthis imagines prope *puteos* collocandi." Hic vero, qui idem persuaserat Nic. Heinsio, *jubet Cleanthas servare puteum*, habet imagines Cleanthis, ex puteo aquam haurientis, vel hauriendis aquis apud puteum stantis. Nam Cleanthes, ab inopia vexatus, ut interdiu studiis literarum vacare posset, operam suam locavit Atheniensi cuidam, cujus hortum noctu aqua, ex *puteis* hausta, irrigaret, unde et Φρεάντλης dictus est. Vid. Suidas, Diogen. Laert. et Sen. Epist. 44. *Id* omnino arridere potest: sententiam tamen illam paullo durioribus obscurioribusque verbis expressam esse facile intelligitur (nisi *puteum Cleanthis* legendum); neque vulgata lectio inepta videtur. *Pluteus*, seu *pluteum* proprie dicitur asser parieti affixus, vel armarium, repositorium, scrinium, parieti inclusum, in quo imagines, seu libri reponebantur; et hinc ipsa quoque bibliotheca, aut museum. Sic forte apud Pers. I, 106, et apud Sidon, cujus verba Britann. laudavit: *Hic libri affatim in promptu: videre te crederes aut grammaticales pluteos, aut Athenæi cuneos, aut armaria exstructa bibliopolarum et bibliothecarum.* Lipsius in Synt. de biblioth. cap. 10, huc etiam refert vetus distichon, imagini Virgilianæ subscriptum, "Lucis damna nihil—tanto nocuere poetæ. Quem præsentat honos carminis et plutei," (hoc est, videtur vivere, qui in libris et imagine vivit,) et *sigilla pluteolia* apud Ciceronem, Epist. ad Atticum I. 10, ubi tamen optimi libri *sigillata plutealia* exhibent.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE DESTRUCTION AND DISPERSION OF ANCIENT LIBRARIES AND OF THE RESEARCHES WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE FOR THEIR FRAGMENTS.

> "Solomon saith, 'There is no new thing upon the earth,' so that as Plato had an imagination that all knowledge was but remembrance, so Solomon giveth his sentence, 'That all novelty is but oblivion,' whereby you may see that the River of the Lethe runneth as well above ground as below..... The great winding-sheets that bury all things in oblivion are two, deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople but destroy.... As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of Sects doth much extinguish the memory of things, traducing Gregory the Great that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities,—I do not find that those zeals do [produce] any great effects nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities."
>
> BACON (*of vicissitudes of things*).

Destruction of the Libraries of Alexandria.

(1) In the time of Julius Cæsar.

Of the extent of that conflagration in Alexandria which made Julius Cæsar the unwitting destroyer of what was probably the largest collection of books the world had yet seen, there are conflicting opinions. But on the point that the Library—whatsoever its site and magnitude—which was thus burnt was burnt *totally*, there is much greater concurrence of testimony.

Some writers have conjectured that Antony's gift of the Pergamean Library to Cleopatra—if made at all—was offered by way of compensation for the mischief

BOOK I. Chapter V. Destruction of Ancient Libraries.

brought about by that crisis in the Alexandrian war which forced Cæsar to burn the ships; and that from this gift must be dated the formation of the Library of the Serapeum. But this is obviously doubtful. The reasons urged by Bonamy for placing the foundation of the Serapeum in the reign of Ptolemy Physcon [B. C. 146—117] appear to me—not indeed conclusive, but—as yet unanswered. Either hypothesis presents difficulties which it will need better scholarship than mine to remove.

It is, however, well established that the Library of the Serapeum remained until nearly the close of the fourth century of the Christian era. It was destroyed (apparently at the instigation, or with the sanction, of Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria) in the year 389. Long afterwards the mute witnesses of this outrage told their tale to the eyes of the passer-by, and excited their indignation. "*Nos vidimus,*" says Orosius, "*armaria librorum quibus direptis, exinanita ea a nostris hominibus, nostris temporibus memorant.*"[1]

(2) In the time of Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria.

But, again Alexandria, raised its head as a metropolis of learning. Again books were collected with eagerness and made accessible with liberality;—to be once more destroyed with blind and reckless barbarity. The oft repeated tale has, indeed, been treated as a fable by an illustrious historian. But the reasons alleged by Gibbon for his scepticism in this, as in some more important

[1] Paulus Orosius (*Historiarum adversus Paganos libri vii*), vi. 15 (421). This work is said to have been written at the suggestion of St. Augustine, about A.D. 416.

matters, are very insufficient, although few readers will deny the justice of that concluding sentence in which he regards the extent of the surviving treasures of literature, rather than the amount of its losses during the lapse of so many ages, as the legitimate object of surprise.

(3) In the time of the Caliph Omar.

The fanatical deed of Omar, as it is commonly narrated, may be described in Gibbon's own words (somewhat abridged), and with his own commentary. "I should deceive the expectation of the reader," he says, "if I passed in silence the fate of the Alexandrian Library, as it is described by the learned Abulpharagius. .... John Philoponus .. solicited .. a gift of the Royal Library, which alone among the spoils of Alexandria had not been appropriated by the visit and the seal of the Conqueror. Amrou was inclined to gratify the wish, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of the Caliph.

..But the ignorant and fanatical Omar ordered that the Library should be destroyed, in the famous words: 'If these writings of the Greeks agree with the Koran, they are useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree they are pernicious and ought to be distroyed."[1] The sentence was executed with blind obedience. The volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the four baths of the city, and such was their incredible

[1] According to the version of Ibn Khaldoon the words of Omar ran thus: "Throw them into water, for if what they contain is capable of guiding us, God has already guided us by means much superior to these. If, on the contrary, what they shew is suited to lead us astray, God has preserved us from it."—*Historical Prolegomena* of Ibn Khaldoon, as quoted by Sylvestre de Sacy in his notes to Abdu-l-Lattif, *ubi infra*.

multitude that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel.... For my own part, I am strongly tempted to deny both fact and consequence....

The solitary report of a stranger who wrote, at the end of six hundred years, on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the silence of two annalists of earlier date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt (Eutychius and Elmacin).... The rigid sentence of Omar is repugnant to the....precepts of the Mahommedan casuists [He cites Reland, *de Jure militari Mohammedanorum,* D.iii. 37].... But the Palace no longer contained the 400,000 or 700,000 volumes which had been assembled by the curiosity and magnificence of the Ptolemies [Aulus Gellius, vi. 17: Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 16; Orosius, vi. 15].... They all speak in the past sense. Perhaps the Church and Seat of the Patriarch might be enriched with a repository of books.... I sincerely regret the more valuable libraries which have been involved in the ruin of the Roman Empire, but when I seriously compute the lapse of ages, the waste of ignorance, and the calamities of war, our treasures, rather than our losses, are the object of my surprise."

Forty years ago it was shewn by Sylvestre de Sacy that this allegation is far, indeed, from resting on "the solitary report of a stranger;" for besides the testimony of Abdu-l-Lattif and that of Makrisi, it is corroborated by Ibn Khaldoon and by Haji Khalifa. So that there would seem to be the concurrent testimony of at least four writers (even if we regard Makrisi as but the copyist of Abdu-l-Lattif), opposed, not to the denial,

but to the *silence,* of two other writers. As to the repugnance between the act charged upon Omar and the teaching of the Mohammedan casuists, it may be sufficient to note—for the matter can need no argument—that if this be a just canon of criticism, the more thorough study of Biblical Exegesis would enable Christian historians greatly to abridge the labours now exacted for weighing evidence and comparing authorities, and at the same time would marvellously economize the time of their readers. And, finally, the extent of the Library which was at Alexandria in the year 638, though it may have some bearing on the wisdom or unwisdom of lamenting its loss, can have none on the truth or falsehood of the story how that loss was occasioned.

Extent of the loss to learning at Alexandria.

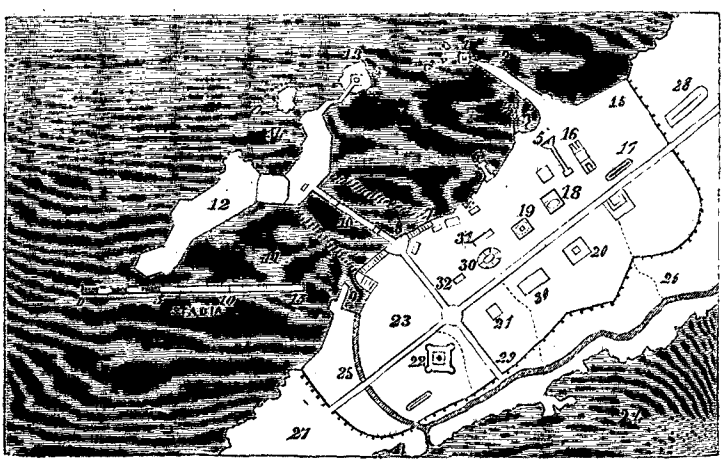
Nor, indeed,—those who have been most inclined to ridicule such lamentations being themselves the judges,—can the real amount of the loss to learning be much affected by the number of the books that were burnt. "I have heard," says Sir Thomas Browne, "some with .... many groans deplore the combustion of the Library of Alexandria;—for my own part I think there be too many in the world; and could with patience behold the urn and ashes of the Vatican, could I with a few others recover the perished leaves of Solomon." "I would not," he adds, "omit a copy of 'Enoch's pillars,'.... did they not relish somewhat of the fable." But who shall assure the scoffers that the "perished leaves of Solomon," or an authenticated transcript of the "pillars of Enoch," did not assist in heating the Baths of Alexandria?

On the whole, the extant evidence on a transaction which will never be entirely understood, cannot, I

BOOK I. Chapter V. Destruction of Ancient Libraries.

think, be better summed up than it has already been by Sylvestre de Sacy in his concluding observations. It cannot be doubted, he argues, that the early conquests of the Mussulmans were fatal to the books of the conquered countries, nor that those of Alexandria shared the same fate. The Library they consigned to the flames was assuredly not that of the first Ptolemies, nor the ancient Library of the Serapeum, nor perhaps that of the Sebasteum or Temple of Augustus,—but that new and doubtless much inferior collection, which, as has been already mentioned, was formed for the service of the School of Alexandria.

The reputed relative position of these libraries, all of them more or less famous, will be seen in the accompanying diagram [1]:



PLAN OF ALEXANDRIA.

1. Acrolochias.
2. Lochias.
3. Closed or Royal Port.
4. Antirhodos.
5. Royal Dock Yards.
6. Poseidcion.
7. City Dockyards & Quays.
8. Gate of the Moon
9. Kibotus, Basin of.
10. Great Mole.
11. Eunostus.
12. Island Pharos.
13. Tower Pharos.
14. The Pirates' Bay.
15. Jews' Quarter.
16. Theatre of the Museum.
17. Stadium.
18. LIBRARY & MUSEUM.
19. Soma.
20. Dicasterium.
21. Panium.
22. SERAPEUM.
23. Rhacôtis.
24. 25 Lake Mareotis & its Canal.
26. Aqueduct.
27. Necropolis.
28. Hippodrome.
29. Gate of the Sun.
30. Amphitheatre.
31. Emporium.
32. Arsinoeum.

[1] Copied from Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, i.

HERCULANEUM remained a subterranean city from the year 79 to the year 1706. In the latter year some labourers who were employed in digging a well came upon a statue, a circumstance which led—not very speedily but in course of time *(more Neapolitano)*—to systematic excavations. Almost half a century passed, however, before the first roll of papyrus was discovered, near to Portici, at a depth from the surface of about a hundred and twenty English feet. In the course of a year or two, some two hundred and fifty rolls—most of them Greek—had been found.

Excavations of Oct. 1752, at Herculaneum.

The floor of one of the apartments in which these discoveries were made was of mosaic work, and the books appear to have been arranged in highly decorated presses. In 1754, further and more careful researches were made by Camillo Paderni, who succeeded in getting together no less than 337 Greek volumes and eighteen Latin volumes. The latter were of larger dimensions than the Greek, and in worse condition.[1]

Very naturally, great interest was excited by these discoveries amongst scholars in all parts of Europe. In the years 1754 and 1755 the subject was repeatedly brought

[1] Paderni's own account (given in a letter which Thomas Hollis communicated to the Royal Society in Dec. 1754) runs thus: .... "As yet we have only entered into one room.... It appears to have been a library, adorned with presses, inlaid with different sorts of woods, disposed in rows, at the top of which were cornices, as in our own times. I was buried in this spot more than twelve days, to carry off the volumes found there, many of which were so perished, that it was impossible to remove them. Those which I took away amounted to the number of 337, all of them, at present, incapable of being opened. These all are written in Greek characters. While I was busy in this work, I observed a large bundle which .... consisted of about 18 volumes, ... the largest hitherto discovered, ... written in Latin," &c.

before the Royal Society by Mr. Locke and other of its fellows, sometimes in the form of communications from Paderni himself; at other times from the notes and observations of travellers. In one of these papers the disinterred rolls are described as appearing at first "like roots of wood, all black, and seeming to be only of one piece. One of them falling on the ground, it broke in the middle, and many letters were observed, by which it was first known that the rolls were of papyrus.... They were in wooden cases, so much burnt, ... that they cannot be recovered." The writer, who is described as "a learned gentleman of Naples," proceeds to relate with considerable minuteness the first steps which were taken towards deciphering the mysterious volumes; and with what results:—... "Signor Assemanni, having come a second time to Naples, proposed to the King to send for one father Antonio [Piaggi], a writer at the Vatican, as the only man in the world who could undertake this difficult affair.... He [Piaggi] made a machine with which, by means of certain threads .. gummed .. to the back of the papyrus, ... he begins by degrees to pull, whilst with a sort of ingraver's instrument he looses one leaf from the others ... and then makes a sort of lining to the back of the papyrus .... and with some spirituous liquor, with which he wets the papyrus, by little and little unfolds it;"[1] adding, that the first deciphered papyrus was in Greek and proved to be "a small philosophic tract in Plutarch's manner on Music; blaming it as pernicious to society, and productive of softness and effeminacy..... The

[1] *Philosophical Transactions* (1755) xlix. 113.

worst is .... that a small quantity of writing requires four or six days to unroll, so that a whole year is already consumed about half this roll." Barthélemi, in his *Voyage en Italie* (published nearly half a century later than the communication made through Mr. Locke to the Royal Society), gives much the same account of the state of the matter as he found it at the period of his visit.

At the beginning of the present century the attention of the British government was, to some extent, attracted to this subject by the representations of several distinguished travellers, and by the hopes that were generally entertained of some brilliant discoveries in classical literature. Leave was at length obtained from the Neapolitan government for a literary mission to Herculaneum, which was entrusted to Mr. Hayter, one of the Chaplains to the Prince Regent. But the results were few and unsatisfactory, and (such as they were) met with serious interruption from the invasion of Naples in 1806, and from the subsequent misconduct of Neapolitan functionaries. Ultimately some of the MSS.—all of them fragmentary—came to England, and were presented to the University of Oxford. A selection from these fragments has since been published, but it has little interest.

Mission of Mr. Hayter.

The Commission subsequently entrusted to Dr. Sickler of Hildburghausen was still more unfortunate. He not only failed in his attempts to unroll and decipher some of the papyri which had been brought to London, but in the course of his experiments almost entirely destroyed them. In 1818, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the matter. It

Sickler's experiments.

reported that, after an expenditure of about £1100, no useful results had been attained. This inquiry and the experiments of Sickler led Sir Humphrey Davy to investigate the subject, and to undertake two successive journeys into Italy for its thorough elucidation. His account of his researches is highly interesting. It was at first printed for private circulation, but having been accidentally inserted in the *Journal of the Royal Institution,* it was afterwards enlarged for communication to the Royal Society, and printed in the *Philosophical Transactions.*[1]

Davy's experiments.

"My experiments," says Sir Humphrey Davy (in the first of the two accounts referred to), "soon convinced me that the nature of these MSS. had been generally misunderstood; that they had not, as is usually supposed, been carbonized by the operation of fire,... but were in a state analogous to peat or Bovey coal, the leaves being generally cemented into one mass by a peculiar substance which had formed during the fermentation and chemical change of the vegetable matter comprising them, in a long course of ages. The nature of this substance being known, the destruction of it became a subject of obvious chemical investigation; and I was fortunate enough to find means of accomplishing this, without injuring the characters or destroying the texture of the MSS." These means Sir Humphrey Davy has described very minutely in his subsequent communications to the Royal Society. Briefly, they may be said to have consisted in a mixture of a solution of glue

[1] *Philosophical Transactions* (1821) Pt. i, pp. 191—208.

with alcohol, enough to gelatinize it, applied by a camel's hair brush, for the separation of the layers. The process was sometimes assisted by the agency of ether, and the layers were dried by the action of a stream of air warmed *gradually* up to the temperature of boiling water.[1]

"After the chemical operation, the leaves of most of the fragments separated perfectly from each other, and the Greek characters were in a high degree distinct; but two fragments were found in peculiar states; the leaves of one easily separated, but the characters were found wholly defaced on the exterior folds, and partially defaced on the interior. In the other, the characters were legible on such leaves as separated, but an earthy matter, or a species of tufa, prevented the separation in some of the parts; and both these circumstances were clearly the results of agencies to which these MSS. had been exposed, during or after the volcanic eruption by which they had been covered.

..... "An examination of the excavations that still remain open at Herculaneum immediately confirmed the opinion which I entertained, that the MSS. had not been acted on by the fire. These excavations are on a loose tufa, composed of volcanic ashes, sand, and fragments of lava, imperfectly cemented by ferruginous and calcareous matter..... The MSS. were probably on shelves of wood, which were broken down when the roofs of the houses yielded to the weight of the superincumbent mass. Hence, many of them were crushed and folded

[1] *Philosophical Transactions, ut supra,* 199—201.

in a moist state, and the leaves of some pressed together in a perpendicular direction .... in confused heaps; in these heaps the exterior MSS..... must have been acted on by the water; and as the ancient ink was composed of finely divided charcoal suspended in a solution of glue or gum, wherever the water percolated continuously, the characters were more or less erased.....

Of the MSS. the greater number .... are brown, and still contain some of their volatile substance, or extractive matter, which occasions the cohesion of the leaves; others are almost entirely converted into charcoal, and in these, when the form is adapted to the purpose, the layers may be readily separated by mechanical means. Of a few, particularly the superficial parts, which probably were most exposed to air and water, little remains except the earthy basis, the charcoal of the characters and some of that of the vegetable matter being destroyed; and they are in a condition approaching that of the MSS. found at Pompeii, where the air, constantly penetrating through the loose ashes,—there being no barrier against it as in the consolidated tufa of Herculaneum,—has entirely destroyed all the carbonaceous parts of the papyrus, and left nothing but earthy matter."

Sir Humphrey Davy proceeds to state that, according to the information given him, the number of MSS. and fragments of MSS. originally deposited in the Naples Museum was 1696; that of these 88 had then been unrolled and found to be legible; that 319 others had been operated upon, and, more or less unrolled, but were illegible; that twenty-four had been sent abroad as

presents; and that of the remaining 1265—which he had carefully examined—the majority were either small fragments, or MSS. so crushed and mutilated as to offer little hope of separation; whilst only from eighty to one hundred and twenty offered a probability of success; [and he elsewhere adds:—"this estimate, as my researches proceeded, appeared much too high:"[1]].... "It cannot be doubted that the 407 papyri which have been more or less unrolled, were selected as the best fitted for attempts, and were probably the most perfect; so that amongst the 100 or 120 which remain,.... even allowing a superiority of method, it is not reasonable to expect that a much larger proportion will be legible. Of the eighty, eight unrolled MSS. .... the great body consists of works of Greek philosophers or sophists; nine are of Epicurus; thirty-two bear the name of Philodemus, three of Demetrius, one of each of these authors:—Colotes, Polystratus, Carneades, Chrysippus; and the subjects of these works, ... and of those the authors of which are unknown, are either Natural or Moral Philosophy, Medicine, Criticism, and general observations on Arts, Life, and Manners."

The opinion of the illustrious Chemist—especially as to the alleged action of great heat—were much controverted; but it seems to be unquestionable that the manipulation he suggested, presented a better prospect of success than any methods theretofore pursued. An earnest of success was actually attained. But jealousies and bickerings interrupted the right prosecution of the

[1] *Philosophical Transact., ut supra,* 195.

enterprise. Sir Humphrey's testimony on this point is gentle, but none the less significant:—

"During the two months... employed in experiments on the papyri at Naples, I had succeeded, with the assistance of six of the persons attached to the Museum, and whom I had engaged for the purpose, in partially unrolling 23 MSS., from which fragments of writing were obtained, and in examining about 120 others which afforded no hopes of success; and I should gladly have gone on with the undertaking, ... had not the labour, in itself difficult and unpleasant, been made more so by the conduct of the persons at the head of this department of the Museum. At first, every disposition was shown to promote my researches; for the papyri remaining unrolled were considered by them as incapable of affording anything legible by the former methods, or, to use their own word, '*disperati*.' ..... When, however, the Rev. Peter Elmsley, whose zeal for .... ancient literature brought him to Naples for the purpose of assisting, began to examine the fragments unrolled, a jealousy with regard to his assistance was immediately manifested, and obstacles .... were soon opposed to the progress of our enquiries. These obstacles were so multiplied ... towards the end of February, that we conceived it would be both a waste of the public money and a compromise of our own characters to proceed."[1]

[1] *Philosophical Transact ut supra*, 203–204.

Between the years 1793 and 1844, eight folio volumes —*Herculanensium voluminum quæ supersunt*—have been issued from the Royal press of Naples. They contain the 2nd and 11th books of Epicurus Περὶ φύσεως; the first book of Philodemus Περὶ Μουσικῆς; with portions of some other treatises of the same author; works or parts of works by Polystratus, Matradorus, and other Greek writers; and fragments of a Latin poem, supposed to be by Rabirius. These volumes contain careful fac-similes of the MSS., with a translation and notes. The lacunæ are also conjecturally supplied. Whatever may be the editorial defects of the series,—and it has been criticised at various times with considerable acerbity,—no candid reader can examine these Neapolitan volumes without perceiving that time and labour have been freely expended on them, although as yet with very unsatisfactory results. What prospect there may still be of better success or of any fresh discoveries, I am unable to state.

Be this as it may, the bibliographical interest of the Herculaneum fragments will always be considerable. By the kindness of the Council of the Royal Society, I am enabled to illustrate this portion of the present chapter by the plates which accompanied Sir Humphrey Davy's account of his experiments. These illustrations are thus described.

Plate I. Figure 1 represents a papyrus partly unrolled, with the inkstand and reed for writing used by the Ancients. Figure 2 represents a box of papyri. Both are copied from the *Pitture Antiche d' Ercolano.*

Plate II. Fig. 1 represents fragments of an unrolled papyrus, so greatly injured that the letters of different

columns appear through the folds as if they formed but one column. Figs. 2 and 3 are fragments in which the lines begin with Greek capitals.

Plate III. Contains fragments of a Latin MS. of which the characters are partly Greek.

Plates IV and *V* contain fragments of Greek MSS.

Plates VI and *VII* contain specimens of Latin MSS. which are scarcely decipherable.

Plate VIII. Fig. 1 belongs to the same category as the last-mentioned. Fig. 2 is a specimen of a Greek fragment.

Burning of Libraries at Constantinople.

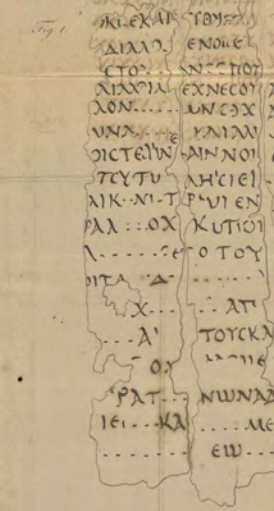
Some writers have asserted that the Emperor Leo III, "the Iconoclast," burnt a considerable library at Constantinople—at or near St. Sophia—in the year 730. But the story is weakly supported. If a pungent affix to the name of a prince (by whomsoever first applied) should once stick to him in history, it seems to carry with it warrant enough for any imputations. Accordingly, it is not very surprising to find that some improved versions of this story make Leo to have burnt the librarians as well as the books. Fire, however, at this and at later periods was undoubtedly a deadly enemy to the libraries of Constantinople. Several such casualties are narrated in the interval between the accession of Leo III and the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1203.[1] All previous losses, what-

[1] "Domus regia fuit in nuncupata Basilica prope ærarias officinas. In qua libri externæ sapientiæ, et generosioris doctrina diviniorisque multi servabantur. Fuerat autem hæc domus superioribus temporibus, disciplinis

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.



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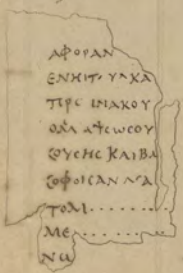

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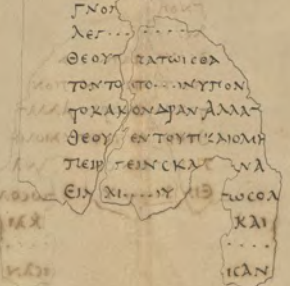

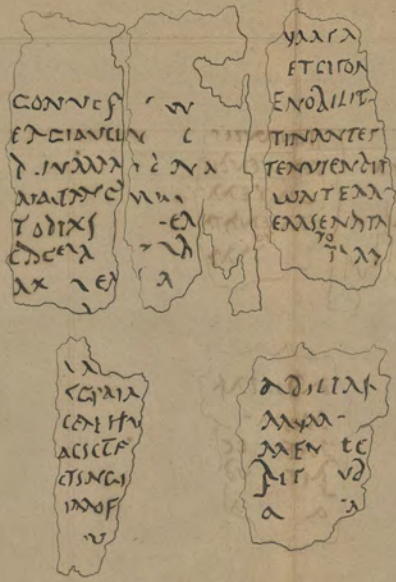

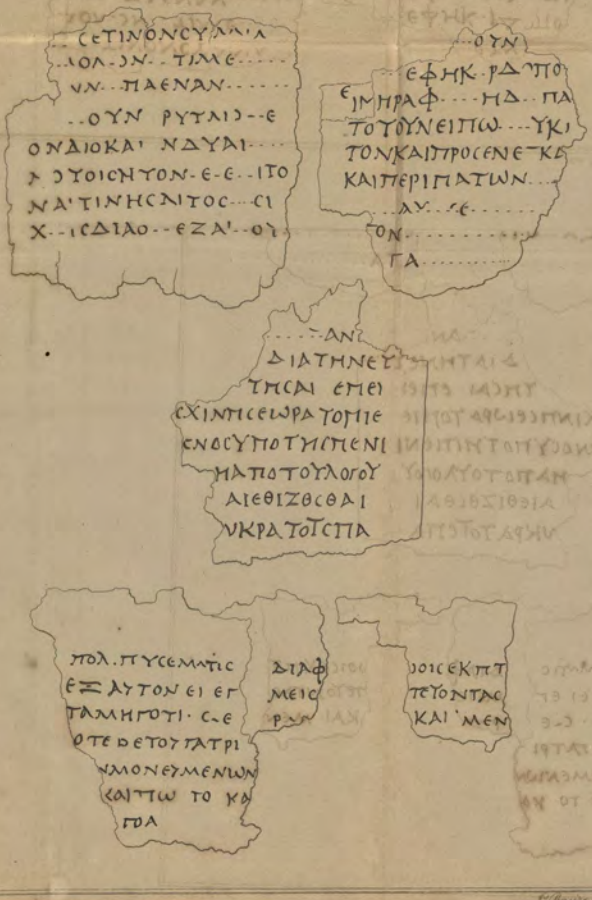
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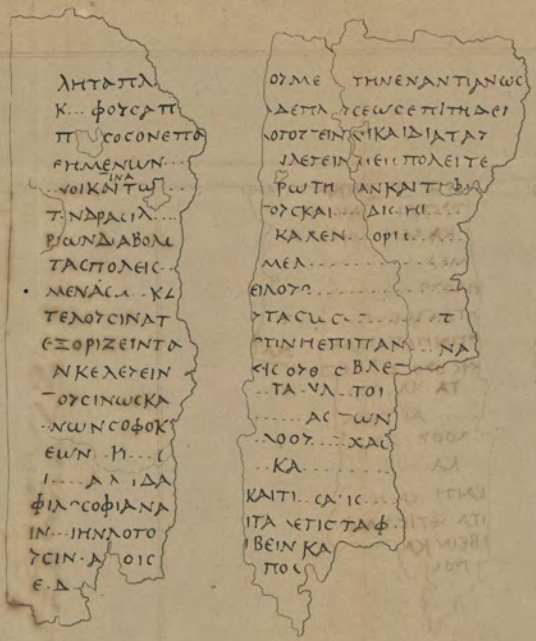
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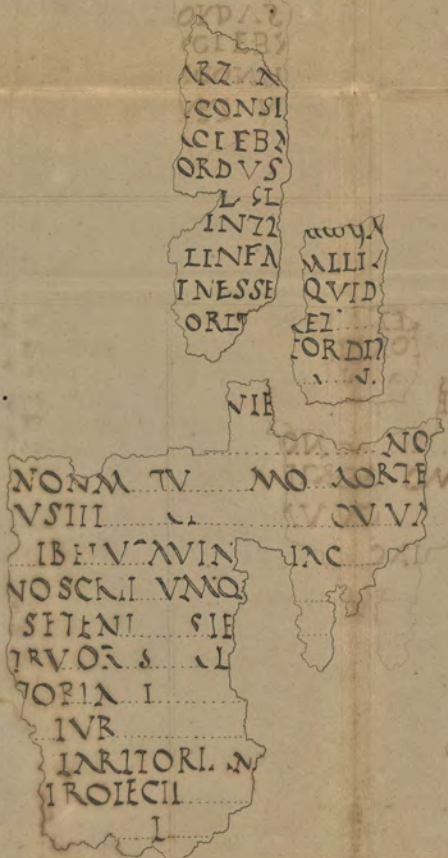
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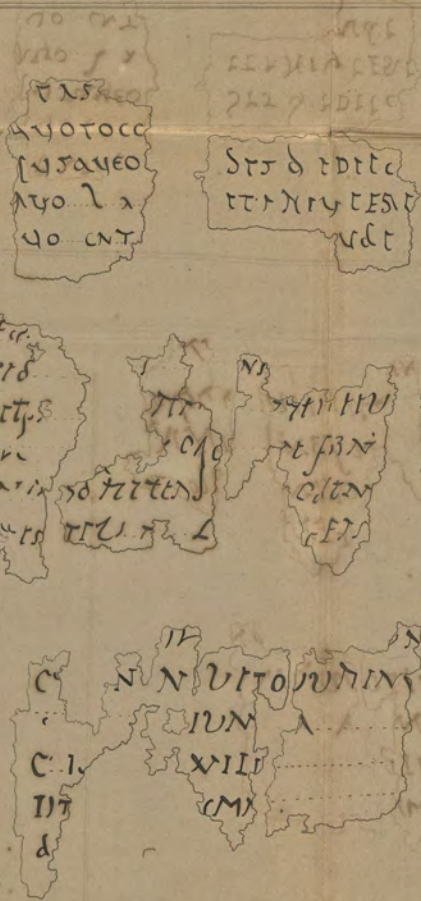


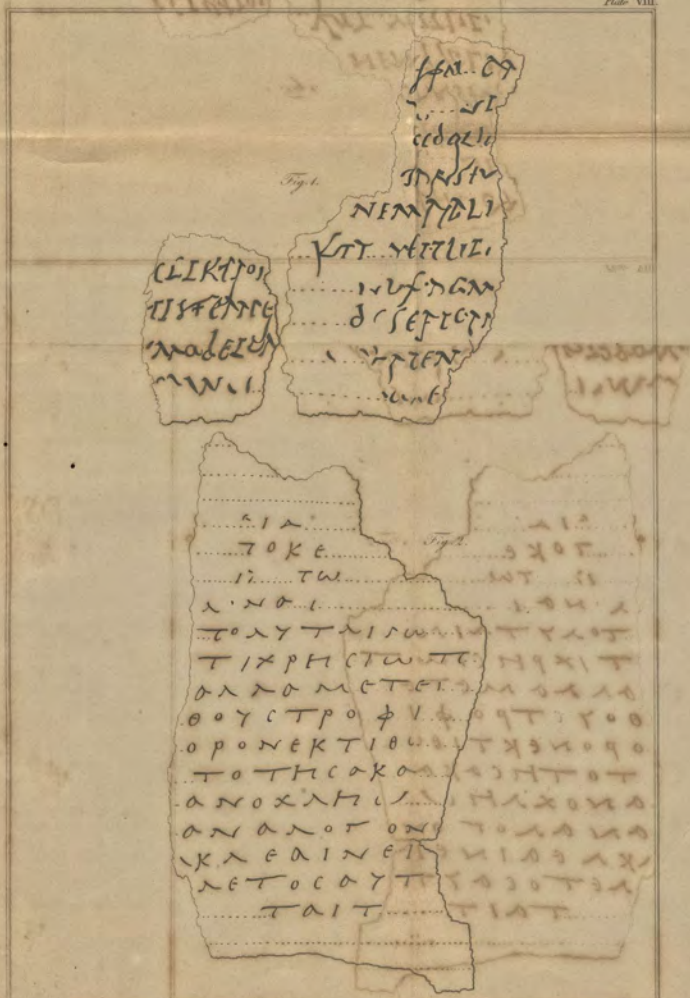


Fig. 1.
Fig. 2.

ever they may have been, were then eclipsed by that triple fire, the destructiveness of which it is im-

præstantis præceptoris, quem Œconomicum vocabant, domicilium. Is duodecim secum habebat (discipulos aut hypodidascalos) habitantes, ratiocinationiis eruditione summa præditos, quibus victus ex publico præbebatur. Hos adibant studiosi ratiocinatricis sapientiæ; atque etiam reges in rebus agendis consiliarios adhibebant. Regnante Basilisco Constantinopolim incendium maximum afflixit, ex officinis ærariis incipiens, quod devoravit officinas ipsas, earumque vicinitatem, in cineremque redegit platearum ædificia cum alia, tum Basilicam nuncupatam, in qua erat Bibliotheca sexies centena millia voluminum continens, inter illa erat draconis intestinum, longum centum et viginti pedes, habens inscripta literis aureis Homeri poemata, *Iliadem et Odysseam.* Malchus Byzantius Sophista scripsit historiam ab imperio Constantini usque ad Anastasium, in qua incendium Bibliothecæ publicæ, et statuarum Augustæi fori vehementer, et tragice deplorat. De eadem Bibliotheca Georgius Cedrinus: "Ad nuncupatam," inquit, "Basilicam cisternam, Palatium dignitatis plenum fuit, in quo ex instituto antiquo Œconomicus præceptor habitabat, habens duodecim discipulos sermone et vita graves," &c. &c. In erant etiam in hac Bibliotheca historia heroum res gestas continentes, multis post seculis quam deflagravit hæc Bibliotheca sub Basilisco, cum Leo Conon Rex Basilicæ eruditos in sententiam suæ hæresis trahere non potuit, combussit illos una cum Basilicæ Palatio, et Bibliotheca, quæ pulchris libris post incendium iterum ornata fuerat.

"Basilicæ Romæ judiciis, consiliis, negotiationibus attributæ erant; Constantinopoli et jam Bibliothecis, et literarum gymnasiis: . . . .

"Qualis fuerit locus ubi Bibliotheca continebatur, scriptores recentes tradunt Octagonum fuisse, ubi essent porticus concameratæ, et locus, ubi Œconomicus præceptor cum suis assessoribus versaretur. Georgius Cedrinus, incendio, quod editum est tempore Justiniani affirmat ædem magnam, et Xenodochium Sampsonis, vestibulum Basilicæ, Augusteum, Chalcam, porticus utrasque, usque ad forum Constantini, et Octagonum, et Thermas Zeuxippi deflagrasse: ex quo colligo opportuisse esse duo Octagona inter se propinqua. Si enim Octagonum quod tradit Cedrinus fuisset illud continens Bibliothecam non præteriisset Bibliothecam illam etiam deflagrasse tempore Justiniani. Ego potius existimo locum illum, ubi Bibliotheca fuit, tetragonum fuisse, aulamque illam esse quam columnis in quadrum dispositis circumdatam esse tradit Procopius. Quænam fuerit Basilica continens Bibliothecam Zonaras non explicat, sed duntaxat proximam dicit esse Chalcopratiis, hoc est, officinis ærariis." .... Petri Gyllii, *de Topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius antiquitatibus, libri iv.,* l. ii, c. 20 (Gronovius, *Thesaurus Græcarum Antiquitatum,* vi, 3280—3282). Mr. Finlay has examined the charge against Leo, and his conclusion (*History of the*

possible to estimate. Two hundred and fifty years later came the final disaster of the Ottoman conquest.

Researches at Constantinople for the remains of Ancient Libraries.

But, notwithstanding these repeated disasters, all the great libraries of Europe owe to Constantinople some of their choicest treasures. For many generations, foreign ambassadors, learned academicians sent for special researches, and even private travellers, have brought thence many precious manuscripts. But almost every man who has recorded his acquisitions of this kind appears to have come away under the impression that in some mysterious repositories treasures more precious still were jealously concealed. From the days of Pope Nicholas V to those of the Emperor Napoleon III literary missionaries to Constantinople have assiduously employed influences of the most varied kinds in furtherance of their object; have attained various degrees of success; have, almost uniformly, been dissatisfied with their spoils; yet have spurred on others to follow in their track. Probably no one now has much hope of discovering the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, a complete Diodorus Siculus, or even the lost Decades of Livy; yet most persons who have bestowed any attention on the subject will agree with Tischendorff in still thinking it *probable* "that the Se-

Byzantine Empire, i. 52) is this:—"A valuable collection of books seems to have fallen accidentally a prey to the flames, during his reign, and neither his liberality nor the public spirit of the Greeks induced them to display any activity in replacing the loss." Comp. Schlosser, *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser,* 163; Spanheim, *Historia Imaginum restituta,* 115; and Maimbourg, *Histoire de l'héresie des Iconoclastes,* i. 58.

raglio of the Sultan may conceal ancient and valuable MSS., though complete obscurity prevails as to their contents,"[1] rather than with the assertion—as unsupported by proofs as it is unqualified in terms—which was hazarded twenty years ago, and has been more than once repeated since, that it is now *certain* that the Library of the Sultan contains only Turkish and Arabic writings, and not one Greek or Latin "MS. of any importance."

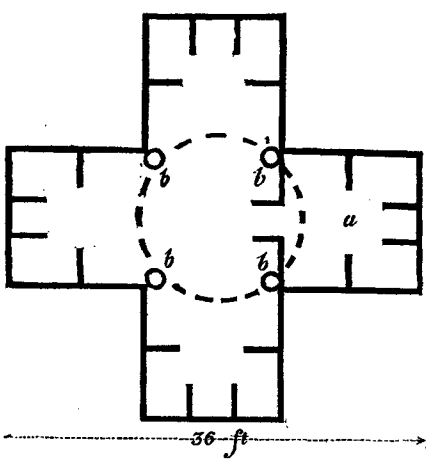
Of the results of the well-known mission of the Abbé Sevin and his coadjutor Michel Fourmont in 1728, some account will be given in that subsequent portion of the present volume which relates to the Imperial Library of Paris. But in this place it may be fitting to make some mention of more recent researches.

When Lord Elgin was appointed to the Turkish Embassy in 1799, the British Government commissioned the Rev. J. D. Carlyle to accompany him, with a view to the thorough examination of some of the principal Libraries of the East. Of the results of his mission Dr. Carlyle gave account from time to time in a series of letters to various correspondents, the most interesting of which were subsequently printed by Mr. Walpole in his *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*.

In one of the earliest of these letters (23 July 1800) Dr. Carlyle writes thus to the then Bishop of Lincoln:—"I have been informed that six persons were employed a few years ago in searching for some ancient

[1] Tischendorff, *Travels in the East* (1847), 273.

records which were deposited in the Seraglio. They were introduced every day by the Eunuchs of the Palace, and continued their search for six months, during all which time, though they turned over most of the papers belonging to the Empire, they did not meet with anything like a Greek or Latin MS. On the other hand there undoubtedly exists a building near St. Sophia, that is now closed up, and that according to tradition has been closed up ever since the conquest. Here, reports says, ... many things belonging to the Greek Emperor are still preserved, and here, if anywhere, I should hope to find the remains of their Library." Four months later, he writes:—"at length I have been permitted to examine the Library of the Seraglio .... never before subjected to the examination of a Christian,....built in the form of a Greek cross:—



One of the arms of the cross *a* serves as an ante-room, and the remaining three arms, together with the centre

(decorated with four marble pillars, *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*), constitute the Library itself."....

"The whole number of manuscripts," he adds, "amounts to 1294.... [The details belong to the history of the existing Libraries of Constantinople.].... but alas! not one volume in Greek, Hebrew, or Latin." Later still we find Dr. Carlyle adducing in support of his own conclusion the concurrent opinion of an eminent dignitary well acquainted with Constantinople:—"The Patriarch of Jerusalem," he writes in 1801, "assured me that he had not the smallest idea that any Greek MSS. existed in the Seraglio, or in any other repository belonging to the Sultan."[1] But almost half a century afterwards, we find Tischendorff quoting a similar opinion in support of an opposite conclusion. "...I had some conversation on this subject .... with the Greek Patriarch Constantine, who strengthened me in my opinion"[2] [that Greek MSS. might yet be hoped for].

Dr. Carlyle, it will have been noticed, entered the Library of the Seraglio under the impression that he was "the first Christian" to whom that privilege had been accorded. Toderini, however, has expressly told us (*Della letteratura Turchesca*) that, although he was long deceived by numberless promises and evasions, "after three years, I succeeded." And Rizo, the author of a *Cours de littérature Grecque moderne,* asserts that a Greek interpreter at the instigation of Theotolus, Archbishop of Astrachan, obtained access by winning the

[1] *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey.*

[2] *Travels in the East* (1847), 273.

favour of the Eunuch in charge, and actually took away some "Commentaries on the Old Testament," which he subsequently copied and returned. He adds, that at a later period Sultan Selim not only granted admission to Sebastiani during his Embassy, but offered him, as a present, such books as he might select, of which offer the French Ambassador availed himself by choosing "a magnificent copy of the New Testament."[1]

Passing over (of necessity) some intermediate researches, those which are still in course of prosecution by M. Lebarbier, a young but already distinguished student of the *École Française d'Athènes*, claim a word of notice, however brief.

In August 1856 M. Guigniaut, in the name of a Committee appointed to examine the works sent to Paris by the French school at Athens, read a Report to the Academy of Inscriptions, in which the first-fruits of M. Lebarbier's labours are described, with especial reference to a Library which he designates the "Library of the Holy Sepulchre at Constantinople." After stating that this library possesses a considerable number of MSS., M. Guigniaut proceeds: "But unfortunately these MSS. comprise little besides Homilies; Prayers; Theological and Controversial treatises, written at periods not very remote from our own; Acts of Councils; translations from Latin or Italian into modern Greek; Grammars; Nomocanons; rhetorical and logical Compends. The ancient authors—all long since published—are few

[1] Rizo, *Cours de littérature Grecque moderne*, as quoted in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, i. 666. (1827.)

in number, and such as occur are for the most part modern and even imperfect copies. But, if the Library of the Holy Sepulchre offers little aid to classical literature, it is rich in documents of every kind which throw new light on the history of the Greeks after the fall of the Byzantine Empire."[1] .... Hitherto, it must be admitted, the new researches do not look promising, as respects that particular department with which alone we are here concerned. But the field is one in which the discoveries of an hour may possibly present rich compensation for the toil of years.

Thus far of the LIBRARIES OF THE ANCIENTS. The reader must pardon the meagreness of this account of them: it is all that the accessible materials have enabled me to offer.

[1] *Journal général de l'Instruction publique* (1856), XXV. 419.

BOOK II.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

"Quand il existe, comme il existait au dixième siécle, un gouvernement de l'ordre spirituel; .... il est naturel qu'il soit conduit à prétendre la domination sur l'ordre temporel, qu'il dise: 'Comment! j'ai droit, j'ai action sur ce qu'il y a de plus élevé, de plus indépendant dans l'homme, sur sa pensée, sur sa volonté intérieure, sur sa conscience, et je n'aurais pas droit sur ses intérêts extérieurs, matériels, passagers! Je suis l'interprète de la justice, de la vérité, et je ne pourrai pas régler les rapports mondains selon la justice et la vérité!' Il devait arriver par la seule vertu de ce raisonnement que l'ordre spirituel tendit à envahir l'ordre temporel. Et cela devait arriver d'autant plus que l'ordre spirituel embrassait alors tous les développemens possibles de la pensée humaine; il n'y avait qu'une science, la théologie; qu'un ordre spirituel, l'ordre théologique; toutes les autres sciences, la rhétorique, l'arithmétique, la musique même, tout rentrait dans la théologie."

GUIZOT, *Histoire générale de la Civilisation en Europe*, 5e Leçon, pp. 154, 155.

"Suave mari magno, turbantibus æquora ventis, e terrâ magnum alterius spectare laborem."

LUCRETIUS.

CHAPTER I.

FOUNDATION AND GROWTH OF THE MONASTIC LIBRARIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

"Every essential principle, almost every adjunct, and almost every vice of the Monkery of the tenth or twelfth century, may be detected in that of the fourth ..... But .... in the later period the religious Houses contained almost all the piety and learning that anywhere existed; while in the former there was certainly as much piety without as within .. and much more of learning.

..... In the later periods, and when nothing .. existed without doors except feudal ignorance and ferocity (we speak of the monasteries of Europe), many of the religious houses were real seclusions ..... The spiritual Monk, .. glad to hide himself from the railleries or spite of the lay fraternity, ... passed his hours in the pleasant, edifying, and beneficial toils of transcription. Not seldom, as is proved by abundant evidence, the life-giving words of Prophets and Apostles were the subjects of these labours." .....

ISAAC TAYLOR, *Natural History of Enthusiasm*, pp. 177—219 (Ed. 1842).

"Record we, too, with just and faithful pen,
That many hooded Cenobites there are,
Who in their private cells have yet a care
Of public quiet; unambitious men,
Counsellors for the world, of piercing ken;
Whose fervent exhortations from afar,
Move princes to their duty, peace or war;
And ofttimes in the most forbidding den
Of solitude, with love of science strong,
How patiently the yoke of thought they bear!"

WORDSWORTH, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, ii.

BOOK II. Chapter I. Rise and growth of Monastic Libraries.

THE Book-Collections of the middle Ages range themselves almost exclusively under one of the two heads:—*Monastic*, or *Palatial*. And, as is well known, the former were incomparably the most important, and were also by far the best protected. When the final

BOOK II. Chapter I. Rise and growth of Monastic Libraries.

flood-tide of barbaric invasion swept away the civilizing institutions, which yet survived in the Western Empire; when learning was scared from its ancient homes and favourite haunts, it was generally within monastic walls that it found its safest asylum. There were, undoubtedly, some eminent protectors of the remains of the old literature who were not monks; but even these found that the cloister was not infrequently a more trustworthy repository than the castle. Monasteries sometimes suffered much, and monks were not always peacemakers. Yet there are memorable proofs that convents were occasionally permitted to enjoy tranquillity when rapine and violence lorded it over all around them.

Controversy as to the merits of the Monastic System.

It can be no matter of legitimate surprise, that on the general merits of the Monastic Institute the most conflicting opinions should still be current. But it may not be quite so apparent why this extreme diversity of view should prevail so largely as it does, with respect to that special phase of monastic life which deals with literature and scholarship. Monasticism as a whole played a great part in the world for a thousand years. It was a chief agent in changing the social and political aspects of great empires. It lifted up some of the lowest strata of society, and depressed some of the highest. It moulded, controlled, and overturned governments. But in the course of that stormy millennium it underwent changes as extensive as those which it imposed. The doctrine and polity of monasticism asserted by the heads of one order were directly opposed to the equally authoritative teaching of the heads of another. The same community was at different times governed upon

opposing principles. Even the same monastery, at the same time, sheltered monks who were in fierce controversy as to what a monk ought to be and to do. The monkish garb, like any other, clothed simultaneously some of the noblest and some of the meanest spirits that have ever dwelt on earth. Very obviously, therefore, it is but an idle pastime to speak of monasticism as a thing which is to be praised or blamed in the lump.

As far, however, as respects the relations which have subsisted between monks and books, the love of paradox may have had something to do with the wide discrepancy of sentiment which has gained expression. Writers of the same period, possessing access to the same evidence, have asserted,—some, that but for monasteries learning would have perished; others, that in monasteries learning has at all times had its worst enemies.

Literature was never the main object of monastic life.

At the threshold of any profitable inquiry into the question thus mooted, seems to lie the fact, that at no time and in no country was literature, in any of its forms, the main object of cloister-life. In the earlier ages, when the embers of Paganism were still smouldering, the preservation of Pagan literature would have seemed a strange employment for the confessors and missionaries of Christianity. It were as reasonable to look for an artistic appreciation of the embossing or damaskeening of his opponent's armour, on the part of a combatant, whilst in the thick of Cressy or of Agincourt. It was as a missionary that the monk began to cultivate literature. The labours of the Scriptorium originated not so much in the love of letters as in the

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love of souls. As the monk became less of a mere ascetic and aspired to become a civilizer, he necessarily began to be a collector of books, and then a transcriber or an author. But, for a long time, the books that he gathered, and those that he transcribed, were, in the main, either theological or ethical. Here and there, however, individual minds of special energy grew large enough to perceive classical beauty without relaxing their grasp of such Christian truth as they had attained to, and these became the venerated masters of numerous disciples. Whilst, on the other hand, if monastic literature, strictly to be so-called, reflects but too much of the corruption of mediæval Christianity, it remains still undeniable that from Bibles transcribed by monkish hands, and from the best of the productions of the Fathers of the Church, preserved in monkish libraries, the men who successively wrestled with that corruption, and were the instruments by which true Christianity was kept alive, drew their inspiration and their solace. And that very corruption itself, in some of its incidents, —as, for example, in the rigid ecclesiastical use of a dead language,—contributed to the preservation of ancient learning.

Even in the Benedictine Order, literature was, *but an incidental employment, not the aim and end of life.*

At almost all periods of its history the Order o St. Benedict stands foremost amongst the cultivators of *learning and of the arts.* Benedictines were the first *transcribers of not a few of the Classics; they were the earliest scientific agriculturists,* the first, and in some *respects the greatest, architects* of the modern world; in painting they were the forerunners of the great schools of Italy. Yet, whilst the rule of the Founder contains

much about visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and keeping the body in subjection, it contains very little indeed about arts or books. "Give willing attention to holy readings:" or in other words, *Carefully read, or listen to, the Bible and the Fathers*—substantially sums up the literary section of the Constitutions of St. Benedict. Nor is there much more on that subject in those of the successive Reformers of the Order.

But no monastic Order was so fortunate in the possession of a long line of men remarkable for mental vigour and force of character. If the earlier Benedictines are less conspicuous at periods of comparative enlightenment, than at periods when all around them was gloomy, they were unquestionably the first pioneers and builders-up of European civilization, and they laid its foundations broad and deep enough to resist the assaults of their own unworthy successors. They never sank so low as did most other Orders of monks; and, at a long subsequent period, in producing the illustrious Congregation of St. Maur, a service was rendered to learning which neither has, nor is likely to have, any parallel in monastic history.

Those of us who are apt to look at classical antiquity only on its poetical side;—who think with Wordsworth that in these latter days "the world is too much with us,"—and who in that mood are sometimes tempted to cry,

> .. "Great God! I'd rather be
> A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn,
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
> Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea,
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn;"— [1]

[1] Wordsworth, *Miscellaneous Sonnets*, part I, 33.

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are wont to feel disappointment when examining the remains of an old monkish library, or even when merely turning over the faded pages of its Catalogue. 'Fewer schoolmen and more classics!' is an ejaculatory wish not infrequently uttered during such employments. And there is not a little excuse for it. But if, on the other hand, we resolutely throw our minds back into the circumstances, the temptations, the necessities, and the triumphs, of those old monastic times, the wonder will rather be that classical learning should owe to monks so much as unquestionably it does. Happily we cannot now say with the same great poet, that Babylon,

Monks the preservers of classical learning and the pioneers of modern.

"Learned and wise, hath perished utterly;"

but the rest of the passage is still essentially true:

—"Memphis, Tyre, are gone
With all their Arts; but classic lore glides on,
By these Religious saved for all posterity." [1]

All that can here be done to indicate the services rendered by monks either to ancient or to modern literature, by the formation of Libraries and the diffusion of books, must be brief and fragmentary. Even such brief notices must be limited to those monastic houses which stand saliently out amidst the mass. But any retrospect of the history of conventual Libraries, however rapid, will be the less unsatisfactory, if the reader will bear in mind the broad outlines of monastic history. So much of these, at least, as relates to the germinant outbranching of each main stem into its various off-shoots will be indispensable. These rami-

[1] Id. *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, part I, 25.

fications are so numerous; the relations between the greater and lesser Orders are so complex; the epochs of the successive reforms and secessions so intertwine each other;—that it is often difficult to carry in the memory even the leading names and dates, were they sufficient. Possibly, therefore, a rude sketch of these main events of monastic annals, under the reader's eye, will be of more present service than a much better account of the matter, for which he would have to open other volumes. A mere outline is all that can here be looked for.

Such an outline will involve occasional reference to persons and events of later date than the period with which we are at present chiefly concerned. But this is one of the incidents of our subject. It must needs be broken up into broad chronological divisions. It cannot be fastidiously freed from occasional anachronisms. Libraries are happily the last places in the world in which success can be expected in the effort—now-a-days far too common—to sever what is from what has been.

It seems probable that of all the candidates for the honour of having first founded Monastic Communities, as distinguished from the hermitages of solitary anchorets, none can establish a less exceptionable claim than worthy old St. Ammon, who retired from the world, with a few disciples, in the year 323, according to some authorities, or 328, according to others. So that monastic history may be said to begin in that secluded valley of Nitria, which from being a desert came

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to be as crowded with monks as a hive with bees; and for many generations excited almost as much curiosity amongst Mahometans as amongst Christians.

Monasteries of the Nitrian desert.

The monks have dwindled away, and the few that remain are ignorant even of their own history. Nearly all the convents are ruins, and the very sites of many of them can be traced only amidst doubt and difficulty. But for the student, and especially for the student of theology, that lonely and barren valley will have an enduring charm, as the scene in early days of the self-denying vigils and labours of many pious men, and as the mine, in later times, whence the assiduous researches of Huntington, of the Assemanis, of Curzon, and of Tattam, procured rich treasures. And thus the acquisitions which fill some of the most brilliant pages in the recent annals of Western Libraries, come to be closely linked with the pursuits and incidents of the primitive monastic life of the East, fifteen hundred years ago.

The monkish institute spread rapidly through Egypt and Syria. St. Basil carried it into Pontus and Cappadocia about 363, and systematized its discipline. His rule seems to have been followed by most of the Communities, those of the Masorite and Coptic monks excepted. It flourished in the East, with increasing vigour, during several centuries, and then for a long period gradually declined.

Introduction of Monasticism into Italy.

According to many writers, St. Athanasius introduced monasticism into Italy during his second exile from Alexandria, towards the close of the fourth century. But the evidence is inconclusive. It is certain that

Rule of St. Basil.

the Basilian rule made considerable way in Europe, and

that in a sense it may be said to have been the first source of the more famous rule of St. Benedict.[1] The history of Monasticism in the West is, however, little more than a meagre and problematical list of proper names until the age of the founder of the most illustrious of all the Monastic Orders.

Rule of St. Benedict.

The Benedictine Annals date the mission of St. Maur for the dissemination of their rule in the year 543, which is also the year of St. Benedict's death. At that period Monte Cassino had been established fourteen or fifteen years, and had become the parent of many other communities. Its history has been marked by many strange vicissitudes, but it has survived them all. Its library—as we shall see hereafter—is still a fine one, although it has suffered much from plunderers of various kinds. The "Sinai of the Middle Ages," as Monte Cassino has been termed, is yet as worthy of the traveller's attention, as it was when Tasso made it the object of a pilgrimage, and is now more crowded with memories than it was in that day. Here we behold the cradle of a long line of monks who were for many generations the missionaries and the organizers of our European culture. From this citadel-like convent amidst the wild Appennines sprung the celebrated English Monasteries of Jarrow,—Wearmouth,—Bury St. Edmunds—Croyland—Glastonbury (by adoption)—Whitby,—Reading,—St. Albans,—Tewkesbury,—besides al-

[1] "Educta est Regula B. Benedicti tanquam fluvius quidam ex fonte religionis, ex Regula illa tota sæculo clarissima, omnium virtutum splendore ornatissima B. Basilii,"—Card. Torrecremata *(In Regul. S. Bened.*, as quoted by Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, i. 179).

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most all those great monastic institutions which were the foundation of our present Cathedrals. Some of them date from a period anterior to the Clugniac reform, but the majority belonged to it. Nearly all possessed Libraries, more or less famous in their day.

Reforms of the Benedictine Rule.

Of the five main reforms of the Benedictine Order,—all comprised within a period of a hundred and eighty years,—that of Berno of Clugny (near Macon in Burgundy) was the first. It commenced in 915. That of Romuald of Camaldoli may be dated from the retirement of the Saint to that *campus amabilis* in the Apennine district which he chose as a place of retreat in is 1012. The third, or Vallombrosian reform of Gualbert was thirty years later. He, too, retired to the Appennines—

Clugniacs.

> "In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
> High over-arch'd imbower,"—

but fixed the site of his monastery at a lower elevation than that of the Camaldulites. The traveller now-a-days may look in vain for the wild and sombre magnificence traditionally ascribed to Vallombrosa, especially if his visit be paid at some time of festival,—half monastic and half rustic,—such as M. Valery has well described;[1] although the more cheerful effect may be partly owing to the evident training of the waters, and to that *quincuncial* arrangement of the noble fir trees embosoming the convent which would have charmed the author of *The Garden of Cyrus*.

Carthusians.

The Carthusian reform was effected by Bruno in 1084. Its stern severity was well typified in the aspect of that Alpine solitude in which it had its chief seat,

[1] *Travels in Italy*, Book XI, Chap. 5.

and whence originated that series of Carthusian monasteries, so widely ramified and so numerous, that after all the chances and changes of seven stormy centuries, the annalists of the Order could still count one hundred and twenty-seven existing houses at the outbreak of the French Revolution.

The fifth reformed Benedictine Order dates from the retirement of Robert de Molesme to Citeaux in the diocese of Chalons in 1068. The reform begun by him, and continued by Bernard of Clairvaux,—himself the founder, it is said, of 160 monasteries,—gave birth, in its turn, to a succession of new reforms, so various in their character and tendencies, that at length the Cistercian Benedictines included, within the number of their affiliated communities, both Trappists, who shewed conclusively that self-immolation under a Christian guise may be made to crush out the soul, as well as emaciate the body; and Port Royalists, who made it plain to all the world that, even in the age of a Lewis XIV., the highest Christian graces might be displayed under the monkish garb, and the noblest intellectual aspirations be accompanied by entire submission—in things lawful—to monastic rule.

Cistercians.

The French Abbey of Fleury, the German Abbey of Mœlk, the Swiss Abbey of St. Gall, and the Flemish Abbey of St. Vaast, became respectively the heads or centres of particular Benedictine Congregations of great power and eminence; and each of them was remarkable for the splendour of its Library. The far more illustrious congregation of St. Maur was the off-shoot of that French reform which Didier began in the Abbey of St. Vanne in 1598. This Congregation itself dates from

French, Flemish, and Helvetic Congregations.

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1624. St. Gall claims for its still existing Library an antiquity of 1000 years. Mœlk is almost as old and its Library continues to be a noble one.

The Annals of Fleury mention a tax levied by the Abbot Macaire in the fourteenth century, on all the priories and dependencies of that Abbey, expressly for the furnishing of its Library with books. Much earlier than this there are instances of a library-tax levied on all the members of an individual monastery.[1] The practice spread widely, and in many houses each novice regularly contributed writing materials at the outset, and books at the close, of his novitiate, for the enrichment of the Library. In many convents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the labour of transcription proceeded so vigorously that the productions of even one Scriptorium in course of time formed no contemptible collection. In the eighteenth century a complete assemblage of the works of all the authors who adorned the single Congregation of St. Maur would have formed a Library of itself, vast in intrinsic value, and far from inconsiderable even as to its visible extent. Dom Philippe le Cerf, writing within a hundred years of the first foundation of that Congregation, enumerates 107 writers who had already helped to make it famous.[2]

Augustinian Orders.

The Augustinian Canons claim to have been founded by the illustrious Saint whose name they bear towards the close of the fourth century. But the affiliation has

[1] Mabillon, *Annales Ord. S. Bened.*, vi. 651; *Hist. litt. de la France*, ix, 140; Helyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques*, v. 94.

[2] Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Bibliothèque historique, etc.*, 497 (1726).

little more proof to back it than may be discovered in the fact that about seven hundred years afterwards we find the 109th of St. Augustine's Epistles (211th in the Edition of the Benedictines) converted into a monastic rule. Early in the 12th century this Order was introduced into England; and almost contemporaneously (1119) it underwent the great Premonstratensian Reform of St. Norbert. These Premonstratensians spread rapidly throughout Europe and into Syria and Palestine. In the middle of the fourteenth century, the whole body of Canons Regular was again reformed by Pope Benedict XII.; and, about seventy years later, the Premonstratensian branch shot out its vigorous twig, the Order of St. Dominic. Both Premonstratensians and Dominicans cultivated literature and formed libraries, although in this respect they could never vie with the Benedictines. At present, however, the Dominicans (of *Santa Maria della Minerva* at Rome) can boast the largest collection of printed books in Italy;—owing it mainly to the munificence of Cardinal Casanata.

The Abbey of St. Genevieve was one of the most famous houses of the Augustinians in France. It became the head of a Reformed Congregation, which, at the end of the 17th century, numbered sixty-seven abbies and twenty-eight priories within its dependence. It early laid the foundation of that Library which ultimately, by the bequest of Archbishop Le Tellier, became one of the finest of the Parisian collections. That of the Abbey of St. Victor, however, was both earlier and more valuable, though destined to a less happy fortune, as we shall see hereafter. It need scarcely be said

that in England the Augustinian and the Dominican communities were both numerous and eminent. But their libraries were usually of no great note.

The Servites, the Trinitarians or Mathurins, the Order of Our Lady of Mercy, and the great Military Orders,—the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and the Knights Templars,—are also off-shoots of the Augustinian stem; and all of them date either from the twelfth or from the thirteenth century.

Franciscans.

During the twelfth century the old monastic communities had made very visible the sad consequences of too much prosperity within, combined with too little control from without. The beginning of the thirteenth witnessed a great effort to infuse new blood into the monkish system by giving to the "vow of poverty" a wider meaning than it had ever contained before. That system had now to try its strength in a changed world, and to try it in conflicts both with evil and with good. In the three centuries which followed, the mendicant orders were destined to show something of the best, and much of the worst, which monkery could do. And, as if to supply a new gloss on Roman "perpetuity," this monastic revolution was to be effected almost immediately after the decree of the Lateran council against "new orders."

In framing the rule of the Preaching Friars, St. Dominic borrowed much, whilst departing freely, from that of the reformed Augustinians. The founder of the great Franciscan Order aimed more at originality, and was less careful, perhaps, to save appearances. The

Franciscans, at all events, may be said to have struck a root, and a deep one, of their own. They had to weather many storms. Sometimes they had at once to fight battles without, and to calm strifes within. During the first thirty years after their founder's death, five generals of the Order succeeded each other in the command; most of them being the avowed antagonists of their respective predecessors.

The Franciscan community comprised three "Orders" (in the restricted sense of the term), all of which were established before the founder's death. The second Order was composed exclusively of nuns. The third, or "Order of Penitence," was originally limited to secular persons.

The first or main Order branched off eventually into Observantines (1374); Reformed or Barefooted Friars (1476?); Recollets, or "Friars of the Strict Observance"[1] (1525); and Capuchins (1625). The Observantines threw out subsequently, by a new "reform," the Cordeliers. In the fifteenth century, St. Francis de Paule refined upon St. Francis of Assisi by founding those Hermits of St. Francis, or "Minims," whose life was to be a perpetual Lent. These friars date from 1435, although they did not receive the definitive approval of the Papal See until 1473. Taking these various communities in their aggregate, they are said (by Helyot) to have numbered at the end of the 17th century, after

[1] The "Strict Observance" dates in Italy from 1525, but was not introduced into Spain until 1584, nor into France until 1594. "Capuchins" are mentioned by Spanish writers at the end of the fifteenth century, but they merged into "Barefooted Friars."

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all the losses entailed on them by the Reformation, nearly eight thousand houses, and upwards of 143,000 "religious." A literary lustre is thrown over the Order by the British names of Duns Scotus, of Hales, of Greathead, and of Roger Bacon, as well as by a crowd of foreign names of equal celebrity. And many of their libraries, as will be seen hereafter, have won merited fame.

Carmelites.

The Carmelites boast a very high antiquity. The more modest of them, indeed, are content to ascend no higher than to the prophet Elijah who "dwelt alone in the midst of Carmel;" but the more archæological trace themselves from Enoch. Unfortunately, there is no mention of Carmelites in the Ark. They may, perhaps, claim the benefit of the supposition started in behalf of a very ancient Scottish family under a similar difficulty.

The less ostentatious affiliation of this order to Elijah has in its favour whatever presumption may arise from a decree of the Papal "Congregation of Rites," towards the end of the seventeenth century. The Carmelites had been greatly scandalised by observing in a Basilian convent a picture of the prophet in which he was *not* represented in the Carmelite habit (originally a striped mantle of white and red, but afterwards a white mantle over a brown tunic and scapulary), and they instituted proceedings against the offending community. The cause remained in litigation during ten years, and was at length decided by a compromise. It was decreed that

[1] Helyot, *ut supra*, i. 308, 309.

Elijah should wear a new dress, not exactly that of the Carmelites, but yet akin to it. These Carmelites, or "White Friars" came into England about 1240. The most noticeable of their libraries was at Oxford.

This meagre summary comprises all the Monastic Orders which are importantly connected with the LIBRARIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES. The Jesuits founded or gathered many fine collections. The Oratorians (as well as some minor Societies) possessed some such, although of less mark; but both communities belong to modern, not to mediæval Europe.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINES.

For ever hallowed be this morning fair,
Blest be the unconscious shore on which ye tread,
And blest the silver cross, which ye, instead
Of martial banner, in procession bear;
The cross preceding Him who floats in air,
The pictured Saviour!—By Augustin led,
They come,—and onward travel without dread,
Chanting in barbarous ears a tuneful prayer—
Sung for themselves, and those whom they would free!
Rich conquest waits them:—the tempestuous sea
Of Ignorance, that ran so rough and high,
And heeded not the voice of clashing swords,
These good men humble by a few bare words,
And calm with fear of God's divinity."—

WORDSWORTH, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, part I, xiv.

Mission of Augustine, A.D. 596.

IF we accept the authority of the Canterbury Chartulary, preserved in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Pope Gregory the Great must be regarded as the founder of the first English library, in virtue of those nine precious volumes which Augustine is said to have brought with him on his mission: viz. 1, The Holy Bible, in two volumes; 2, the Psalter; 3, the Gospels; 4, another Psalter; 5, another copy of the Gospels; 6, the [Apocryphal] Lives of the Apostles; 7, the Lives of the Martyrs; 8, an exposition of the Gospels and Epistles. *Hæ sunt primitiæ librorum totius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, says the "Canterbury Book."[1]

[1] This MS. is said by Mr. Hunter to have been written between 1430 and 1450. It was given with other MSS. to Trinity Hall by Robert Hare,

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Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury.

The first addition to this beginning which can now be traced, was made by Theodore of Tarsus, who came from Rome to Canterbury in the year 668, bringing with him what some of the annalists of Canterbury have ventured to call "an extensive library," considerable remains of which, according to Lambarde, were visible in Archbishop Parker's time:—"The Reverend Father Mathew, now Archbishop of Canterbury (whose care for the conservation of monuments can never be sufficiently commended), shewed me, not long since, the Psalter of David, and sundry Homilies in Greek, Homer also and some other Greek authors, beautifully written on thick paper with the name of this Theodore prefixed in the front, to whose library he reasonably thought (being thereto led by shew of great antiquity) that they sometime belonged."[1] Archbishop Ælfric gave large encouragement to the transcription of books; but bequeathed (A.D. 1006) his own collection to the Abbey of St. Albans. Five years after Ælfric's death came the terrible sack of Canterbury by the Danes. Towards the end of this century Lanfranc restored the Library, and Anselm followed in his footsteps; as did Archbishop Walter at the beginning of the thirteenth century. "He gave," says Dugdale, "the Church of Halgast to find books for the Library."[2] Before the century closed, the then Prior of Christchurch, Henry

in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, on condition that if the Monastery should ever be restored, the books should return to it. Cf. Soames, *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, 45, *et seq.*; and *General Report of the Commissioners of the Public Records* (1837), e. 337.

[1] *Perambulation of Kent* (1576), 233.

[2] *Monasticon* (Edit. of 1847), i. 85.

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Eastry or De Estria, was able to enumerate nearly three thousand titles in that curious catalogue of the collection which forms part of the Cotton MS. (Galba, E. iv), entitled, *Memoriale Henrici Prioris Monasterii Christi Cantuariæ.*

I print this catalogue at length (by way of specimen of a Monastic Library in the "Dark Ages",) in an Appendix, but a word or two of remark on its contents will here, perhaps, not be out of place.

As respects the wealth of this collection in Theology, and in Patristic and Scholastic lore more especially, not a word need be said. But having regard to its date and to local circumstances, it may fairly be characterized as respectable in Science and rich in History; whilst of classic authors a long array will be found. Amongst them: Aristotle, Cicero, Lucan, Plato, Suetonius, Seneca, Terence, and Virgil. Cicero and Seneca especially appear to be in high esteem, both from the number of works, and from the number of copies of the same work; some of them, perhaps (like the duplicate devotional books on page 133 of the MS.), provided for the free use of the monks in their cells, just as Bibles were provided for the special service of the Infirmary.

Monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury

Of the Library of Saint Augustine's Monastery at Canterbury, a very valuable catalogue is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin (D. i. 19); with which, however, I am only acquainted through the account Sir F. Madden has given of it from notes taken in 1835.[1] Sir Frederick assigns the close of the fifteenth century as

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, i. 485—486.

its probable date. The arrangement is in classes, but there is neither title nor heading.

In History the collection is rich. Some of the more noticeable works in this section are thus described:—

De morte Simonis de Montis fortis. *(sic)*
Evangelium Justiciariorum Angliæ, de conflictu Normannorum et Anglicorum.
Sequencia Sancti Eulogii de Normannis secundum barones portuum.
Planctus Ecclesie de libertate sesa *(sic)* et perturbacione cleri.
Anglia plangens sua fata.
De laude Regis Anglie et victoria Scocie, et ingressa in Flandriam.
Laus Francorum.
Passio Francorum, secundum Flandrenses; &c.
Liber GYLDE sapientis historiagraphi Britonum, cum A.; 2fo. *in prohemio Gabaonitarum.*
Compilacio GILDE sapientis de gestis Britonum; *in quaterno,* cum B. 2° fo. *mulieribus.*
Gesta Cnutonis Regis.
Gesta Alexandri Magni. *[Six copies.]*
Cronica Albin.
Cronica intitulata Johannis Bevere.
Cronica T. SPROT. *[Four copies.]*
Cronica Cestrensis. *[Three copies.]*
Narracio PETRI ALFUNSI. *[Four copies.]*
WILH. MALMSBURIENSIS Gesta Regum Anglorum. *[Four copies.]*

The works of the Romance writers are also numerous; and, as usual, all of them are in French:—*e. g.*

Historia Britonum, in gallico; *et in eodem libro,* Narracio de quodam Milite et uxore sua; Amicus et Amelius.
Historia de iiij sororibus; Gesta Guidonis de Warewyk, in Gallico, &c.
Gesta Guidonis de Warewik, in Gallico; *et in eodem libro.* Gesta Guidonis de Burgundia, in patria lingua.
Gesta Guydonis de Warwik, in gallico; *et in eodem libro,* Gesta cujusdem militis qui vocatur Ypomedone, et vita diversorum militum ad pedum [sic].
Liber fratis Antonii de Alta Ripa (HAUTERIVE) in gallico, qui dicitur, Aquilant. *[Three copies.]*
Dicta Septem Sapientum in gallico, *et in eodem libro* Gesta Guydonis de Warwyk, &c.
Liber de Milite de Signo *(sic)* in Gallico.
Katir Fitz Edmound [Quatre Fitz Aymon] in Gallico. 2° fo. *ore.*

Liber de Launcelot, in Gallico.
Liber qui vocatur Graal, in Gallico.
Romaunz de Percival le Galois.
Liber de Guillaume le March (Guillaume d'Orange), in Gallico.
Liber del roy Hertus (Artus), in Gallico. [1]

St. Mary's Monastery at York.

In the eighth century, the fame of Canterbury, as a school of learning, seems to have been somewhat eclipsed by the growing celebrity of York. Archbishop Egbert had founded a library immediately on his return from Rome and elevation to the Archiepiscopal dignity; and it was amidst that "infinite number of excellent books"[2] that Alcuin learnt the use of his noble gifts, and acquired his life-long devotion to literature. It was to York that he looked back so fondly when suffering from the comparative penury of books in the cloisters of St. Martin at Tours; and in his poetical catalogue of its treasures he does not forget to sound the praises of the beloved master who had gathered them:—

"Tradidit ast alio caras super omnia gazas
Librorum nato, Patri qui semper adhæsit,
Doctrinæ sitiens haurire fluenta suëtus:
Cujus si curas proprium cognoscere nomen,
Fronte sua statim præsentia carmina prodent,
His divisit opes diversis sortibus; illi
Ecclesiæ regimen, thesauros, rura, talenta:
Huic sophiæ specimen, studium, sedemque, librosque,
Undique quos clarus collegerat ante *Magister*,
Egregias condens uno sub culmine gazas.
Illic invenies veterum vestigia Patrum,
Quidquid habet pro se *Latio Romanus* in orbe,
Græcia vel quidquid transmisit clara *Latinis:*

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Such is the expression of Godwin, *De præsulibus, &c.* § Egbert.

Hebraïcus vel quod populus bibit imbre superno,
Africa lucifluo vel quidquid lumine sparsit.
Quod Pater *Hieronymus*, quod sensit *Hilarius*, atque
Ambrosius Præsul, simul *Augustinus*, et ipse
Sanctus *Athanasius*, quod *Orosius* edit avitus:
Quidquid *Gregorius* summus docet, et *Leo* Papa;
Basilius quidquid, *Fulgentius* atque coruscant,
Cassiodorus item, *Chrysostomus* atque *Johannes*,
Quidquid et *Althelmus* docuit, quid *Beda Magister*,
Quæ *Victorinus* scripsere, *Boëtius*; atque
Historici veteres, *Pompeius*, *Plinius*, ipse
Acer *Aristoteles*, Rhetor quoque *Tullius* ingens.
Quid quoque *Sedulius*, vel quid canit ipse *Juvencus*.
Alcuinus et *Clemens*, *Prosper*, *Paulinus*, *Arator*,
Quid *Fortunatus*, vel quid *Lactantius* edunt.
Quæ *Maro Virgilius*, *Statius*, *Lucanus*, et Auctor
Artis grammaticæ, vel quid scripsere Magistri
Quid *Probus* atque *Focas*, *Donatus*, *Priscianusve*,
Servius, *Eutichius*, *Pompeius*, *Comminianus*.
Invenies alios per plures, lector, ibidem
Egregios studiis, arte et sermone Magistros,
Plurima qui claro scripsere volumina sensu:
Nomina sed quorum præsenti in carmine scribi
Longius est visum, quam plectri postulet usus." [1]

Well might Alcuin, in the early days of his residence at Tours, remembering these companions of his youth, urge Charlemagne to permit him "to send into Britain to procure those books which we so much need; thus transplanting into France the flowers of Britain, that the garden of Paradise may not be confined to York, but may send some of its scions to Tours; and that we too may say, in the words of Holy Scripture, *Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruit.*" [2]

[1] Alcuini *De Pontificibus et Sanctis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis poema*. Ex MSS. Codd. Remensi et Sancti Theoderici prope Remos; apud Gale, *Historiæ Britannicæ .... Scriptores* XV, iii. 730.

[2] Alcuini *Epistola*, as quoted by Wm. of Malmesbury: "Date mihi exquisitiores scholasticæ libellos, quales in patria habui per bonam .... Magistri mei Egberti industriam. Et, si placet sapientiæ vestræ, remittam

It has been said that the manuscripts which Alcuin procured from England, were the means of forming a special school of transcribers and illuminators at Aix-la-Chapelle, which for many generations preserved the traditionary style of the Anglo-Saxon artists.

Monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow.

The early history of the Library of the Benedictine Monastery of Wearmouth lies in the biography of Bennet Biscop, its first Abbot. Beda tells us that he made five journeys to Rome, and that he brought back with him no inconsiderable number of books, in all branches of sacred literature; many of which he had received as gifts; the others he had bought. After his return (about 672) from his fourth journey he founded two monasteries,—those of Wearmouth and Jarrow,—or, as Simeon of Durham records it, to show how closely they were united, one monastery on two sites *(pro uno in duobus locis posito haberentur monasterio)*. He then made yet another journey into Italy, whence he returned with a new supply of "spiritual merchandize," more abundant than before. He brought also, adds Beda, paintings of sacred subjects for the adornment of the Church, to the intent that all comers, however ignorant of letters, might contemplate the ever gracious countenance of Christ and of his Saints, if only as through a veil, darkly. The founder died in 690—his death being probably accelerated by the fatigues of his

aliquos ex pueris nostris, qui excipiant inde quæque necessaria, et revehant in Franciam flores Britanniæ, et non sit tantum modo in Eboraca portus conclusus, sed etiam in Turonica emissiones Paradisi." Then follows the quotation (*Opera*, i. 52).

frequent journeys amidst many hardships—and on his death-bed he gave repeated injunctions for the strict preservation of that "most noble and rich library which he had brought from Rome" with so much care and pains. *(Bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque advexerat, ad instructionem ecclesiæ necessariam sollicite servari integram, nec per incuriam fœdari, aut passim dissipari, præcepit.)*[1] One of these precious volumes, however, Ceolfrid, his disciple and successor in the Abbacy, was prevailed on to relinquish at the earnest entreaty of King Alfred of Northumberland, who is said to have granted to the monastery eight hides (according to the glossarists at least 800 acres) of land in exchange for it. Ceolfrid, although he yielded this long-coveted volume to his King, largely added to the store, like a faithful disciple. By his zeal, the libraries, we are told, were almost doubled in extent. Perhaps the noblest result of Biscop's foresight and of his successor's perseverance is to be looked for in the studies and labours of their biographer Beda, who was born in the very year (674) from which the foundation of Wearmouth monastery is usually dated, and was the pupil of its founder; whilst in the neighbouring convent most of his life was passed. When we read the pious and vigorous pages which are among the best legacies of that age, we unconsciously profit by those earlier books, so laboriously obtained, and so religiously preserved, until the ravages

[1] Bedæ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, lib. iv. c. 18 *(Engl. Hist. Soc.* p. 388. § 205); *Vita beatorum Abbatum Benedicti*, etc. (*E, H. S.* 49, *et seq.*) Simeon Dunelm. apud Twysd. *Scriptores decem*, c. 4. Dodsworth and Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i. 501—503.

of the Danes devastated the whole country-side. Without going quite so far as old William of Malmesbury ventures, when he says that in Beda's grave all care for antiquity was buried for four centuries, every succeeding monk being lazier than his predecessor,[1] it must yet be acknowledged that it is hard, even in a much longer space of time, to find a name—monastic or other—that is the peer of Beda's.

Wearmouth repeatedly suffered from the incursions of the Danes, and about the year 867 was completely or almost completely destroyed; as was Jarrow in 973. Both houses became cells to the great Monastery of Durham, and so continued until the dissolution.[2]

Monastery of Whitby.

When Oswy, King of Northumberland, founded the convent first called "Streoneshalh," and afterwards Whitby (AD. 656), he is said to have chosen the Lady Hilda for its first Abbess, from the fame of her holy life as a nun at Hartlepool. The interminable controversy about the celebration of Easter led, according to the monkish historians, to the introduction of Benedictine monks into Streoneshalh; they being the firm adherents of the Roman doctrine, to which the Lady Abbess—"the best scholar of her age," some of her admirers have called her,—was as firmly opposed. That to the best of her power she promoted learning, friends and foes are agreed. Cædmon was a monk of Streone-

[1] "Sepulta est cum eo gestorum omnis pene notitia usque ad nostra tempora .... Ita cum semper pigro succederet pigrior, multo tempore in tota insula studiorum detepuit fervor." *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, lib. i. § 62 *(E. H. S. i.* 91.)

[2] *Monasticon, ubi supra.*

shalh. Like the other monasteries of that stormy age it suffered all kinds of barbarity and outrage during several generations. The horrible story of the nuns of Coldingham is but an example of atrocities which were common in the ninth and tenth centuries. Many monasteries were utterly destroyed. Streoneshalh left scarcely a trace of what it had been.

It was by the zeal of the monks of Evesham in Worcestershire, and by the liberality of William de Percy, one of the companions of the Conqueror, that Whitby Abbey was restored. The restablished community made quick progress, and became very wealthy.[1] Of its library there is a catalogue which appears to have been compiled about the year 1180, and of which the following is an abstract, so far as respects its principal contents:—

I. THEOLOGY.

AMBROSE (*Bishop of Milan*), On the six days' work of Creation.
—— On his brother's death.
BASIL (*Bishop of Cæsarea*), Homilies.
BEDA, On the Proverbs.
—— On the Gospels of St. Mark and of St. Luke.
—— On the Acts and Canonical Epistles.
BERNARD [of Clairvaux], Sermons, &c.
CASSIAN, Rule.
CÆSARIUS (*Bishop of Arles*), Homilies.
EPHRÆM (*the Syrian*), Discourses to Monks.
EUSEBIUS (*Bishop of Emesa*), Homilies.
GRATIAN, On the Decretals.
GREGORY *'the Great'* (*Pope*), On the strife of vices and virtues.
—— Sermons.
HUGH OF ST. VICTOR, Sacraments.
IVO (*Bishop of Chartres*), Pannormia (a Collection of Canons).
ISIDORE, On the Old Testament.
—— On the Supreme Good.
JULIAN [Pomerius?], Prognosticon.

[1] The charters and deeds of gift to Whitby fill the greater part of Charlton's History (York, 1779, 4°.).

JULIAN, Book of Paradise.
ODO (*Abbot of Clugni*), The book of Odo?
ORIGEN, On the Old Testament.
PETER LOMBARD, On three of the Epistles of St. Paul.
PROSPER (*of Aquitaine*), On active and contemplative life.
RABAN MAURUS (*Archbishop of Mentz*), On the Maccabees?
—— On the Gospel of St. Matthew.
—— On the Gospel of St. John.
RUFINUS, Homilies?
SIMON, The book of Simon? (Liber Simonis.)
—— Exodus Glosulatus.
Diadema Monachorum.
Glosæ Psalteria in ii locis.
Glosæ super Cantica Canticorum.
Glosæ super Epistolas Pauli in ii locis.
Imago mundi.
Liber Annotationum.
Liber de Archa Noe.
Liber de ecclesiasticis institutis.
Liber consuetudinum.
Micrologus de Missarum officiis.

II. HISTORY, ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL.

Decreta Pontificum. (A forgery of the 9th century.)
De situ Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ.
Gildas.
Josephus.
Liber Mamnonis?
Liber Theophili et aliorum Sanctorum.
Miracula Sanctæ Mariæ.
Miracula Sancti Andreæ Apostoli.
Passio Sanctæ Katarinæ Virginis.
Passionale Mensis Novembris.
—— —— Januarii.
Vita Sancti Cuthberti.
Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ.
Vita Sancti Madonii.
Vita Sancti Brendani.
Vita Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ.
Vitæ Sancti Benigni.
Vita Sancti Firmini.
Vita Sanctæ Fidis.
Vita Sanctæ Mariæ Egyptiacæ, *in versibus.*

III. Classical Literature, and Works of Miscellaneous Writers, anterior to the seventh Century.

Arator.
Avienus.
Boethius, De Consolatione.
Cicero, De Amicitia.
—— De Senectute.
Donatus.
Homer.
Juvenal ('Liber Juvenalis').
Isidore, 'Etimologicon,' or Origines.'
Persius.
Plato ('Liber Platonis').
Persicanus.
Prudentius.
Sedulius.
Statius.
(Virgil?) Bucolica.[1]

Without vouching for the Abbacy of St. Joseph of Arimathea, or even for the veritable contents of the tomb of King Arthur, we may fairly regard the noble monastery of Glastonbury as the first and in many respects the greatest, of the monastic foundations of, Britain. But there are no such traces of its early possession of books as would give it any claim to literary precedence over the monasteries of Canterbury or of York. The earliest mention even of an Evangeliary is, I suppose, that by William of Malmesbury when enumerating the plate, jewels, and precious ornaments of the community.[2] John of Taunton, who was abbot from 1274 to 1290, appears to have

Monastery of Glastonbury.

[1] Young, *History of Whitby and Streoneshald Abbey* (1817). pp. 918—920.

[2] Gul. Malmsb., *De antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*, apud Gale, *Scriptores XV.* pp. 291 *et seq.*

been a considerable benefactor to the Library; but we see from the list, compiled in 1248 (which Hearne has printed in the Appendix to the Chronicle of John of Glastonbury), that it was already a considerable collection, thirty years before the rule of this Abbot began.

The Catalogue commences with no less than seven Bibles and Bible-histories, exclusive of Evangeliaries and detached books of Holy Scripture. Then follows a large collection of the Fathers and of the mediæval controversialists. Of the chronicles and the fanciful literature of the Middle Ages there is of course an abundant store. Amongst the ancient classics we find Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Livy, Sallust, and Claudian. The later Latin writers are very numerous.

In the gift of Abbot John, Biblical exposition fills a very large place, and there are several of those curious works of rudimentary physics which are characteristic of the age. In another list of works, transcribed by command of a later Abbot, we have Pliny's 'Natural history,' Isidore's 'Etymologicon,' a large addition to the Patristic section of the library; and some books of mediæval legendary or romantic history—*Gesta Britonum, Gesta Anglorum, Gesta Francorum*; and the like. There are evidences also of increased beauty of illustration and splendour of binding.

John of Glastonbury records many other gifts which tend to show that for a long period the love of learning did not wax cold in this great community. We can, therefore, the better appreciate the unusual fervour with which John Leland records his emotions of surprise and

admiration on visiting this Library and exploring its treasures, by permission of that unfortunate successor of the long line of mitred abbots, Richard Whiting—*Homo sane candidissimus et amicus meus singularis*—as our antiquary calls him, not then foreseeing that a great change in Whiting's fortunes (there is no evidence of any change of character) would ere long prompt him, for his own safety, to draw his pen through the eulogy.

Scarcely had he crossed the threshold of the Library, he tells us, when the sight of so many sacred remains of antiquity arrested his footsteps, as if by a magical spell. Such a spectacle, he thought, could scarcely be seen elsewhere in Britain.[1]

Of all the glories of Glastonbury there have been for many ages but few and mean vestiges. Eight generations have passed since Drayton,[2] addressing "the ancient isle of Avalon," lamented that "sad waste:"—

> O three times famous isle, where is that place that might
> Be with thyself compar'd for glory and delight,

[1] The passage as it is printed in the Commentaries, *de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Hall's Edit., i. 41), runs thus:—..."Eram aliquot abhinc annis Glessoburgi Somurotrigum, ubi antiquissimum simul et famosissimum est totius insulæ nostræ cœnobium, animumque longo studiorum labore fessum, favente Richardo Whitingo ejusdem loci Abbate, recreabam; donec novus quidam cum legendi tum discendi ardor me inflammaret. Supervenit autem ardor ille citius opinione, itaque statim me contuli ad bibliothecam, non omnibus perviam, ut sacrosanctæ vetustatis reliquias, quarum tantus ibi numerus, quantus nullo alio facile Britanniæ loco, diligentissime evolverem. Vix certe limen intraveram, cum antiquissimorum librorum vel solus conspectus religionem, nescio an stuporem, animo incuteret meo; eaque de causa pedem paululum sistebam," &c. The deleted passage respecting Whiting I take from the MS. Bodl. Arch. A. as quoted in the *Monasticon*, i. 9.

[2] *Poly-olbion*, The third song.

Whilst Glastonbury stood, exalted to that pride,
Whose Monastery seem'd all others to deride?
O, who thy ruin sees, whom wonder doth not fill
With our great fathers' pomp, devotion, and their skill?
Thou more than mortal power (this judgment rightly weigh'd),
Then present to assist, at that foundation lay'd;
On whom, for this sad waste, should justice lay the crime?
Is there a power in fate, or doth it yield to time,
Or was their error such, that thou could not protect
Those buildings which thy hand did with their zeal erect?
To whom didst thou commit that monument to keep,
That suffereth with the dead their memory to sleep?
When not Great Arthur's tomb, nor Holy Joseph's grave,
From sacrilege had power their sacred bones to save,
He who that God-in-man to his sepulchre brought,
Or he which for the faith twelve famous battles fought.
What! did so many kings do honour to that place
For avarice, at last, so vilely to deface?
For reverence to that seat which had ascribed been,
Trees yet in winter bloom and bear their summers' green.

Library of Croyland. (f. 8th cent.)

Of the Library of the great Monastery at Croyland we have many particulars in the Chronicle of Ingulph, —a writer so popular, that in addition to his intentional readers he has had not a few unconscious ones. Archæologists, encyclopedists, and epitomizers of all kinds, have laid Ingulph freely under contribution,—not always remembering to mention his name. But of late that all-questioning criticism which is one of the salient characteristics of our time has much weakened the authority of this old Chronicler, although thus far, it would seem, without greatly diminishing his currency. Yet, whosoever may have been the true author of the Croyland Annals, it can hardly be matter of question that they embody much authentic history. A great deal more may be said for the main narrative than for the charters which accompany it.

Ethelbald is recorded to have founded Croyland early in the eighth century. For several generations it had as tempestuous a life as any monastery in England. Egelric, the second Abbot of his name, appears to have been the first considerable giver of books towards a library. About the year 990 he is chronicled to have presented forty "integral" volumes *(Volumina originalia)* of various learned authors, and more than a hundred lesser volumes, containing various tracts and compilations. Within another century the library had so increased that it numbered of integral volumes more than 300, and of tracts and minor pieces more than 400; all of which perished in the disastrous fire of 1091. *(Tota quoque bibliotheca nostra periit quæ amplius quam CCC volumina originalia continebat, præter minora volumina quæ amplius erant quam CCCC.)*[1] "In our charter room," adds Ingulph, ... "we found that although the boxes appeared to be safe and uninjured, yet all the muniments contained in them had been shrivelled up and burnt to ashes by the excessive heat. The privileges conferred by the Mercian Kings, with their gilded pictures, ... were all burnt, ... in one black night."

Much energy was shown in the second restoration of the noble edifice of Croyland, but it does not seem to have extended to the library. On this head but little is recorded. When Leland made his peregrination amidst the monastic ruins, he noted but these six books:— Rogerus Dymmoc *adversus Wyclefium;* Waleys *super Psalterium;* Robertus Trembley *super Cantica Canticorum;*

[1] Ingulphus, apud Gale, *ut supra*, i. 53, *et seq.*

BOOK II. Chapter II. Libraries of the English Benedictines.

Fulcherii *Historia;* Turpini *Historia; Historia de Ricardo Rege carmina scripta.*

Monastery of Peterborough.

Of Peterborough there is yet extant one of the largest and best of the Monastic Catalogues which have survived. The history of this abbey has many points of resemblance with that of Croyland. It suffered as severely from the ravages of the Danes; but when those times were past its fortunes were more prosperous. During the tenth and eleventh centuries many gifts of precious books are chronicled. In the twelfth, we have a list of nearly eighty works transcribed for the Library by order of Abbot Benedict, formerly Prior of Canterbury, and Secretary to Thomas à Becket. It reads thus:—

Vetus et Novum Testamentum, *in uno volumine.*
—— —— —— *in quatuor voluminibus.*
Quinque libri Moysi glosati, *in uno vol.*
Sexdecim Prophetæ glosati, *in uno vol.*
Duodecim minores glosati Prophetæ *in uno volumine.*
Liber Regum glosatus.
Paralipomenon glosatus.
Job, Parabolæ Salomonis, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum glosati.
Liber Ecclesiasticus et Liber Sapientiæ glosati, *in uno vol.*
Tobyas, Judith, Ester et Estras glosati, *in uno vol.*
Liber Judicum glosatus.
Scholastica hystoria.
Psalterium glosatum.
Item non glosatum.
Item Psalterium.
Quatuor Evangelia glosata, *in uno vol.*
Item Mattheus et Marcus, *in uno vol.*
Johannes et Lucas, *in uno vol.*
Epistolæ Pauli glosatæ, Apocalypsis, et Epistolæ Canonicæ glosatæ, *in uno vol.*
Sententiæ Petri Lombardi. *[Two copies.]*
Sermones Bernardi Abbatis Clarevallensis.
Decreta Gratiani. *[Two copies.]*

Summa Ruffini de Decretis.
Summa Johannis Fuguntini de Decretis.
Decretales Epistolæ. *[Two copies.]*
Item Decretales Epistolæ *cum summa, sic incipiente: Olim.*
Institutiones Justiniani, &c.
Summa Placentini.
Totum Corpus Juris, *in duobus voluminibus.*
Arismetica. *(Sic.)*
Epistolæ Senecæ *cum aliis Senecis, in uno vol.*
Martialis totus et Terentius, *in uno vol.*
Morale dogma philosophorum.
Gesta Alexandri et Liber Claudii et Claudiani.
Summa Petri Heylæ de Grammatica, *cum multis aliis rebus, in uno vol.*
Gesta Regis Henrici II et Genealogiæ ejus.
Interpretationes Hebraicorum nominum.
Libellus de incarnatione verbi.
Liber Bernardi Abbatis ad Eugenium Papam.
Missale.
Vitæ Sancti Thomæ Martyris.
Miracula ejusdem, *in quinque voluminibus.*
Liber Richardi Plutonis, *qui dicitur unde malum.*
Meditationes Anselmi.
Practica Bartholomæi *cum multis aliis rebus, in uno vol.*
Ars physicæ Pantigni et practica ipsius, *in uno vol.*
Almazar et Dioscoridis de virtutibus herbarum.
Liber Dinamidiorum et aliorum multorum, *in uno vol.*
Libellus de Compoto.

The Catalogue printed by Gunton[1] is undated, but may be conjectured to be of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. It commences: *Matricularium Librariæ Monasterii Burgi Sancti Petri paucis libris non examinatis.* It is not arranged under classes, but apparently follows the position of the books on their shelves. As is usual in Monastic Catalogues, a very large majority of the volumes contain several distinct works, and these are bound up with little or no regard to the subjects of which they treat. The

[1] *History of the Church of Peterborough* (London, 1686. fol.). It has been recently reprinted in the *Serapeum*.

number of these separate works is 1695, which appear to have been bound in 344 volumes. The collection is strong in ecclesiastical history. The number of books and tracts in verse is unusually large, and of these a considerable proportion is in French or in cognate dialects. The chief classic authors that occur are: Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, Statius, Persius, Ovid, Sallust, and Dares Phrygius. The number of entries under Ovid is much larger than that under any other classic author; and there are other indications that the subjects of which Ovid was more especially a master were by no means tabooed in the studies of Peterborough.

Monastery of Durham.

To the bibliographical zeal for which Mr. Botfield is so eminently distinguished, we owe the publication of the very interesting series of catalogues of the great Monastery of Durham, which forms one of the Surtees volumes. Like too many valuable publications similarly issued, this volume is less known than it deserves to be,—a circumstance which might probably be thought to justify some amplitude of quotation, notwithstanding its recent date, were space here available.

In its first rudiments this Library is coeval with the community to which it belonged. When the monks who had originally been seated at Lindisfarne were forced for the second time to seek a new home, they brought with them some choice books, and a love of such which was to prove especially characteristic of this fraternity.

The Catalogues which Mr. Botfield has collected may be thus enumerated: 1, A catalogue of the general collection of the Community, undated; 2, A catalogue in two parts of the books contained in the 'Spendimentum,' or Chancery, in the year 1391; 3, A catalogue of the general collection of the Community *(in Communi armariolo Dunelmensi, in diversis locis infra claustrum)* in 1395; 4, Lists of books sent, on two several occasions, to Durham College, Oxford, in or about the year 1409; 5, A list of books purchased in replacement of those thus drafted off; 6, A list of books used in the Refectory during the hour of dinner; 7, A catalogue of the books in the Chancery, as they were in 1416. These are the principal documents, but appended to them are notices of various legacies of books made to the Community at different periods, between the year 1093 and the dissolution.

As usual, Patristic literature is a prominent feature of the Durham Library. Of the Greek Fathers (although none appear save in their Latin versions) there is a more than ordinary number. Of the Holy Scriptures, in the Vulgate, there are several entire copies, and a multitude of portions and of separate books. Amongst the ecclesiastical historians are Eusebius and Beda—(several copies of each are entered)—and even a larger array than usual of the monkish chroniclers and of the legendary biographers of the Saints. Of canon law, and of the casuistical divinity of the Schoolmen, there is more than enough to occupy the brains of all the "Seraphic," "Irrefragable," "Most

Profound," and "Most Subtle" Doctors that have ever lived.

The chief Classics to be found in the Durham catalogues are the metaphysical and ethical works of Aristotle; the rhetorical treatises and orations of Cicero; the Institutes and Declamations of Quintilian; the historical works of Valerius Maximus, Quintus Curtius, Sallust, Eutropius, and Suetonius; and, of the poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Terence, Juvenal, Claudian, Lucan, and Statius. Under "Oratius" there are three entries; under "Juvenalis" four; under "Virgilius" nine; under "Ovidius" and "Ovidus Magnus" twelve.

Of the versifiers of the middle ages there was a large collection, but not one metrical *romance* occurs in the early catalogues. Two such are mentioned in Rudd's Catalogue of 1727 (printed by the Dean and Chapter, a century later), both of which have been preserved in the Cathedral Library, where may also be seen that precious Evangeliary, believed to have been transcribed by the hand of Beda, and thus entered in the Catalogue of 1391: "D. Quatuor Evangelia, de manu Bedæ. ii. fol., '*Baptizatus.*'" The priceless "Gospels of St. Cuthbert"—one of the volumes brought from Lindisfarne, amidst the perils so quaintly recounted by Simeon of Durham—has long been preeminent among the show-books of the British Museum.

Many other Benedictine Monasteries of England possessed noticeable libraries of which no mention has

yet been made. Indeed, there is scarcely any recorded Community of that Order without some claim to attention, at one period or other of its history, for its love and care of books. But enough has probably been said for the illustration of this section of a subject, which is far too wide to be treated in the present work otherwise than by mere examples.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERY OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

I here print, from the original MS. in the Cottonian collection *(Galba, E, iv.)*, one of the most extensive and interesting of the extant Catalogues of Monastic Libraries. Its date (as has been mentioned in the preceding chapter) is the end of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth, century.

TITULI LIBRORUM DE LIBRARIA ECCLESIÆ CHRISTI CANT., ET CONTENTA IN EISDEM LIBRIS, TEMPORE H[ENRICI DE ESTRIA] PRIORIS.

PRIMA DEMONSTRACIO.

DISTINCTIO PRIMA.

[I] Augustinus super Genesim, lib. xii.
—— super Genesim ad litteram, lib. xii.
—— super primam partem psalterii.
—— super secundam partem psalterii.
—— super terciam partem psalterii.
—— super Johannem, continens Omelias c.xxiv.
—— de consensu Evangelistarum, lib. iv.

[II] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Augustinus de vita clericorum, lib. i.
Regula beati Augustini de vita Canonicorum.
Sermones tres de communi vita clericorum.
Expositio Magistri Hugonis de sancto Victore super regulam Canonicorum.
Regula Templariorum edita a beato Bernardo Abbate Clarevallensi.
Sermo exortatorius beati Bernardi ad milites templi.
Augustinus super Epistolas Pauli, videlz ad Romanos, et primam ad Corinthios.

Augustinus super Epistolas Pauli secundam ad Corinthios, ad G., ad E., ad P., ad C., ad T., ad Thimo., ii., ad Ti., ad Phi., ad Thes.
—— de Trinitate primus, lib. xv.
—— de Trinitate secundus, lib. xv.
—— de presentia dei, lib. i.

[III] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Augustinus de mirabilibus sacre scripture, lib. iii.
—— de natura et origine anime ad Vincentium Victorem, lib. ii.
Vita sancti Jeronimi.
—— Sancti Alexis confessoris.
—— Sancti Eufrosine virginis.
Augustinus de civitate dei, primus, lib. xxii.
—— de civitate, secundus, lib. xxii.
—— de videndo deo, lib. i.

[IV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistola Sancti Ambrosii ad Vercellensem Ecclesiam. Cassiodori senatoris de animâ, lib. i.
Quedam expositiones utiles de libro Augustini de quantitate anime.
Augustinus de verbis domini. Sermones, lxiv.

[V] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermo ejusdem de Trinitate contra Arrianos de veteribus et novis scripturis.
De verbis apostoli. Sermones, xxix.
Augustinus de moribus ecclesie catholice et de moribus manithecorum, lib. ii.

[VI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio ejusdem quarumdam propositionum ex epistola ad Romanos, lib. i.
—— —— super epistolam ad Galatheos, lib. i.
Epistole Hildeberti, Cinomannensis Episcopi.
Sermo ejusdem, doctrina in ramis palmorum.
Ritmus ejusdem de Trinitate.
Augustinus de doctrina Christiana, lib. iv.

[VII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Cimbolum beati Augustini.
Disputacio ejus contra Felicianum.
Hereticum, de Trinitate.
Augustinus ad Paulum et Eutropium, de perfectione justicie, lib. i.
—— de natura et gratia ad Timasium et Jacobum, lib. i.
Due epistole Augustini ad Valentinum Monachum.
Augustinus ad eundem Monachum de gratia et libero arbitrio, lib. i.
Augustinus ad eundem de correptione et gratia, lib. i.
Epistola Prosperi ad beatum Augustinum.
—— Hillarii Arelatensis Episcopi ad beatum Augustinum.

Augustinus de predestinacione sanctorum ad Prosperum et Hyllarium, lib. i.
—— ad eosdem, de bono perseverancie, lib. i.
—— de agone Christiano, lib. i.

[VIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Sermones duo ejusdem de adventu domini.
Questiones lxv Orosii. Et totidem Responsiones Augustini.
Sermones Augustini de Nativitate domini.
Sermo Maximi Episcopi de Nativitate domini.
Sermones duo Petri Episcopi de Nativitate domini.
Sermo Phalistini de Nativitate domini.
—— Augustini de Sancto Stephano.
Sermones quinque Eusebii Cesariensis Episcopi de Sancto Stephano.
—— iii Augustini de Herode et Infantibus.
—— duo ejusdem de fuga domini in Egyptum.
—— iii de resurrectione domini.
—— Ysodori Episcopi de corpore et sanguine domini.
—— ejusdem de Pascha, iv.
—— ejusdem de Latrone cum domino Crucifixo.
Sermo ejusdem de Ascencione domini.
—— ejusdem in Pentecosten.
Sermones duo beati Leonis pape, de Sancto Laurencio.
Sermo sancti Jeronimi de Nativitate beate Marie.
—— ejusdem de Sancto Stephano et de diligendis inimicis.
—— beati Augustini in Epiphania domini.
—— beati Augustini ad clericos.
Augustinus de pastoribus sermo, i.

[IX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Sermo Augustini de ovibus.
Augustinus contra donatistas de baptismo, lib. vii.
—— de baptismo parvulorum, lib. ii.
Epistola Augustini ad Marcellinum.
Augustinus de unico baptismo, lib. i.
—— de nuptiis et concupiscenciis, lib. ii.

[X] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Augustinus contra Julianum hereticum, lib. vi.
—— de adulterinis conjugiis primus, lib. ii.

[XI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Augustinus de mendacio, lib. i.
Augustinus contra mendacium, lib. i.
—— de Cura agenda pro mortuis, lib. i.
—— de vera Religione, lib. i.
—— de natura et origine anime ad Petrum presbiterum, lib. i.
—— ad Vincentium Victorem de natura et origine anime, lib. ii.
Sermo Arrianorum.

Augustinus contra eundem Sermonem, lib. i.
—— contra adversarium legis et prophetarum, lib. ii.
—— de adulterinis conjugiis secundus, lib. ii.

[XII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Augustinus de mendacio, lib. i.
—— contra mendacium, lib. i.
—— de cura agenda pro mortuis, lib. i.
—— de vera religione, lib. i.
—— de natura et origine anime ad renatum, lib. i.
Ad Petrum presbiterum de eadem re, lib. i.
Ad Vincentium de eadem re, lib. ii.
Sermo Arrianorum.
Augustinus contra Arrianos, lib. i.
—— contra adversarium legis et prophetarum, lib. ii.
—— de quantitate anime, lib. i.

[XIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Augustinus de lxxxiii questionibus.
Anselmus cur deus homo, lib. ii.
—— de processione Spiritus Sancti contra Græcos, lib. i.
Augustinus de libero arbitrio, lib. iii.

[XIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Apollogeticus Gregorii Nazanzeni, lib. i.
Vita Roberti Monachi Fiscanniensis inclusi.
Augustinus de opere monachorum, lib. i.

[XV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Omelie Cesarii Episcopi ad monachos.
Sermo ejusdem ad monachos.
Liber ejusdem de bonis operibus, et de desperatione et voce corviva.
Monita Sancti Basilii Capadocie Episcopi.
Omelię viii Eusebii Episcopi ad monachos.
Tractatus ejusdem de fide Christiana.
Admonicio Cesarii Episcopi ad sorores.
Sermo beati Augustini de penitencia.
Augustinus de Sermone domini in monte, lib. ii.
Sermo ejusdem de blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum.
Augustinus de dominacione demonum, lib. i.
—— de disciplina christiana, lib. i.
—— de viii dulcicii questionibus.

[XVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Augustinus de predestinacione, lib. i.
Disputacio Augustini contra quemdam hereticum, nomen suum tacentem de fide.
Liber Martini Episcopi de iv. virtutibus.
Soliloquiorum Augustini, lib. ii.
Liber beati Gregorii pape de conflictus viciorum et virtutum, lib. i.
Augustinus de diversis questionibus, lxxxiii, lib. i.

[XVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Questiones Hugonis Abbatis de Redynge de ortodoxa fide, lib. vii.
Epistola ejusdem ad Andegavum Episcopum de sacerdote deponito vel excommunicato.
—— ejusdem ad eundem de anima.
Augustinus contra duas epistolas Pelagii, lib. iv.
—— contra achademicos, lib. iii.

[XVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Augustinus contra Felicianum, lib. i.
Sermo Arrianorum.
Augustinus contra sermonem Arrianorum, lib. i.
—— contra adversarium legis et prophetarum, lib. ii.
Epistola beati Augustini ad Valerium comitem.
Augustinus de nuptiis et concupiscenciis, lib. i.
—— contra reprehendentem librum de nuptiis et concupiscenciis, lib. i.
—— contra Julianum hereticum, lib. vi.
—— contra Faustum hereticum, lib. ii.
—— contra quinque hereses, lib. i.

[XIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Sermo beati Bernardi de observancia Episcoporum.
Liber Desiderimi (?) de Spiritu Sancto translatus a beato Jeronimo.
Sermo beati Augustini de muliere forti.
Epistola Mansueti Mediolanensis Episcopi ad Constantinum Imperatorem.
Confessiones Augustini, lib. xiii.

[XX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Augustinus de diversis heresibus, lxxxv, lib. i.
Epistole Augustini, c.xx.
Liber questionum Augustini.
Continet questiones c.xxviii de novo et veteri testamento.
Musica Augustini, lib. vi.

[XXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Cassiodorus de Orthographia, lib. i.
Musica Augustini, lib. vi. et
Liber sententiarum Augustini, primus.
Liber sententiarum Augustini, secundus.

[XXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Tractatus de deo et primo homine et peccato ejus.
Liber Lamberti Abbatis de statu dominico.
—— ejusdem de monachis.
Tractatus Magistri H. de Sancto Victore de anima Christi.
Liber de Monte hilaritatis et septem gradibus ejus.
Exceptiones de didascalicon.
Sermo beati Augustini de Nativitate domini.

Sermo ejusdem contra paganos.
Excepta ex libro Gregorii Nazanzeni.
Sententia beati Ambrosii ex libris Judeorum, de ludo Ysmaele et Ysaac.
Tractatus de corpore et sanguine domini.
Epistole quedam Yvonis Episcopi Carnotensis.
Liber sententiarum Augustini, tertius.

[XXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Pastorale beati Gregorii.
Albinus de virtutibus ad Gwidonem comitem.
Cathologus Decretorum.
Tractatus de Nabugodonosor, et ornamento altaris et ministrorum ejus.
Encheridion Augustini, primus, lib. i.
—— —— secundus, lib. i.

[XXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistola Alexandri pape ad Lanfrancum Cantuariens' Archiepiscopum.
Augustinus de Doctrina Christiana, lib. iv.
Simbolum beati Augustini.
Augustinus contra Felicianum hereticum de Trinitate, lib. i.
—— ad Paulum et Eutropium de perfectione justicie, lib. i.
—— de natura et gracia ad Timasium et Jacobum, lib. i.
Epistola Augustini prima ad Valentinum.
—— —— secunda ad eundem.
Augustinus ad eundem de gracia et libero arbitrio, lib. i.
—— ad eundem de correpcione et gratia, lib. i.
Epistola sancti Prosperi ad beatum Augustinum.
—— Hillarii Arelatensis Episcopi ad eundem.
Augustinus de predestinacione sanctorum ad Prosperum et Hillarium, lib. i.
—— ad eosdem de bono perseverantie, lib. i.
Privilegia Paschalis pape concessa Anselmo Cantuar' Archiep'.
Retractaciones Augustini, lib. ii.

[XXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Cassiodorus de Instructione divinarum literarum, lib. i.
Ysodorus Prohemiorum de libris vetere et novo testamento, lib. i.
—— de ortu vita et obitu sanctorum patrum, lib. i.
Ysodorus de Allegoria nominum duorum Testamentorum, lib. i.
Kathologus beati Jeronimi de catholicis scriptoribus.
Decretalis Epistola Gelasii pape de recipiendis et non recipiendis libris.
Kathologus Gennadii Massiliensis Episcopi de nominibus virorum illustrium.
—— Ysodori de viris illustribus.
Sermones Augustini de Nativitate domini, vii.

[XXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones Eusebii de eadem re, viii.

BOOK II. Chapter II. (Appendix.) Catalogue of the Library of Christ Church Monastery, Canterbury.

Ejusdem in Nat' (nativitatem?) Innocentium Sermones quatuor.
Sermones Augustini de vitandis sacrilegiis, iii.
—— Fausti in Epiphania, viii.
—— xii, de xl[a].
Sermo de Jacoba et Joseph et filiis ejus.
—— de Joseph.
—— de x preceptis et x plagis.
—— de Gedeon.
—— de Helyseo et securi in Gurgite.
—— ad competentes.
—— ad eosdem ante simbolum.
—— Augustini de oratione dominica.
—— ejusdem in cena Domini.
—— de Passione Domini.
—— de fide latronis.
Sermones iv de Passione.
Sermo de sepultura Domini.
Sermones vi in Rogacionibus.
Sermo Eusebii in ascensione.
Sermones iii in Pentecosten.
Sermo de Reddendis decimis.
—— de Nativitate Sancti Johannis Baptiste.
—— Leonis pape de eodem sancto.
Sermones ii de sancto Laurencio.
Sermo Augustini in decollacionem sancti Johannis.
Sermones ii Johannes Episcopi de eadem.
Sermo in Nataliciis confessorum.
—— Augustini in conversione sancti Pauli.
—— de Apostolis Petro et Paulo.
—— de sancto Laurencio.
—— de martyribus et de diligendis inimicis.
—— ad ebriosos.
—— in ordinacionem Episcopi.
—— in dedicacione Ecclesie.
—— de bonis et malis Christianis.
—— de sanitate anime.
Sermo ad eos qui auguria observant.
—— ad eos qui defectum lune suis clamoribus, juvare nituntur.
—— de castitate cum uxoribus servanda.
—— de mulieribus que pociones accipiunt ne concipiant.
—— de Martirio in tempore pacis.
—— de x virginibus.
—— de muliere Chananea.
Sermones Augustini de Pascha veteri, xxv.

[XXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones x Augustini super primam Canonicam Johannis.

Sermo ejusdem de resurrectione Domini.
—— ejusdem ad noviter baptizatos.
Sermones Augustini contra Arrianos, et contra Judeos, et contra Paganos.
Sermo ejusdem de Alleluja.
—— ejusdem de Ascensione Domini.
—— ejusdem de Pentecosten.
—— ejusdem de x Cordis.
—— de Pascha novi, xxv.

[XXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones x Augustini super primam Canonicam Johannis.
Sermo ejusdem de resurrectione Domini.
—— —— contra Arrianos.
—— —— —— Paganos et Judeos.
—— —— ad noviter baptizatos.
—— —— de Alleluia.
—— —— de Pentecosten.
—— —— de x Cordis.
—— Augustini de Assumptione novi. [?]
Angelomus super Regum lib. iv.
Aldelmus de laude virginum, primus, lib. i.
—— de laude virginum, secundus, lib. i.
Ambrosius super Lucam, lib. x.
—— de x Patriarchis, lib. ii.

[XXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de Asseneth, filia Putifaris sacerdotis, uxore Josephi.
Ambrosius de penitentia, lib. ii.
—— de excessu fratris sui, lib. ii.
Libellus Johannis Episcopi de vera amicitia.
Johannis et Basilii de ministerio sacerdotum, lib. v.
Ambrosius de fide, primus, lib. ix.
—— de fide, secundus, lib. ix.
—— de misteriis, primus, lib. i.

[XXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ambrosius de Sacramentis, lib. i.
Sermo beati Ysodori de corpore et sanguine Domini.
Jeronimus contra Jovianum hereticum, lib. ii.
Augustinus contra Pelagianos et Celestianos, lib. i.
Ambrosius de misteriis, secundus, lib. i.

[XXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ysodorus de corpore et sanguine Domini.
Dyadema monachorum.
Ambrosius de fuga seculi, lib. i.

[XXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ambrosius de Ysaac et anima, lib. i.
Ambrosius de Paradiso, lib. i.

Epistola Ambrosii ad Urcellensem Ecclesiam.
Ambrosius de Jacob et vita beata.
—— de officiis ministrorum, lib. iii.

[XXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur*:
Sermo beati Cipriani et de Elemosina.
—— ejusdem de oratione dominica.
Ambrosius de virginitate, lib. iii.

[XXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur*
Ambrosius de viduis, lib. iii.
Sermo ejusdem de lapsu virginis.
—— —— ad corruptionem virginis.
—— —— ad virginem lapsam.
Exameron beati Ambrosii primus, lib. vi.
Secundum opera vi dierum distincti.
Exameron secundus, lib. vi.

[XXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur*:
Ambrosius de penitentia, lib. vi.
Augustinus de penitentia, lib. i.
—— de utilitate credendi, lib. i.
—— de fide ac Simbolo, lib. i.
—— ad inquisiciones Januarii, lib. ii.
Epistola Augustini ad Armentarium et Paulinam.
Sermo ejusdem de perjurio.
—— —— de excidio urbis Rome et de faciendis elemosinis.
—— —— de fide.
—— —— de caritate.
—— —— de Timore Domini, iii.
—— —— de Octavis Pasche.
Octonarius Ambrosii, lib. i. super expositionem Beati immaculati usque ad dominum cum tribularer.
Epistole Ambrosii, lib. x.
Opuscula Anselmi majora.

[XXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur*:
Monologion ejusdem, lib. i.
Prosologion ejusdem, lib. i.
Anselmus de veritate, lib. i.
—— de libertate arbitrii.
—— de casu diaboli.
Epistola ejusdem de Incarnacione verbi.
Anselmus cur Deus homo, lib. ii.
—— de conceptu virginali et originali peccato, lib. i.
—— de processione Spiritus Sancti, lib. i.
Epistola Anselmi de sacrificio Azimi et Frumentati.
Epistola ejusdem de sacramentis ecclesie.
Meditacio humane redempcionis.

Anselmus de concordia prescientie predestinacionis et gratie Dei cum libero arbitrio.
Meditaciones vel orationes Anselmi.
Tractatus ejusdem de gramatico.
Opuscula Anselmi minora.

[XXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Anselmus de Veritate, lib. i.
—— de libertate Arbitrii, lib. i.
—— de Causu diaboli, lib. i.
—— cur Deus homo, lib. ii.
—— de Conceptu virginali, et originali peccato, lib. i.
Monologion Anselmi, lib. i.

[XXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Prosologion ejusdem, lib. i.
Orationes et meditaciones Anselmi.
Liber ejusdem de Gramatico.
Prosologion Anselmi, lib. i.

[XXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Anselmus de conceptu virginali, et originali peccato, lib. i.
Meditaciones Anselmi.
Expositio Anselmi super Apocalipsim.
Expositio ejusdem super Cantica.
Cur Deus homo Anselmi, lib. ii.

[XL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Anselmus de veritate, lib. i.
—— de libertate arbitrii, lib. i.
—— de casu diaboli, lib. i.
Epistola Anselmi de Incarnacione verbi.
Anselmus de conceptu virginali et originali peccato.
—— de processione spiritus sancti, lib. i.
Epistola Anselmi de sacrificio Azimi et Frumentati.
Meditacio humane redempcionis.
Epistola de sacramentis Ecclesie.
Anselmus de concordia presciencie predestinacionis gratie Domini cum libero arbitrio.
Ex dictis et moribus Anselmi.

[XLI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de Sancta Trinitate.
—— Magistri Hugonis de Sancto Victore de creacione mundi.
—— de fide Trinitatis et observantia Pasche.
Amalardus de ecclesiasticis institucionibus, lib. iv.
—— secundus, lib. ii.
—— non totus. [1]

[XLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones ejusdem de natura Domini, ii.

[1] Thus given in the original: "Amelardus non totus."

Sermo ejusdem de Assumpcione.
—— —— de castitate.
—— —— de Adventu Domini.
—— —— de obedientia, ii.
Achardus de fide et spe.

[XLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ecclesiasticus.
Alquinus de viciis et virtutibus, lib. i.

[XLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de moralitate veteris et novi testamenti.
Liber beati Cipriani martyris de xii abusionibus seculi.
Tractatus sancti Augustini de sancta virginitate.
—— de Celebracione Misse et oratione dominica.
—— beati Augustini de Mammona iniqui.
—— de Tribus naturis et xi speciebus ignis.
Alredus de oneribus Ysaie.

[XLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus Gilberti Londonii Episcopi super [*sic*] Isti sunt due olive.
Arator de Actibus apostolorum Petri et Pauli, lib. ii.
—— secundus, lib. ii.

[XLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Miracula beati Benedicti Abbatis.
Expositio super Cantica Canticorum.
Vita sancti petroci Confessoris.
Libellus de Nativitate beate Marie.
Vita ejusdem versifice.
Boecius de Trinitate.
Bruno super omnes Epistolas Pauli.
Bernardus de xii gradibus hilaritatis.

[XLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Moralia ejusdem super vetus testamentum.
Sermones ejusdem.
Sermo beati Ambrosii de fuga seculi.
Tractatus beati Bernardi de iv sacramentis, videlicet baptismate, Crismate, Corpore et sanguine domini.
Tractatus ejusdem de Celesti Jerusalem et xii lapidibus preciosis.
—— de vii beatitudinibus.
Liber ejusdem de anima.
Tractatus ejusdem de x plagis et x preceptis.
—— de vii donis spiritus sancti.
Bernardus super apocalipsim.
Beda super Cantica Canticorum.

[XLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Jeronimus super Ecclesiasten.
Beda super Tobiam.

[XLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Beda super Ezram.
Item Beda super Neemiam.
Beda super Lucam, lib. i.
—— super Actus Apostolorum.

[L] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Descriptio nominum et regionum que continentur in Actibus Apostolorum.
Tractatus Yvonis Carnotensis de veritate sacramentorum Christi et Ecclesie.
Tractatus ejusdem de Clericatu et ejus Officio.
Sermo ejusdem de convenientia novorum et veterum sacramentorum.
Vita beati Jacobi Apostoli.
Beda super Marcum, lib. iv.

[LI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Expositio ejusdem super Canonicam Jacobi.
—— —— —— duas epistolas Petri.
—— —— —— tres Canonicas Johannis.
—— —— —— Epistolam Jude.
Beda super apocalipsim, lib. i.
—— de temporibus et etatibus seculi.

[LII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Albericus de compoto Lune.
Tabula de Pascha inveniendo per annos *Domini* et *Kalendare*.
Epistola Bede de equinoctio.
Beda de Temporibus secundus.

[LIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Kalendarium et Tabula ejusdem.
Epistola Bede de equinoctio.
Beda de scematibus, lib. i.

[LIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Libellus ejusdem de Ars metrica.
Katologus decretorum.
Baldewinus de inestimabili sacramento, lib. i.
—— de sectis hereticorum.
Benedictiones Patriarcharum.
Cassiodorus de anima.

[LV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Bernardus de diligendo deo.
Speculum Ecclesie.
Sermones iii super Canonicas Johannis.
Augustinus de penitentia.
Libellus Petri Damiani monachi qui intitulatur Dominus vobiscum.
Laus herimitice vite.
Visio Wentini monachi.

Compilaciones Jeronimi.

[LVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Sententie Prosperi.
Liber constructionum.
Libellus Benedicti monachi de compoto.
Libellus ejusdem de Augmento et decremento Lune.
Albinus de arismetrica.
Tractatus de Johanne presbitero rege in die.
—— de accentu.
De Rethorica, lib. ii.
Huguncio de declinacionibus.
Tractatus de Barbarismo et ceteris viciis artis gramatice.
—— de signis artis dialectice.
Vita sancti Zozime monachi, versifice.
Eptaticus Johannis de Bokkinger.

[LVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Genesis.
Exodus.
Leviticus.
Numerorum liber.
Deutronomius.
Josue.
Judicum.
Ruth.
Libri Regum, iv.
Exodus Plutonis.

[LVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Leviticus.
Liber M. R. Plutonis, versifice, de summo bono.
—— ejusdem unde malum, v' (versifice?)
—— —— de gradibus virtutum, v'.
—— —— de virginitate.
—— —— de bono mortis, v'.
—— —— de loco et tempore.
—— Regum Baldewini, lib. iv.

[LIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Paralipomenon, lib. ii.
Parabole Salomonis, Alexandri.

[LX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapientie.
Ecclesiasticus.
Job.
Tobias.

Judith.
Hester.
Actus Apostolorum.
Septem Epistole Canonice.
Apocalipsis.
Parabole Salamonis Edmeri.

[LXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapientie.
Ecclesiasticus.
Job.
Hester.
Judith.
Tobias.
Parabole Salomonis Thodoricii.

[LXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ecclesiastes.
Liber Sapientie.
Sentencie vii prudentum.
Laus monastice vite, versifice.
Ephitafium sancti Anselmi.
Seneca de Institucione morum.
Liber Fulgentii Episcopi ad Caldium gramaticum.
Excerpta de ecclesiastico.
Liber Martini episcopi de iv virtutibus principalibus.
Paradoxa Tullii.
Epistole Simathi.
Beda de naturis rerum.
Epistole Alexandri et Dindimi regis Bragmānorum.
Tractatus Tydericis, versifice.
Exortatio ad studium sapientie.
Regule de primis simillimis et excepciones Prisciani.
Versus de Evangelio, missus est gabriel.
Metrum de beata Maria.
Proverbia Senece secundum ordinem Alphabeti.
Parabole Salamonis parve.

[LXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapiencie.
Ecclesiasticus.
Sexdecim pruphete in uno volumine.
Quatuor Evangelia Britonis.

[LXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Decem Canones concordantiarum.
Textus Evangelici.
Novum Testamentum Alani.
Psalterium.

[LXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Cantica Canticorum.
Quatuor Evangelia.
Epistole Pauli.
Liber proverbiorum.
Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapiencie.
Ecclesiasticus.
Job.
Epistole Canonice.
Augustinus de vera religione.
Libri iv Bernardi Abbatis ad papam Eugenium.
Tractatus qui incipit Deus est ars artium.
Augustinus super Genesim ad literam, lib. xii.
De civitate Dei, libri xix, xx, xxi, xxii.
Josephus de sectis Judeorum.
Prophetia Merlini.
Distinctiones super psalmos Aaron.
De institucionibus Ecclesiasticis, lib. xii.
De Monte hilaritatis primus.

[LXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Moralia super Genesim.
Tractatus de vii sacrificiis et ordine Misse.
De Monte hilaritatis, secundus.
De Monte hilaritatis, tercius.

[LXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus.
Liber de conflictu viciorum et virtutum.
Liber Innocentii pape de contemptu mundi et miseria hominis.
De xii abusionibus claustri.
Dicta patrum majora.

[LXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita beate Marie.
Vita Sancti Symeonis monachi.
Dicta patrum minora.

[LXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Quedam privilegia Cantuariensis Ecclesie.
Consuetudines multarum terrarum Cantie.

Diadema Monachorum.
De fide ad Constantinum, lib. iv.

[LXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistole Pauli et Senece.
De vi verbis Domini, lib. i.
De xii abusionibus claustri.

[LXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Bernardus de Claustro anime.
Liber de Monte hilaritatis.
Egesippus, lib. v.
Eticius super Leviticum, lib. vii.
Emanuel.

[LXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Hugo de Sacramentis, lib. ii.
Tractatus de consecratione Ecclesiarum.
Ennodius.
Epistole Yvonis Carnotensis Episcopi.
Epistole Cipriani, xii.

[LXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libri iii beati Cipriani ad Quirinum de Judeis et Christo.
Tractatus sancti Bacharii ad fratrem lapsum.
Epistole Senece prime.

[LXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistole Pauli et Senece ad invicem.
Epistole Senece ad Lucillum.
Liber Senece ad Neronem Imperatorem de clementia.
Epistole Hildeberti Turonensis archiepiscopi.
Epistole Simathi.
Epistole Alexandri ad Regem Dindimum.
Liber Senece de institucione morum.
Epistole Senece et Pauli secunde.

[LXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistola Regis Alexandri ad Dindimum Regem Bragmannorum.
Probus (?) versifice de novo et veteri testamento.
Anianus de fabulus.
Tractatus de simillitudinibus verborum versifice.
Epistole de tempore Baldewini majores.
—— de tempore Baldewini minores.
—— Cassiodori, lib. ix.
Ethicus de Cosmographia.

[LXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Interpretationes Ebraicorum nominum.
Epistola Radulfi Archiepiscopi Cant. ad Calixtum papam pro jure Ecclesie sue.

Attestatio Regis Willelmi primi de primatu Cantuar. Ecclesie.
Professio Thome Eboracensis Archiepiscopi facta Lanfranco Cantuar. Archiepiscopo.
Concilia Lanfranci quibus Thomas interfuit.
Expositio super Regula beati Benedicti, i.
—— —— Regulam beati Benedicti, ii.
Liber florum primus, lib. ii.

[LXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de triplici beatitudine, et triplici pace.
Expositio super quasdam Epistolas Pauli.
Sermo Rogeri monachi de dedicatione Ecclesiarum.
Questiones de verbo incarnato.
Libellus de prima causa.
Sermo de x preceptis et x plagis.
Liber florum secundus, lib. ii.
Prima pars moralium.
Secunda pars moralium.
Gregorius super Ezechielem primus, Omelie xxii.
Gregorius super Ezechielem secundus, Omelie xxii.

[LXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio Bede super parabolas Salomonis, lib. iii.
Gregorius de conflictu viciorum et virtutum.

[LXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Cantica Canticorum.
Expositio beati Gregorii super Cantica Canticorum.
Anselmus de monte hilaritatis.
Liber Martini episcopi qui dicitur formula vite honeste.
Sermo de fundamento quod est Christus.
Sermo Radulfi Archiepiscopi super, intravit Jhesus in quoddam castellum.
Sermo de penitentia et ix contricionibus ejus.
Sermones ii de adventu domini.
Liber sententiarum a diversis compositis.
Sermo beati Augustini de miseria.
—— Johannis Crisostomi de mala muliere.
—— ejusdem de bona muliere.
Sententie fidelium de hiis que ad veram vitam pertinent.
Liber beati Cipriani de xii abusionibus seculi.
Augustinus de vita Christiana ad sororem viduam.
—— de ortu beate virginis et qualiter virgo concepit.
Speculum Gregorii primum, lib. i.
—— Gregorii secundum, lib. i.
Pastorale beati Gregorii primum.
—— beati Gregorii secundum.

[LXXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Rabanus de corpore et sanguine Domini.
Dialogus beati Gregorii, lib. iv.

[LXXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Moralia de naturis quarundam avium et bestiarum.
Registrum beati Gregorii primum, lib. xiv.

[LXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sinodus Gregorii pape congregata pro Berengario.
Registrum beati Gregorii secundum, lib. xiv.
—— beati Gregorii tercium, lib. xiii.
Omelie Gregorii, xl.
Warnerius Gregorianus, lib. xv.

[LXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ysaac de anima.
Dialogus beati Gregorii, lib. iv.
Item Dialogus beati Gregorii, lib. iv.

[LXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ordo penitentis.
Gesta Alexandri Magni.

[LXXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistola ejusdem de Aristotile.
Historia Christianorum quomodo Antiochiam et Jerusalem ceperunt.
Historia Longobardorum, lib. vi.
Gesta Lanfranci.

[LXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistola Lanfranci Cant. Archiep. de corpore et sanguine Domini contra Berengarium hereticum.
Epistole et Gesta ejusdem.
Anselmus de veritate.
Item Anselmus de libertate arbitrii.
Anselmus de casu diaboli.
Sermo Radulfi Archiep. super, Intravit Jhesus.
Sermones iv beati Bernardi Abbatis, de Evangelio, missus est.
Tractatus ejusdem de diligendo Deo.
Epistola ejusdem de castitate, caritate, et humilitate.
Tractatus ejusdem de xii gradibus hilaritatis.
Lanfrancus contra Berengarium.

[LXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistole Bonefacii et Sergii ad Anglorum Reges et Archiepiscopos.
Encheridion beati Augustine.
Ambrosius de bono mortis.
Lanfrancus contra Berengarium, ii.

[LXXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Rabanus de corpore et sanguine Domini.

Wymundus de eadem re.
Tractatus cujusdam nomen suum tacentis de eadem re.
Epistola beati Anselmi Archiepiscopi de sacrificio Azimi et Frumentati.
Epistola ejusdem de sacramentis Ecclesie.
Haymo super Ysaiam.

[LXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Augustinus de sancta virginitate, lib. i.
Excepciones de partibus Haymonis.

[XC] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio Evangeliorum et Epistolarum a Nativitate domini usque ad Pascham.
Sermo de Moyse.
—— dominica in ramis palmarum.
Haymo super omnes epistolas Pauli.

[XCI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Textus omnium Epistolarum Pauli non glosatus.
Rubrice omnium epistolarum que leguntur in Ecclesia, tam in festis dominicalibus quam in Nataliciis sanctorum.
Prima pars Haymonis.

[XCII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio Epistolarum et Evangeliorum a Pascha usque ad Adventum Domini.
Sermo beati Maximi Episcopi de Pascha.
Tercia pars Haymonis.

[XCIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio Epistolarum et Evangeliorum ab adventu usque ad Nativitatem Domini.
—— ejusdem Epistolarum et Evangeliorum in Nataliciis sanctorum tam de proprio quam de communi.
Sermo beati Maximi Episcopi in Nataliciis sanctorum.
Opuscula Hugonis majora.

[XCIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Didascalion ejusdem, lib. vi.
Hugo de tribus diebus.
Item Hugo de virtute vel modo orandi.
Hugo de quinque septenis.
Responsio Hugonis ad quasdam questiones.
Hugo de meditacione.
Sermo quidam et sententie ex dictis ejusdem.
Liber Soliloquiorum, M. H. de arra anime.
Sermo ejusdem de laude caritatis.
Hugo de archa Noe, lib. iv.
Item Hugo de creacione mundi.
Epistola Galteri de Mauritania ad Hugonem.

Rescriptum M. H. ad eundem.
Hugo de sapientia Christo et sapientia Christi vel de anima Christi.
Tractatus ejusdem de virginitate beate Marie.
Expositio ejusdem super Ecclesiasten imperfecta, lib. v.
Opuscula Hugonis minora.

[XCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Hugo de Archa Noe, lib. iv.
Notule super quosdam versus psalterii.
Hugo de tribus diebus.
Item Hugo super ecclesiasten.
Hugo de meditacione.
Item Hugo de opere professionis, ad interrogacionem amici.
Hugo de creacione mundi.
Item Hugo de quinque septenis.
Hugo de arra anime.
Sermo M. H. de caritate.
Epistole Hugonis de sapientia Christo.
Tractatus ejusdem de sapientia Christi, sive de anima Christi.
—— ejusdem de virginitate beate Marie.
Didascalion M. H., lib. vi.
Tractatus ejusdem de virtute orandi.
—— beati Bernardi de gradibus hilaritatis.
Bernardus de precepto et dispensacione, lib. i.
Sacramenta Hugonis majora, lib. ii.
Item sacramenta H. minora, lib. ii.
Hugo de sacramentis, lib. i.
Item Hugo super lamentaciones Jeremie.

[XCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Breviarium Eutropii in Romana historia, lib. x.
Liber Ricardi Plutonis unde malum.
—— ejusdem de gradibus virtutum.
Adhelardus de naturalibus questionibus secundum Arabicos.
Cronica Magistri Hugonis.
Hugo de Archa Noe, lib. iv.

[XCVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio ejusdem super prologum beati Jeronimi in pentateuchum.
Tractatus ejusdem de institucione noviciorum.
Liber doctrinalis beati B. Abbatis Clarevallensis ad Eugenium papam de vera justicia.
Hugo de tribus diebus.

[XCVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus beati Bernardi de peccatore et ejus supplicio.
—— ejusdem de paradiso claustri et monachis.
Epistola ejusdem de castitate, caritate, et humilitate.

Sermo ejusdem super vetus et novum testamentum.
Moralia ejusdem super psalmos.
Epistola beati Augustini de viciis et virtutibus.
Tractatus M. H. de oratione.
Libellus ejusdem de viii viciis principalibus.
Tractatus ejusdem de misterio Crucis.
Liber ejusdem de castigacione carnis et ejus premio.
Quedam Omelie M. H. super evangelia.
Hillarius super psalmos.
Item Hillarius de fide, primus, lib. xii.

[XCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistole ejusdem ad amicos.
Simbolum ejusdem.
Tractatus ejusdem de fide contra omnes hereses.
Hillarius de fide, secundus, lib. xii.
Hyreneus contra omnes hereses, lib. v.
Omelie Hucarii levite in diebus dominicis et precipuis festivitatibus anni.

[C] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones vi ejusdem.
Evangelica historia secunda.
Item Evangelica historia secunda.

[CI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de penitentia.
Orationes super penitentes.
Libellus de vi alis confessionis.
Benedictiones pergrinantium cum cruce et baculo.
Evangelica historia tercia.
Historia ecclesiastica, lib. xi.
Item historia Anglorum vetus, lib. v.

[CII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita Sancti Plegmundi Archiepiscopi.
Quidam Sermones beati Gregorii.
Vita Sancti Adelwoldi Winton' episcopi.
Historia novorum in Anglia.
Item historia novorum in Anglia, major.
Iripartita hystoria, lib. xii.
Sententie Ysodori.
Synomina Ysodori.

[CIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus qui dicitur Effrem.
Liber qui dicitur formula vite honeste.
Sententie ex libris beati Anselmi.
Sinonima Ysidori ii, lib. ii.

[CIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sententie ejusdem, lib. iii.
Sinonima Ysidori, iii, lib. ii.

[CV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Marcianus de arte dialectica, lib. i.
Liber ympnorum cum canticulis.
Vita sancti Yigoris Episcopi.
Libellus qui dicitur laus anime.
Ysidorus super Genesim, lib. i.

[CVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ysidorus super Exoduin, lib. i.
—— super Leviticum, lib. i.
—— super librum Numerorum, lib. i.
—— super librum Jesu Naue, lib. i.
—— super librum Judicum, lib. i.
—— super Ruth, lib. i.
Epistola Bede presbiteri de xxx q' [questionibus?] veteris testamenti.
Expositio ejusdem de templo Salomonis.
Item expositio ejusdem super canticum Abacuc prophete.
Jeronimus de essentia dei, lib. i.

[CVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus beati Cipriani de dominica oracione.
Augustinus de disciplina christianorum.
Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum.
Altercacio Sancti Athanasii Episcopi contra Arrium, Sabellium, et Fotinum hereticos.
Sententia probi judicis.
Athanasius de fidei unitate.
Simbolum ejusdem.
Item Cimbolum Ephesini concilii.
Beda de ponderibus et mensuris.
Expositio super librum generacionis Jesu Christi.
Sermo beati Augustini episcopi, qualiter homo factus est ad vmaginem et similitudinem Dei.
Doctrina Sancti Basilii Capadocie episcopi.
Jeronimus de Ebraicis questionibus.

[CVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Jeronimus de mansionibus filiorum Israel.
Item Jeronimus de distanciis locorum in veteri testamento et evangelio, nominatis secundum ordinem alphabeti.
Jeronimus de interpretacionibus Ebraicorum nominum, et alphabetum Ebreum et Grecum cum suis interpretacionibus.
Notule divine legis cum suis exemplis.
Jeronimus de questionibus in librum Regum.

Idem de questionibus paralipomenon.
Jeronimus de x. temptacionibus in libro numerorum.
Canticum Debore in libro judicum.
Lamentaciones Jeremie prophete cum suis expositionibus.
Epistola Jeronimi ad Dardanum de musicis instrumentis.
Jeronimus de partibus minus notis veteris testamenti.
Notule xii. signorum secundum Caldeos.
Expositio sententiarum veteris et novi testamenti.
De spera celi xii lapidibus preciosis.
De xii mensuris ponderum et mensura corporee altitudinis, mensurande per umbram corporis.
Jeronimus de Hebraicis questionibus.

[CIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistola Jeronimi ad Rufinum de judicio Salomonis.
—— ejusdem ad Vitalem quomodo Salomon et Achaz xi. anno genuerint.
Libellus Bede de locis in actibus apostolorum.
Liber Jeronimi de locis que in tota sacra scriptura reperiuntur.
Epistola Eutherii episcopi de situ Judee.
Jeronimus ad Dardanum de terra promissa.
Item Jeronimus de interpretacione Ebraicorum nominum.
Jeronimus super psalmos.
Item Jeronimus super primam partem Ysaie, lib. x.
Jeronimus super secundam partem Ysaie, lib. viii.
Item Jeronimus super Jeremiam, lib. vi.
Jeronimus super Ezechielem, lib. xiv.
Item Jeronimus super Danielem, lib. ii.

[CX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Beda de Tab'naculo, lib. iii.
Questiones lxv. Orosii, et totidem responsiones Augustini.
Jeronimus super prophetas.

[CXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Jeronimus super Osee prophetam, lib. iii.
—— super Joel, lib. i.
—— super Amos, lib. iii.
—— super Abdiam, lib. i.
—— super Jonam, lib. i.
—— super Micheam, ii.
—— super prophetas.

[CXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Jeronimus super Naum, lib. i.
Item Jeronimus super Abacuc, lib. ii.
Jeronimus super Sophoniam, lib. i.

Jeronimus super Malakiam, lib. i.
—— super Danielem, lib. i.
—— super Matheum, lib. i.
—— super Marcum, lib. i.

[CXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sententie abbreviate.
Interpretaciones Ebraicorum nominum.
Alphabetum Grecum et Ebraicum cum suis interpretacionibus.
Jeronimus super Epistolam Pauli ad Titum.

[CXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Jeronimus super Epistolam Pauli ad Philippum.
Augustinus contra quinque hereses.
Expositio catholice fidei.
—— Epistole in octabus Pentecosten.
Epistole Jeronimi, cxxiii.
Johannes Cassianus, lib. xii.
Johannes Crisostomus de reparacione lapsi.

[CXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Idem de compunctione, lib. ii.
— de psalmo, l. lib. ii.
Libellus ejusdem quod nemo leditur nisi a semet ipso.
Sermo ejusdem cum de expulsione ejus ageretur.
—— —— post primi exilii reditum.
—— —— quando de Asia reversus est Constantinopolim.
—— —— de prodicione Jude.
—— —— de Cruce et latrone.
Alius Sermo ejusdem de Cruce.
Sermo ejusdem de ascensione Domini.
Dialogus beati Gregorii pape.
Johannes Crisostomus de laude apostoli.

[CXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Idem de laude redemptoris.
Brutus latine.
Nomina Regum Britannie sicut in ordine successerunt.
—— archiepiscoporum Cant' sicut in ordine successerunt.
Tabula et questiones Bede de ratione.
—— ejusdem et expositio super tabulam de lunacionibus.
Descriptio Britannie Insule (forte Bede).
Expositio super Merlinum imperfecta.
Itinerarium Clementis, lib. xi.

[CXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita beati Bernardi Abbatis.
—— sancti Malachie Hyberniens. Episcopi.

Epistola beati Clementis ad Jacobum, fratrem domini, de obitu Petri Apostoli.
Jerarchia Dionisii.

[CXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio Magistri Hugonis super eandem.
Notule, M. H. super quedam capitula veteris testamenti ad literam.
Tractatus M. H. de institucione noviciorum.
Liber doctrinalis beati Bernardi abbatis ad Eugenium papam, lib. iv.
Libellus de ponderibus et mensuris.
Innocencius de miseria hominis.

[CXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Innocentius de Missarum misteriis.
Vita beati Antonii monachi.
De situ Jerusalem et locis sanctis que sunt in ea, et in circuitu ejus
Innocencius de misteriis missarum vocatus Lucidarius.
Origenes super vetus testamentum.
Orosius libri vii.

[CXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ethicus de Cosmographia.
Cronica Jordani Episcopi Ravennat., de origine et actibus gentis Gothorum.
Itinerarium provinciarum Antonii Aug.
Tredo ad opium episcopum.

[CXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus sermonum.
Tractatus de mundo et vanitate seculi.
Hugo de arra anime.
Item Hugo de tribus diebus.
Hugo de virginitate beati Marie.
—— de institucione noviciorum.
—— de laude caritatis.
Item Hugo de dilectione.
Liber Leonis pape de conflictu viciorum et virtutum.
Tractatus beati Bernardi Abbatis de amando dei.
Epistola principis medicorum ad Alexandrum de regimine sui corporis.
Bernardus de dispensacione et precepto.
Liber de xii gradibus hilaritatis.
Quedam Epistole beati Bernardi.
Tractatus M. H. iv. de potenciis spiritus rationalis.
Hugo de opere professionis ad interrogationem amici.
Expositiones Odonis super vetus testamentum.

[CXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Compilacio beati Bernardi de electionibus et matrimonio.

Sermones ejusdem.
Scripta et rescripta Pratellensis.
Prima pars Pratellensis super Genesim, lib. xv.
Secunda pars Pratellensis super Genesim, lib. xvi.
Penitenciale Philippi et miracula beate Marie.
—— Acelini.
—— Symonis supprioris.
Sententie prosperi.

[CXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Sedulii Rethoris, lib. v.
Prudencius de pugna viciorum et virtutum.
Arator de Actibus Apostolorum.
Epitaphia diversorum sanctorum.
Vita Sancti Vincentii.
Prudentius Ympnorum.

[CXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus ejusdem de divinitate.
Libellus ejusdem contra hereticos qui dicitur patrem passum.
—— contra unionitas.
—— contra Judeos.
—— contra hominicionitas.
Oratio Prudentii.
Libellus ejusdem de sancto Ro^{a}no.
Passio beati Laurentii.
—— Cassiani.
—— sancti Ypoliti matris.
—— Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.
—— beati Cipriani.
—— sancte Agnetis.
Liber Prudentii contra Simacum paganum.
—— de diis gentium.
—— de Crucis potentia.
—— de conversione senatus.
—— de Natura anime.
—— adversus eos qui negant Christum verum corpus habuisse.
—— de resurrectione carnis humane.
—— de origine peccatorum.
—— contra eos qui dicunt duos deos esse.
—— de crudelitate plebis.
Versus ejusdem quibus Simachum alloquitur.
Idem contra Simachum.
Tituli historiarum de utroque testamento.
Liber Prudentii de pugna viciorum et virtutum.
Prosper de vita activa et contemplativa, lib. iii.

[CXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de xii. abusionibus seculi.
Liber M. H. Prioris canonicorum regularium Sancti Laurencii Ambianens' de claustro materiali.
—— ejusdem de claustro anime.
Purgatorium Patricii.

[CXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Visiones monachi Eyneshamensis.
Tractatus M. R. de Sancto Victore de xii. patriarchis.
—— ejusdem de statu interioris hominis post lapsum.
—— de sacramento altaris.
Sermo beati Augustini Episcopi de excidio urbis Rome.
Tractatus de Canone altaris editus ab Odone Cameracensis episcopo.
Expositio dominice oracionis.
—— super Simbolum.
Pronosticon, lib. iii.
Sithmus de viciis et virtutibus.

[CXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber doctrinalis beati Bernardi.
Sermo beati Jeronimi principium sapientie.
Epistola ejusdem ad Demetriadem virginem.
Tractatus M. H. de anima Christi.
—— de officio altaris.
Remediarium commersorum, lib. xii.
Ricardus de Sancto Victore, continens lib. xxiv. cum partibus suis.
Radulfus super Leviticum, lib. xx.
Reginaldus ad Elmerum priorem.

[CXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio super orationem dominicam.
Tractatus de bono confessionis.
Rabanus super Genesim, lib. iii.

[CXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Rabanus super Exodum, lib. i.
—— super Leviticum, lib. i.
—— super librum Numerum.
—— super Deutronomium.
Suetonius primus de Gestis imperatorum.

[CXXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Genealogia Regum Francorum.
Visio Karoli imperatoris.
Sententie Oratorum.
Suetonius secundus.

[CXXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur*
Genealogia Regum Francorum.

Vita Karoli magni.
Visio ejusdem Karoli.
Speculum karitatis, lib. iii.

[CXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Disputacio inter hominem et rationem.
De spirituali Amicitia, lib. ii.
Libellus beati Augustini ad virginem inclusam.
Solinus de mirabilibus mundi.

[CXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Prisciani Gramatici de situ terre.
Historia Daretis Frigii de bello Trojano.
Prophecia sibille et versus ejusdem de die udicii.
Libellus de humana mutabilitate.
Historia Britonum abbreviata et mirabilia Britannie.
Quindecim signa ante diem judicii.
Sidonius, lib. viii.

[CXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber ejusdem versifice qui dicitur Pangericus.
Libellus ejusdem ad Crispum Valerium.
Epithalamium ejusdem.
Ephigrama ejusdem.
Euchariston ejusdem.
Liber ejusdem de balneis.
—— de laudibus urbis Narbone.
Libri Justini, xliv., et hystoria Trogi Pompeii.
Liber scintillarum, primus.

[CXXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sententia bone mulieris et male.
Libellus de diversis generibus peccatorum.
Liber scintillarum secundus, lib. i.
Summa de Theologia.

[CXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de contemplacione et de his que ad vitam veram pertinent.
Sermones quedam breves et utiles.
Tractatus de blandimentis seculi, et vita monachorum.
Liber sententiarum minorum.

[CXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de Angelica et humana creatura, et de eorumdem peccatis.
Disputacio inter magistrum et discipulum de deo et de hiis que ad fidem pertinent.
Genesis. W. duredent.

[CXXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Exodus. Leviticus.
Numerus. Deutronomius.
Parabole Salomonis.

Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapientie.
Ecclesiasticus.
Paralipomenon.
Sacramenta Hugonis, lv. duredent, lib. ii.
Sermo Eluredi heremite.
—— Edmeri Prioris super Regulam beati Benedicti.
—— Babionis.

[CXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de effectibus rerum lunacionis.
Sermo Thome Brenel.

[XL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de sententiis veritatis in evangelio.
Tituli super Psalterium.
Libellus Abbatis Ysaac de concordancia canonis altaris et sacramentis veteris legis.
Sermo Comedi fanum (favum).
—— Edmeri Cantoris.

[CXLI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Prosa de sancto Dunstano versifice.
Ympnus de sancto Edwardo Rege et Martyro.
Epistola ad Edmerum de morte Sancti Edwardi.
Libellus utrum Eboracens' ecclesia primatum habeat super Scotos.
Epistola Edmeri ad Glastonienses qui se dicunt corpus sancti D. habere.
Vita sancti Wilfridi Archiepiscopi.
—— sancti Odonis Archiepiscopi.
—— sancti Dunstani et miracula ejus.
Libellus de ordinacione beati Gregorii pape.
Tractatus de excellentia beate Marie.
Vita et miracula sancti Oswaldi, Eboracensis Archiepiscopi.
Liber de beatitudine perhennis vite.
Vita sancti Bregwini Cantuar. Archiepiscopi.
—— et miracula beati Anselmi Cantuar. Archiepiscopi.
Tractatus de concepcione beate Marie.
Vita Petri Abbatis primi cenobiis Augusto.
Sermo de memoria sanctorum.
—— de beato Petro Apostolo celorum janitore.
Tractatus de Reliquiis sancti Audoeni et aliorum sanctorum qui sunt in ecclesia Christi.
Libellus de Gabriele Archangelo.
Sermo Gerberti Trecacensis.
—— Elphegi.
Sermones Candidiores Elphegi.

[CXLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tituli psalterii.
Sermones Candidiores, Aaron.

[CXLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de Sacramento dominici corporis.
Libellus de Obediencia.
Ars predicandi.
Sermo memento Aaron.
—— beati qui audiunt. Sermo domini aspiciebam.
—— venite post me.
—— de fugiendo seculo.

[CXLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Districtiones super psalterium.
Victrinius [?], lib. x.

[CXLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Frontinus de preparatoriis bellorum, lib. iii.
Vegetius de re militari, lib. iv.
Palladius de agricultura.
Vegetius de re militari.

[CXLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Excepta et deflorata ex dictis quorumdam sapientium.
Liber Epistolaris.
Epistole Simachi.
—— Alexandri ad Dindimum Regem Bragmanorum.
Vitas Patrum.

[CXLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita Pauli primi heremite.
—— sancte Paule.
—— sancti Hylarionis monachi.
Gesta monachi captivi.
Vita sancti Antonii Abbatis.
—— Eraclydis heremite qui dicitur Paradisus.
Vitas Patrum R. de Gillingham.

[CXLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita Pauli primi heremite.
—— sancti Antonii monachi.
—— sancti Hyllarionis monachi.
Narracio sancti Jeronimi de Malcho monacho.
Vita sancti Frontinii.
—— sancti Atanasii Episcopi.
Orationes et dicta sanctorum Patrum.
Interrogaciones et responsiones, sanctorum Patrum.
Speculum Ecclesie.
Gesta salvatoris domini n. i. x'. (nostri Jesu Christi).

Vita Sancti Albani.
—— Sancti Edwardi, i.

[CXLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Metrum Dulcis Jesu memoria.
Vita sancti Edwardi, ii.

[CL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita Sancti Wlstani Wygorniensis Episcopi.
—— Sancti Godrici heremite et miracula ejusdem.
—— et miracula Sancti Edmundi, Regis et Martyris.
—— Sancti Silvestri pape.
—— Sancti Wilfrici et miracula ejusdem.
—— Sancti Johannis patriarche Alexandrinorum.
—— Sancti Augustini Anglorum apostoli.

[CLI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Miracula ejusdem.
Libellus de Translatione ejusdem.
Vita Sanctorum Barlaam et Josaphat.
—— Sancti Wilfridi.
—— Sancti Elphegi.

[CLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ympni processionales in festivitatibus quorumdam sanctorum.
Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis.
Miracula Sancte Marie, i^{a}.

[CLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Meditaciones Anselmi Cantuar. Archiep.
Miracula Sancte Marie, ii^{a}.
—— Sancte Marie, iii^{a}.
—— Sancte Marie, iv^{a}. Nigelli.

[CLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Passio Sancti Laurencii martyris.
Vita Sancti Pauli primi heremite.
Versus de Archiepiscopis Cantuar. quis cui successit.
—— de Sancta Katerina et de monachis.
—— ad Honorem Priorem.
Miracula beate Marie, v^{a}.
—— beate Marie, vi^{a}.

[CLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Rithmus de beata virgine.
Passio sancte Katerine Virginis, v.

[CLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Passio Sancti Elphegi, versifice.
Cronica Eusebii Salomonis.
—— inperfecta.

[CLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
De subjectione quam Eboracens. ecclesia debet Cantuar.
Cronica Gervasii.
Compotus Gerlandi.

[CLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule Brandani monachi super compotum et Kalendare.
Edicto contra Marianum de annis ab origine mundi.
Cathologus Romanorum pontificum.
Liber excessuum cronographie in ascentionem passionis beati Laurentii.
Cathologus Romanorum pontificum editus ab Eusebio.
—— Eutropii de Romanis principibus.
Cronica abbreviata.
Compotus Elpricii monachi.

[CLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ysidorus de naturis rerum.
Compotus Adelardi.

[CLX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de aeris inpressionibus.
—— de inveniendis concurrentibus per annum.
Compotus constabularii.

[CLXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de regula ar^is g^ace (?)
Compotus constabularii.
Item Compotus constabularii.
Martirogium vetus.

[CLXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regula beati Benedicti.
Consuetudines Ecclesie Bettensis.
Martilogium novum.

[CLXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regula Sancti Benedicti.
Consuetudines Ecclesie Bettensis.
Martilogium novum. W. de Schotyndon cotidianum.
Martilogium parvum.

[CLXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Regula beati Benedicti.
Constituciones domini R. de Wynchelese Cant. Archiep.
Martilogium sine titulo.
Batte [?] super Regulam beati Benedicti.

[CLXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regula Aluricii glosata Anglice.
Liber sompniorum.
De observacione Lune in rebus agendis.

Oraciones Anglice.
Batte secundus.

[CLXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositiones de Prisciano exposite Anglice.
Locutio latina glosata Anglice ad instruendos parvos.
Prophecia sibille.
Excepciones de gradibus Ecclesie.
Epistole Paschasii pape de ordinacione Radulfi Archiepiscopi.
Epistola Johannis pape ad sanctum Dunstanum.
Examinacio Episcopi antequam consecretur.
Regula beati Benedicti glosata, Anglice.
Omelie et Sermones quedam.
Consuetudines de faciendo servicio divino per annum, glosate Anglice.
Gesta pontificum Anglie.
Descripcio Hibernie facta a Geraldo Cambrensi:

[CLXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vaticinal' hystoria ejusdem.
Vita Sancti Thome martyris.
Item vita Sancti Thomæ Martyris.
Epistole de Tempore Baldewini.

[CLXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Penitenciale Magdalene.
Sermones quidam.
Radulfus de Diceto.
Libri Anglici.
Genesis Anglice depicta.
Liber Passionum et Sermones Anglice.
Dialogus beati Gregorii.
Boecius de consolatione.
Herbarius Anglice depictus.
Liber Sermonum catholicorum Anglice.
—— Sermonum beati Augustini, a.
Cronica vetustissima, a.
Liber de ordine monastico, a.
Cronica secundum Bedam, a.
Textus iv. Evangeliorum, Anglice.
Actus Apostolorum, Anglice.
Liber Sermonum, Anglice.
Regula Canonicorum, a.
Cronica Latine et Anglice.
Liber Edwini, a.
Excepciones de Prisciano, a.

[CLXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Biblia bipartita in infirmaria in duobus voluminibus.
—— Edwini.
Tri'partitum psalterium Edwini.
Prima pars Augustini super pueros.
Secunda pars.
Tercia pars.
Augustinus super Johannem.
Prima pars Cassiodori super psalmos.
Secunda pars. Tercia pars.
Prima pars moralium.
Secunda pars.
Prima pars Plinii.
Secunda pars.
Prima pars Haymonis.
Secunda pars.
Tercia pars.
Quarta pars.
Prima pars Josephi.
Secunda pars.
Rabanus super Matheum.
—— de naturis rerum.
Ysidorus ethimologiarum.
Papias luce de Wynchelese.
Hunguiton Thome de leycestria.
Fretulphus.
Paterius.
Sententie Longobardi.
Sermo Elmeri Prioris.
Decreta W. Britonis.
—— Ivonis.
Corpus Canonum.
Cronica Mariani.
Musica Boecii.
Vitas Patrum.
Hystoria Anglorum nova.
Miracula Sancti Thome W. Frontard.
Epistola Sancti Thome Alani Prioris.

[CLXX] *Passionalia.*

Vita Sancti Silvestris, continet vitas et passiones sanctorum quorum festa celebrantur, a die Sancti Silvestris usque ad festum Sancti Ignacii.
Passionale Sancti Ignacii, primum.
—— —— —— secundum.
Vita Sancte Marie Egyptiace, 3^m^.

Passionale apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quartum.
Invencio Sancti Stephani, v^m^.
Passionale Sancti Mathei, vi^m^
Vita Sancti Martini, vii^m^.
Passionale Apostolorum vetus.
Omeliarum Lanfranci.
Item Omeliarum.
Farmmannus.

[CLXXI] *Lectionalia.*
Lectionale, primum.
—— secundum.
—— tercium.
—— quartum.
—— quintum.
—— sextum.
—— parvum Francardi.
Genesis.
Liber Regum.
Job.

[CLXXII] *Rationale R. de Elham.*
Sexdecim prophete.
Novum testamentum.
Quatuor Evangelia.
Liber Sompniorum.
—— Raelionis.

[CLXXIII]
Decretale H. de Depham. Avicenna.

[CLXXIV] *Libri de grammatica:*
Priscianus Magnus Lanfranci Archiepiscopi, lib. xvi.
—— —— W. Morcel, lib. xvi.
—— Abel Magnus, lib. xvi.
—— iv. magnus, lib. xvi.
—— v. magnus, lib. xvi.
—— vi. magnus, lib. xvi.
—— vii. magnus, lib. xvi.
—— Constructionum, lib. i.

[CLXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libri Priorum Aristotilis.
Priscianus constructionum, W. Britonis.

[CLXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sompnus Scipionis.
Macrobius super eundem.
Remigius super Donatum.

[CLXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Beda de arte metrica, lib. i.
—— de scematibus et Tropis, lib. i.
Exemplaria versifice de productionibus et correptionibus verborum.
Liber Cassiodori de ortografia.

[CLXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de Gerundinis.
Triphonia Ecclesie.
Abecedarium.
Declinaciones pronominum.
Regule preteritorum et suppinorum abbreviate.
—— vocalium et consonantium.
Declinationes nominum.
Regule Regiminum.
Summa de octo partibus orationis.
Tractatus de confirmatione et ejus speciebus.

[CLXXIX] *Libri de Rethoric: a*
Rethorica prima.
—— secunda.
—— tercia.
—— quarta.
—— quinta.

[CLXXX] *Liber de dialectica:*
Topica prima.
—— secunda.
Phisica Aristotelis H. de Schorne.
Dialectica prima.
—— secunda.

[CLXXXI] *Liber de philosophia:*
Boeicius de consolacione, primus.
—— — —— secundus.

[CLXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Regule de compoto.
Boeicius de consolacione tercius.

[CLXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Idem de Trinitate, lib. iv.
Sompnius Scipionis.
Expositio Macrobii super eodem.
Timei Platonis, lib. ii.
Commentum Calcidii super eundem.
Marcianus Capella de nupciis saturnalium.
Tractatus de mundi composicione.
Commentarium Boecii super topica Tullii.

[CLXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de sb'a (?) generum et specierum.
Controversia Salustii in Tullium.
Marcianus Capella, lib. ix. primus.
Item Marcianus Capella secundus.

[CLXXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de Musica.
Boecius de Trinitate.
Augustinus de secreto incarnacionis.
De xii. scriptoribus Ierosolimis.
Epistola Mansueti episcopi ad Constantinum.
Expositio fidei et Cimboli.
Marcianus capella sampsonis, tercius.
—— —— quartus.
—— —— quintus.
Terencius primus.
—— secundus.
Macrobius de Sompno Scipionis, primus.
—— — —— —— secundus.

[CLXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Timeus Platonis, lib. ii.
Expositio Calcidii super eundem.
Macrobius de Sompno Scipionis, tercius.
—— — —— —— quartus.
—— de Saturnalibus, quintus.
—— de Sompno Scipionis, sextus.

[CLXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Timeus Platonis.
Marcianus Capella.
Lucanus primus.
—— secundus.
—— tertius.
—— quartus.
Daret de bello Trojano versifice.
Liber qui intitulatur es.
—— de arsmetrica et musica.
Arsmetrica Boecii, prima.
—— —— secunda.
—— —— tertia.
—— —— quarta.
Musica Boecii, prima.

[CLXXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Musica Guidonis imperfecta.
—— Boecii, secunda.

Musica Guidonis et musica Boecii, tercia.
—— Boecii, quarta.
—— Salomonis, quinta.
Geometria Euclidis, lib. xv.
Libri de phisica.
Pantegini Constantini, primus.
—— secundus.
Ars phisice, primus.

[CLXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Liber Aristotelis de generacione et corrupcione.
Ysagoge Johannis Damasceni ad tegni Galieni.
Liber Galieni qui dicitur tegni iatreri.
—— Amphorisimorum Ypocratis.
Philaretus de genere pulsuum
Liber urinarum Theophili.
Afforismi Johannis Damasceni.
Libellus M. Egidii par[ ] de pulsibus, versifice.
—— ejusdem de urinis, versifice.
— ejusdem de fleumate, sanguine, colera, et malencolia.
Ars phisice, ii.

[CXC] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ysagoge J. Damasceni.
Tegni Galieni.
Afforismi Ypocratis.
Liber prognosticorum Ypocratis.
Philaretus de genere pulsuum.
Johannicus super Tegni Galieni.
Glose super librum afforismorum Ypocratis.
Viaticus Constantini monachi, lib. vii.
Liber qui dicitur Tegni Galieni.
Ars phisice, iv.

[CXCI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de Astronomia.
Ysagoge Johannicii.
Afforismi Ypocratis.
Philaretus de pulsibus.
Tegni Galieni.
Liber urinarum.
—— pronosticorum Ypocratis.
Glose urinarum a Theophilo.
Viaticus Constantini, i.
—— —— ii.
—— —— iii.

[CXCII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de modo incendendi.
Experimenta incendendorum.
De cognicione originis morborum per urinam.
De electuaribus percipiendis.
De ponderibus specierum pertinentium ad confect'.
De Ethimologia medicinarum.
De ponderibus et mensuris medicinalis operacionis.
Diete universales.

[CXCIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber urinarum Constantini.
—— Constantini tegni Galieni.
—— Aureus.
Diete particulares.

[CXCIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ysagoge Johannicii ad tegni Galieni.
Liber afforismorum Ypocratis.
—— urinarum Theophili.
—— Philareti de pulsibus.
—— Tegni Galieni.
Antidotarium, i.
—— Odonis, ii.

[CXCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de cura humani corporis.
Antidotarium, iii.
—— iv.
—— v.

[CXCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber aureus.
De medicina sanguinis hyrtini, ad lapidem in vesica.
Liber Plinii Junioris de diversis medicinis.
—— de cerebro.
—— de oculis.
Antidotarium, vi.
Glose antidotarii.
Passionarium, i.
—— ii.
—— iii.

[CXCVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Platearius de curacionibus egritudinum.
Liber practicalis M. Bartholomei phisici.
Passionarium, iv.
Expositiones Passionarii.
Liber graduum et februum, i.

Liber graduum, ii.
—— —— Galieni, iii.
—— —— iv.

[CXCVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Medicamentarium Platearii.
Flores dietarum Ypocratis.
Antidotarium Ypocratis.
Diascorides, i.

[CXCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber medicinalis collectus ex dictis Ypocratis et Aristotilis.
Alexander Sophista de medicina omnium membrorum humani corporis.
Diascorides, ii.
Breviarium de curis universalibus, i.
Breviarium, ii.

[CC] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose urinarum.
Breviarium, iii.

[CCI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de diversis medicinis.
Liber de regimine sanitatis.
—— de modo medendi.
Practica M. Bartholomei physici.
—— domine Troce ad provocanda menstrua.
Libellus de cerebro.
Liber pauperum.
Flores dietarum.
Liber urinarum.
Breviarium, iv.

[CCII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa Magistri Geraldi de dandis catarticis.
Medicinalis humorum fluentium.
Tractatus virtutum medicinarum simplicium.
Doctrina ventose.
Liber Platearii de virtutibus herbarum.
Epistola Martini Episcopi ad Mironem Regem de iv. virtutibus.
Experimenta Salernitana.
Practica Johannis de Platea.

[CCIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Breviarium ejusdem.
Liber M. Mathei Ferrarii de febribus.
Tractatus de confectione medicinarum.
Antidotarium Nicholai.
Summa M. Geraldi de dandis catarticis.

Tractatus de ornatu mulierum.
Liber graduum.
—— febrium Constantini, i.

[CCIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber herbarum qui dicitur antiballomenon.
—— febrium Constantini, ii.

[CCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber graduum Galieni.
Macer de virtutibus herbarum, i.
—— —— —— —— ii.
—— —— —— —— iii.

[CCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Practica medicinalia.
Liber Ajacis Regis Arabum de virtutibus lapidum.
—— de naturis bestiarum, i.
—— —— —— —— ii.
—— —— —— lapidum, i.
—— —— —— —— ii.
—— — sculptura lapidum.

[CCVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de virtutibus lapidum.
Tractatus Alfani Salernitanensis, de quibusdam questionibus medicinalibus.
Dinamedus Galieni.
Alexander Sophista de curis humani corporis.

[CCVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de tussi et aliis curacionibus.
—— de modo medendi, i.
—— —— —— —— ii.
Medicinalia Martini.

[CCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Medicamina ejusdem.
Sententie Galieni.
Genecie, H. de Schorne, prime.
—— Cleopatrie ad theodatam, ii.

[CCX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Aristarchi et Justi medicorum tractans de virginibus.
Spera Pitagorius de vita et morte.
—— Apulei Platonici de eodem.
Liber febrium.
—— de curacionibus ydropicorum.
Gesta Alexandri Magni.
Epistola ejusdem ad Aristotelem.
Fabule Ysopice.

Liber Galieni, Constantini de malencolia.

[CCXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber medicinalis.
—— Aluredi Regis de custodiendis accipitribus.
Libellus de fleobotomia.
Liber Soracii phisici ad Cleopatram Reginam de mulieribus.
Collecta de phisica.

[CCXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Macer de virtutibus herbarum.
Liber de naturis lapidum quem Ajax Rex Arabum composuit.
Kalendare cum Regula.
Pars glosarum super tegni Galieni.
Medicamentarium.
Speculum medicorum.
Rogeranis.

[CCXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de pomis ambre.
Glose M. Geraldi super viaticum Constantini.
Liber de signis indigestionis.
Pars glosarum super artem phisice.

[CCXIV] *Libri Roberti de Dale.*
Libri Galieni de interioribus membris.

[CCXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Galieni de accidenti et morbo.
—— —— de simplici medicina.
Almansorius, lib. x.

[CCXVI] *Libri J. de Londoniis.*
Summa judicaria secundum ix judices, de corporibus supra celestibus quam compilavit Albumazar.
—— Mag'ri R. de Signis.

[CCXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Signa Ypocratis.
Viaticus Constantini.

[CCXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Commentum super librum febrium.
Libellus de modo medendi.
Liber Platearii de phisica.
Libellus de Electuariis.
—— de Clisteris faciendis.
Apocalipsis.

[CCXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule super Ecclesiasticum.
Quedam summa imperfecta Theologie.
Augustinus ad Volusianum.

[CCXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Prudencius Ympnorum.
Liber G. ph'i [philosophi?] ad Glantonem.

[CCXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de pulsibus.
Tractatus de regimine senum.
Cathologus librorum de phisica.
Libellus de diversis medicinis.
Liber pronosticorum Democritis.
Urinasius.
Liber de arthetica passione.
Summa de viciis matricis.

[CCXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de egritudinibus mulierum.
—— — curacionibus mulierum.
Summa de diversis medicaminibus Latine et Gallice.
—— de curatione egritudinum.

[CCXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule super artem phisice.
Commentarium super artem phisice.
Questiones de arte phisice.
Collectarium de multis.

[CCXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de vi alis confessionis.
Questiones de officio ecclesiastico:
Libellus de naturis quorumdam animalium.
Sermones abbreviate per totum annum.

[CCXXV] *Libri Alani de Ory.*
Penitenciale Magdalene.
Versus Ade Abbatis.
Concordancie S. Archiepiscopi.

[CCXXVI] *Libri W. de Weynchepe.*
Prescianus de constructionibus.
Liber Augustini de anima.

[CCXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Lamentacio Jeremie.

[CCXXVIII] *Libri W. Neireford.*
Biblia.

[CCXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Interpretaciones Ebraicorum nominum.

[CCXXX] *Libri W. de Bocwelle.*
Asenech.

[CCXXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber beati Ambrosii de Joseph.
—— ejusdem de Patriarchis.
Hystoria ecclesiastica.
Evangelica hystoria.
Glose super Deutronomium.

[CCXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Breviarium bone fortune.
Itinerarium ejusdem.

[CCXXXIII] *Libri W. de Berkyngg. junioris.*
Bibblia.

[CCXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Interpretationes Ebraicorum nominum.
Papias.

[CCXXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regule Theobaldi de longis et brevibus versifice.
Decreta.
Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus dictatorie artis et rhetorice.

[CCXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Dictamina M. Guydonis et exordia amicorum.
Libelli ecclesiastici.
Expositio beati Ysodori super Genesim.

[CCXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de Missa et institucionibus ecclesiasticis.
—— de sacra scriptura et ejus auctoribus.
—— de musica.

[CCXXXVIII] *Liber de J. de Stureya, junioris.*
Hugucio et Bruto, in uno volumine.
Ysidorus eth. et pinnoc (?) in uno volumine.
Summa Reymundi.

[CCXXXIX] *Liber R. de Sancta Mildreda.*
Fretulphus, lib. vii.

[CCXL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Arbor propagacionis filiorum Ade.

[CCXLI] *Libri T. de Leycestre.*
Biblia.
Decretales apparate.
Collectarium de multis.

[CCXLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Questiones super quartum librum sententiarum.
—— de stella Magorum.
—— diverse de theologia.
—— super v libros Moysi.

Questiones super Johannem.
—— ad Car' secundum W. Deverel.
—— et collationes ad Romanos.
Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus.
Duodecim articuli fidei.
Decem precepta.
Septem dona spiritus sancti.
—— beatitudines.
—— vicia.
Tractatus de sacramentis.
Expositio orationis dominice.
Tractatus de ligno domini et fora'cōne hominis.
—— super secundum librum sententiarum.
Questiones de veteri testamento.
Liber secundi philosophi.
Sinonima Ysidori.
Liber de recordacione preteritorum malorum.
Tractatus de sacramentis altaris.
Liber de xii gradibus hilaritatis et xii gradibus superbie.
Historia veteris et novi testamenti versifice.
Proprietates secundum ordinem alphabeti.
Prosologion Anselmi.
Parabole Magistri Odonis.
Liber de summa Trinitate.
Collectarium secundum.

[CCXLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa provincialis de epistolis et evangeliis dominicalibus per annum.
Quedam excepta de libro qui dicitur, veni mecum.
Commune sanctorum secundum provincialem.
Moralia beati Gregorii abbreviata.
Quedam sententie doctorum cum sermonibus.
Excerpta beati Bernardi.
Excerpta de Epistolis beati Jeronimi.
Bernardus de morali contemplativa.
Excerpta de epistolis beati Bernardi.
—— libri ejusdem de amando deo.
—— ejusdem de gradibus discretionis.
Contemplaciones vel meditaciones Bernardi.
Excerpta ejusdem de consideracione.
—— de libro Bernardi de precepto et dispensacione.
Epistola ejusdem ad fratres de monte.
Bernardus de colloquio Symonis et Jhū super, Nos relinquimus omnia.
Libellus de vita beati Bernardi.
Bernardus de libero arbitrio et gratia.
Excerpta ex libris beati Bernardi super Cantica.

Bernardus super, Missus est.
Hugo de meditacione.
—— de orando deo.
—— de laude caritatis.
—— de septem septenis.
—— de arra anime.
Sermones Hugonis.
Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus secundum suos effectus.
Quartus liber sententiarum cum concordanciis biblie.
Sermones. Parvulus natus est.

[CCXLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule super Genesim.
Libellus de x preceptis.
Questiones diverse de Theologia, in quo continentur.
Tractatus bone fortune super quartum librum sententiarum.
Libellus qui dicitur ymago mundi.
Regula beati Benedicti cum vita sancti Thome martyris.

[CCXLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule juris.
Questiones de officiis ecclesiasticis.
Notabilia de Theologia.
Libellus penitentialis, M. J. de deo.
Versus pannorum pendencium in ecclesia Cantuariensi.
—— fenestrarum vitrearum ecclesie Christi Cantuar.
Confessio sancti Edmundi Cant. Archiep. Gallice.
Cause exilii beate Thome.
Quindecim signa ante diem judicii.
Cantus organicus qui dicitur, Lex sancte Trinitatis.
Cantus Sampson dux.

[CCXLVI] *Liber N. de Sandwico, junioris:*
Liber de Simbolo et x preceptis.

[CCXLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de sacramentis veteris et nove legis.
Hystoria dominice passionis.
Libellus de sacramento eukaristie.
Liber Senece de iv virtutibus principalibus.
Seneca de remediis fortuitorum methodius.
Liber qui dicitur Cherubin.
—— de triginta gradibus scale fidei.
Testamenta xii filiorum Jacob.
Tractatus magistri L. de Somertone de diversis formis electionis prelatorum.
Tractatus Innocencii Pape iii super vii Psalmi penitentiales.
Quidam libellus de fide Trinitatis.
Libellus de proverbiis sapientum.

Excerpta de viciis et virtutibus.
Libellus utilis de introductione theologie.
Liber Empedoclis de sententiis xxiv philosophorum de primacione.
Libellus de condicionibus rerum.
Liber transfuguratus in Christum crucifixum.

[CCXLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Tituli Regule Sancti Benedicti.
Regula beati Benedicti.
Bernardus de precepto et obedientia.
Tractatus de Sancto Thoma.
Libellus de adventu matris ejus in Angliam.
Dictamen de beata virgine.
Anselmus de divinis scripturis.
Liber soliloquiorum M. Hugonis.
Tractatus de professione monachorum.
Hugo de institucione noviciorum.
Augustinus de cognicione vere vite.
—— de visitacione infirmorum.
Narraciones M. Jacobi de vetere testamento.
Dicta Secundi philosophi.
Tractatus R. de premostracens. de ca. m^e^.
Regula Sancti Augustini exposita que dicitur vita clericorum.
Sermo de passione domini.
Sermones R. Lincolniensis episcopi.
Meditaciones beati Bernardi.
Diverse auctoritates.
Sermo, recede hinc.
Dictamen in Gallica lingua.
Institucio noviciorum secundum consuetudinem Cantuar. ecclesie.
Summa Reymundi.
Innocencius tertius super canonem misse.
Burnellus.

[CCXLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Speculum stultorum.
Laus cornubie edita a M. Mich'e [Michaele?] de eadem.
Tractatus de arte dictatoria.
Excerpta ex libro beati Anselmi de similitudinibus.
Descriptio Sapientie.
Excerpta de x collocacionibus patrum.
Libellus de Transgressionibus Ade.
Liber moralium J. Garlaunde.
—— qui dicitur Urbanus.
Concordantie veteris et novi testamenti.
Expositio super Gesta Anglorum et Britonum.
Miracula Britannie,

Disputacio inter spiritum puelle post mortem et amatorem suum.
Cronica abbreviata imperatorum.
—— —— R. Francorum.

[CCL] *Liber Hugonis de Cretingg'.*
Decretales nove.
Apparatus Decretalium.

[CCLI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Decretales abbreviate.
Secardus.
Summa Promothei.
Distinctiones super corpus canonum.
Summa Reimundi.
—— Gaufredi.
—— ——
Digestum vetus.
—— novum.
Codex.
Instituta Justiniani.
Autentica.
Decreta.
Summa de casu et fortuna.

[CCLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Primus liber ethicorum.
Liber de enunciatione.
Tractatus de signis et fallaciis.
Suittategreumatica (?).
Summa M. A. Nequam.
Quedam summa super decreta.
Summa Reymundi.

[CCLIII] *Liber M. Petri Lumbardi.*
Decreta.
Decretales nove.
Vetus compilacio decretalium.
Psalterium glosatum.
Digestum vetus.
Codex.
Instituta Justiniani.
Autentica.
Summa domini Azonis.
—— de ordine Judicorum.
Liber deputus.

[CCLIV] *Liber R. de Lodelawe.*
Digestum vetus.

[CCLV] *Liber R. de Sancto Elphego.*
Decreta. Decretales.

Liber Sermonum cum notabilibus sacre Scripture.
—— Sermonum convertere.
Summa Reymundi.
—— Papianensis.
Philosophie prime.
Liber de celo et mundo.

[CCLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de morte et vita.
—— de vegetabilibus.
—— de sompno et vigilia.
Quinque libri Moysi.

[CCLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Regum.
Ysaias propheta.
Jeremias propheta.
Duodecim parvi prophete.

[CCLVIII] *Libri R. de la Lee.*
Summa provincialis.
Expositio super psalterium.
Itinerarium Geraldi.

[CCLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Descriptio Cambrie.
Summa J. de Abevile. Continentur, S. R. Anglici et moralitates excerpte de naturis avium.
Ars predicandi.

[CCLX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule veteris et novi testamenti.
Sermones.
Sermo ascendens.
—— Innocentii, frange esurienti.
Sermones diebus festivis per annum.

[CCLXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ovidius de remedio amoris, versifice.
Summa prepositivi super iv libros sententiarum.
De processione Spiritus Sancti.
Collecte sermones diversorum doctorum.
Notule Psalterii a Beati immaculati usque in finem.
Vita Sancti Wlstani.
Allegorie super Genesim.

[CCLXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule J. de Abevile super Epistolas Pauli.
Glose et notabilia divinorum librorum.
Liber de consuetudinibus monasterii.
Quedam collectule.

[CCLXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de jure divino.
Sermo, puer natus est.
Sermones per annum tam de tempore quam de sanctis.
Biblia. Item Biblia.

[CCLXIV] *Liber Ade Prioris.*
Sententie Longobardi.
Tractatus bone fortune super quartum librum sententiarum.
Liber de xxviii figuris crucis.

[CCLXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Porfirii qui dicitur Panagericus.
Expositio super xxviii fuguras crucis.
Carmen de beata virgine, versifice.
Libellus M. J. de Garland. de miraculis beate virginis qui intitulantur, Stella maris.
—— Cipriani Episcopi et martyris qui dicitur cena nuptialis.
—— de formica, versifice.
Rithmus de adulatoribus.
Itinerarium mentis euntis in deum, secundum fratrem bone fortune.
Sermo Dominica secunda adventus domini.
Meditacio Sancti Augustini sive oratio.
Meditaciones Anselmi sive orationes.
Prosologion beati Anselmi.
Tractatus beati Clementis pape de articulis fidei.
Ars predicandi.
Tractatus de confessione non revelanda.
Libellus de dispensationibus.
Tractatus de diversis formis electionum.
De miseria hominis.
De xii abusionibus claustri.
Tractatus de expositionibus casuum, lib. iv.
Sermo quidam de Sanctis.
Tractatus de sacramentis.
Concilium generale Innocentii pape.
Sermo ejusdem Ade Prioris.

[CCLXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de animalibus.
—— de anima.
Sermo Ade Prioris.
Moralium dogma.

[CCLXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus qui dicitur ymago mundi.
Decretales in majori volumine.
—— in minori volumine.

Decretales Innocentii pape.
—— veteres.
—— nove.
Codex. Instituta.
Papias.
Quidam tractatus de phisica.

[CCLXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa M. Graciani de urinis.
Tractatus ejusdem de fleobotomia.
—— de herbis medicinalibus et earum qualitatibus et confectionibus et de cibis medicinalibus.
Libellus de regimine sanitatis.
Excerpta de libro Salustii.
Quedam summa quam habuit T. de Stureya.

[CCLXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Excerpta de iv libris Reimundi.
Notule necessarie ad penitentiam injungendam.
Summa de origine juris canonici.
Libellus qui vocatur ars fidei.
Instructio ad themata dila^{da}.
De modis negociandi circa themata.
Doctrinalis tradicio de sermonibus faciendis.
Interpretaciones Remigii abbreviate.
Expositio simboli apostolorum.
Excerpta de libro J. Crisostomi super Matheum.
—— de Proverbiis cum glosa.
—— de Ecclesiaste cum glosa.
—— de Canticis Canticorum cum glosa.
—— de Ecclesiastico, cum glosa.
Proverbia Senece.
Ars predicandi.
Summa de penitentia secundem fratrem Adam de Marisco.
Regule de Summa Trinitate.
Sermones de dedicacione Ecclesie.
Summa de Epistolis et Evangeliis dominicalibus per annum.
Quedam extracta ad laudem Sanctorum, de vita eorumdem.
Sermo de Evangeliis dominicalibus.
—— in dominicis diebus per annum de epistolis et Evangeliis.
Compilaciones fratris Symonis de Hentune.
Summa fratris R. de modo predicandi.
Sidonius, lib. vi.
Casus decretalium secundum Johannem Hispanum.

[CCLXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Constituciones Romanorum Pontificum et decretales Epistole.
Quedam summa imperfecta super librum sententiarum.
Liber de modo dictandi.

Grescismus.
Omnes libri Ovidii.

[CCLXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ovidius Epistolarum.
—— sine titulo.
—— de arte amatoria.
—— de remedio amoris.
—— de uuce.
—— de sompno.
—— de pulice.
—— de cuculo.
—— de fastis.
—— magnus.
—— de tristibus.
—— de ponto.
—— de mirabilibus mundi.
Quedam summa versifice. Agnes sacra.

[CCLXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sententie prudentum.

[CCLXXIII] *Liber Rogeri de Frenigham.*
Decretales.

[CCLXXIV] *Libri Johannis de Boctone.*
Biblia.
Biblia, versifice.
Hystorie manducatoris.
Sententie Longobardi.
Notule super libros sententiarum.
Liber de naturis.
—— de sacramentis.

[CCLXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus fratris Jacobi de Benevento de virtutibus et donis et fructibus et beatitudinibus.
—— ejusdem de x preceptis.
—— —— de peticionibus.
Libellus de medicinis humani corporis, versifice.
—— de vii viciis.
Brito super prologos biblie.

[CCLXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Brito de significacionibus nominum.
Tractatus super epistolas Petri.
Moralium dogma.

[CCLXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de Judicio Paridis.
Proverbia philosophorum.

Summa M. R. Belnacensis super Donatum.
—— ejusdem qui vocatur tytan.
Exempla de Lucano.
Libellus M. Serlonis de differenciis figure super Virgilium.
Sermones.
Liber Methodi martyris.
Veni mecum, cum tabula.

[CCLXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de dolore interiori et exteriori.
Tractatus de interiori homine.
Libellus de penitentia.
Sermones.
Omelia Bernardi super, Missus est.
Libellus ejusdem ad claustrales.
Apocalipsis.
Tractatus super apocalipsim.

[CCLXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus super Cantica Canticorum.
Liber testamentorum Mathei, patriarche Constant.
—— qui dicitur cherubin.
—— Aviculani de tribus columbis.
Tractatus Noli monachi de viii viciis originalibus.
Quidam tractatus de moralitate rerum.
Promotheus Alexandri Nequam.

[CCLXXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Testamentum patriarcharum.
Liber Merarii.
Tractatus super primum librum de animalibus.
Expositiones biblie versifice.
Appolonius.
Quedam epistole.

[CCLXXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Arthuri de Alkimia.
Summa penitentialis Johannis de Deo.

[CCLXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tabula super decreta.
Tractatus super partem distinctionum decretorum.
Constituciones domini Octoboni legati in Anglia.
Margarita Bernardi super decretales.
Summa Brixensis cum summa Rofredi.

[CCLXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de penitentia.
Margarita Bernardi super decretales.
Distinctiones super titulos decretalium secundum Johannem Hispanum.
Summa Aretini de jure canonico.

Apparatus decretalium.
Summa prepositivi super iv libros sententiarum.
Summa Gaufredi.
Decreta.
Apparatus super decreta.
Casus decretorum.
Apparatus Innocentii super decretales.
Apparatus super summa de casibus.

[CCLXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Epistola beati Dionisii ad Thimotheum de morte Sancti Pauli.
—— —— Jeronimi ad Nepotianum.
Tractatus beati Bernardi de moribus et honestate vite.
Crisostomus de reparacione lapsi.
Meditacio sive oratio beati Ambrosii.
Epistola ejusdem ad Susannam monacham de reparatione lapsi.
Tractatus beati Ambrosii de moribus et honestate vite.
Oratio beati Augustini devotissima.
Ambrosius de virginitate.
Sermo beati Anselmi de passione domini.
Summa, Qui bene presunt.

[CCLXXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Vita Aristotelis egregii philosophi.
Tractatus Elredi Abbatis de amicitia spirituali.
Omelie Eusebii ad monachos.
Summa super codicem.
Decretales apparate.
—— in parte apparate.
—— non apparate.
Liber Senece.

[CCLXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Seneca de vera amicitia.
Tullius de officiis, lib. iii.
Paradoxa Tullii.
Seneca de beneficiis.
—— de clemencia ad Neronem imperatorem.
—— de iv virtutibus.
Epistole Senece ad Paulum.
—— —— ad Lucillum.
Seneca de remediis fortuitorum.
Brutus Latine.
—— Gallice.
Collectarium.

[CCLXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Tractatus W. de Campellis.
Seneca de remediis fortuitorum.

Excerpta de libro Senece de beneficiis.
Dicta Sapientum.
Libellus de Gerundinis.
Tractatus de barbarismo et ceteris viciis.
Libellus epistolaris.
Collectarium.

[CCLXXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de phisica.
—— de vermilione et aliis coloribus faciendis.
Tractatus de sirurgia.
Epistola Aristotelis ad Alexandrum de regimine sui corporis.
Libellus de origine nominum.
Tractatus de Trinitate.
—— de partibus orationis.
—— de ortographia.
—— de barbarismo et ceteris viciis.
Summa de sirupis çonficiendis.
Algorismus.

[CCLXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Statuta cunctorum Regum Anglie.
Libellus Jesse de ethimologia verborum.
Quedam utilia excerpta de decretis.
Tractatus de periculis novissimorum temporum.

[CCXC] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Augustinus de singularitate clericorum.
Liber de pomo Aristotelis.
Expositio super, Frater Ambrosius.
Quidam tractatus qui sic incipitur, manifestavi.
Anselmus de divinis scripturis.
Liber colloquiorum M. Hugonis.
Sermo de penitentia et confessione.
Beda de scematibus.

[CCXCI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Beta de arte metrica.
Summa super casus decretalium.
Liber missale philosophi Greci.

[CCXCII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Beda de compoto manuali.
Casus super codicem.
Liber de modo dictandi.
Thobias.
Cronica de gestis pontificum et imperatorum.
Grescismus.

Ovidius de fastis.
—— magnus.
Derivaciones partium.

[CCXCIII] *Libri N. de Grantebregge.*
Notule super psalterium.

[CCXCIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones.
Ars predicandi.
Notule divine Scripture.
Summa Promothei.
Job ad literam.

[CCXCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regule preteritorum et suppinorum a Prisciano excerpte.
Tractatus de verbis quarte conjugacionis.
Decreta.
Huguntio super decreta.
Casus decretalium.
Breviarium fratris bone fortune.
Liber excerptus de diversis doctoribus.

[CCXCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Bernardus de diligendo deo.
—— de castitate, caritate, et humilitate.
—— de xii gradibus hilaritatis.
Sermo ejusdem super, Missus est.
Bernardus de vi verbis domini in cruce.
Hugo de v septenis.
—— de virtute orandi.
Soliloquium Hugonis de arra anime.
Quedam Moralia excerpta ex dictis Hugonis.
Hugo de habitu religionis.
—— de meditatione.
—— de laude caritatis.
Questiones lxvi Orosii ad Augustinum.
Responsiones Augustini ad Orosium.
Tractatus de glorificacione corporis et beatitudine anime.
Sermones.
Tractatus M. Petri Parisiae' de tropis loquendi.
—— super, omne capud lang'.
Sermones.
Lanfrancus contra Berengarium.

[CCXCVII] *Liber Johannis de Schamelesford.*
Decretales veteres.
Summa decretalium.
Opposiciones super codicem.

[CCXCVIII] *Liber Johannis de Eastria.*
Summa Gaufridi.
Alexander de naturis rerum.

[CCXCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Brutus latine.
Nomina regum Britannie sicut per ordinem successerunt.
De Archiepiscopis Cant. quis cui successit et quantum sedit.
Dicta Aquile.
Expositio orationis dominice.
Burnellus.

[CCC] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Historia trojanorum.
Collectarium ejusdem.

[CCCI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus M. A. Nequam de ortographia.
—— ejusdem super bibliam.

[CCCII] *Libri R. de Pritewelle.*
Pantheon.

[CCCIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Hystoria Anglorum et Saxonum.
—— de lege et natura Saracenorum, et de vita et origine et lege Mathomethe prophete.
Epistola Alexandri magni ad Aristotelem.
Libellus qui dicitur ymago mundi.
Cronographia Necephori Episcopi Constantinopol. ab Adam usque ad Imperatorem Fredericum.
Liber Magistri W. de Conchis de philosophia.

[CCCIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sinonima Ysidori.
Quedam moralia.
Libellus de Sacramentis.
Tractatus de celebracione misse.
Solinus de mirabilibus mundi.
Tractatus Pompeii de accentibus super Donatum.
Moralium dogma.

[CCCV] *Liber S. de Ikham.*
Liber de naturis.
Logica nova.

[CCCVI] *Liber M. R. de Watelinton.*
Tractatus super iv libros sententiarum.

[CCCVII] *Libri R. de Elham.*
Summa qui bene presunt cum sermonibus dominicalibus per annum.

[CCCVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Innocencius super Canonem misse.
Tractatus qui dicitur Ben covient.
Regula beati Benedicti.

[CCCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Augustinus de vita clericorum.
—— de igne purgatorii.
Regula beati Augustini de communi vita clericorum.
Augustinus de utilitate spritualium canticorum.
Tractatus de virtutibus theologicis.
Libellus de cardinalibus Romane ecclesie.
Introductiones collacionum.
Questiones de theologia cum sermonibus.
Libellus de arte siccatoria.

[CCCX] *Libri G. de Romenal.*
Biblia.
Historie manducatoris.
Historie.
Sententie Longobardi.
—— Johannis Damasceni.

[CCCXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber ejusdem de philosophia.
Anselmus de similitudinibus.
Promotheus Alexandri Nequam.
Concordantie super decreta.
Quedam summa de foro judiciali.
Breviarium bone fortune.

[CCCXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ysidorus de virtutibus.
—— de summo bono.
—— de differenciis.
Tractatus super psalterium.
Libellus de vita Sancti Luce Evangeliste.
Boicius de disciplina scolarium cum comento.
Pantheon.

[CCCXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Statuta Octoboni legati.
Libellus de omnibus episcopis subjectis ecclesie Romane.
—— de castris et rivis, aquis et montibus, et monasteriis Britannie majoris.
Concilium Gregorii x Lugduni celebratum.
Historia de lege et natura Saracenorum.
Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem.
Libellus qui dicitur ymago mundi.

Cathalogus Romanorum Pontificum et Imperatorum.
Cronica de summis pontificibus et Imperatoribus.
Constituciones J. de Pecham Cant. Archiepiscopi.
Dispensaciones Magistri Johannis de Deo.
Sissatleus super tertium et quartum librum sententiarum

[CCCXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule Theologie.
Libellus qui dicitur historia imperialis.
Psalterium secundum Longobardum.
Alexander de naturis rerum.

[CCCXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Moralia excerpta ex dictis Gregorii.
Meditaciones beati Bernardi.
Notule super iv libros sententiarum.
Libellus de mutua caritate et communione gratie.
Epistole canonice glosate.
Lucas glosatus.
Johannes glosatus.
Rationale.
Sermones per annum. Ambiciamus.
Sermo, Si filius dei es.
Veni mecum cum tabula.
Tractatus R. Groseteste, templum domini.

[CCCXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa, Qui bene presunt.
Quidem sermones.
Tractatus de fide.
Moralia super Johannem.
Excerpta de libris Senece.
Notule Thome de Bockingge super Deutronomium.

[CCCXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Brito de derivationibus.
Casus Bernardi super librum decretalium.
Liber M. W. de Conchis de philosophia.

[CCCXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de spera.
Decreta.
Decretales non apparate.
Vetus compilatio decretalium.
Casus decretalium Bernardi.
—— decretalium et decretorum.
Summa Gaufridi.
—— Reimundi.
Tractatus de penitentia.

[CCCXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber penitencialis M. J. de Deo.
Concordantie super decreta.
Questiones M. B. Brixiensis.
Liber distinctionum florum juris canonici.
Summa gratie Aretini.
—— de confessionibus audiendi.
Digestum novum.
Summa Assonis.
—— Rofredi de jure civili.
Notule super codicem.
Summa Tauncredi.

[CCCXX] *Liber Luce de Osprenge.*
Collectarium de multis, in lingua Gallicana.

[CCCXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sinonima super artem phisice.

[CCCXXII] *Liber M. Thôme de Cherringge.*
Liber Ypocratis de regimine verborum.

[CCCXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tegni Galieni.
Liber pronosticorum Ypocratis.
—— Amforismorum Ypocratis.
—— urinarum Egidii cum commento Gilberti.
Viaticus Constantini.

[CCCXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber amphorissimorum Ypocratis.
Tegni Galieni.
Liber urinarum Theophili.
—— pronosticorum ypocratis.
—— de regimine acritarum.
—— urinarum Ysaac.
—— —— Egidii.
Philaretus de pulsibus.
Johannicius.
Notule super phisicam.
Diete universales et particulares.

[CCCXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ysaac de urinis.
Liber qui vocatur rogerimus.
—— anathomia.
—— medicinalis G. de Agnili.
Questiones Magistri Rogeri.
Practica major ejusdem.
Circa instans.

Johannicius.
Practica Rogeri.
Liber urinarum, Egidii.

[CCCXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Viaticus Constantini.

[CCCXXVII] *Libri M. R. de Faveresham.*
Decretales nove apparate.
Innocencius super decretales.
Digestum vetus.
—— novum.
Infortiatum.
Codex.
Lectura prime partis codicis.
—— secunde partis.
Glose sexti libri decretalium.

Incipit secunda demonstracio cum contentis. Distinctio prima.

[CCCXXVIII] *Libri Sancti Thome.*
Genesis glosata.
Pentateucus glosatus.
Biblia.
Josue glosate.

[CCCXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Judicum. Liber Ruth.
Regum glo. et Paralipomenon.
Psalterium secundum Anselmum.
—— —— Longobardum.
Parabole Salomonis, glosate.
Ecclesiastes glo.
Liber sapientie glo.
Ysaias, glo.
Jeremias, glo.
Item Jeremias, glo.
Lamentaciones Jeremie, glo.
Ezechiel, glo.
Duodecim prophete, glo.
Ecce quam bonum.
Quatuor Evangelia, glo.
Marcus, glo.
Johannes, glo.
Epistole canonice, glo.
—— Pauli secundum Longobardum.
—— —— —— Anselmum.
Apocalipsis, glo.

Sententie Longobardi.
Hugo super Ecclesiasten.
Item Hugo super Ecclesiasten.

[CCCXXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Hugo de differencia divine Theologie et mundane.
—— de Archa Noe.
Rabanus super Ecclesiasticum.

[CCCXXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Cronica de viii etatibus seculi.
Tractatus qui dicitur omne capud languidum.
Omelie Gregorii.
Warnerius Gregorianus.
Ysidorus de genere officiorum.

[CCCXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tullius Tuscalanarum.
Ambrosius de Officiis.

[CCCXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ambrosius de sacramentis.
Item Ambrosius de paradiso.
Ambrosius de patriarchis.
—— de Sancto Joseph.
—— de benedictionibus patriarcharum.
—— de apologia David.
—— de vinea Naboth Jezraelite.
—— de jejunio.
—— de Pastoribus.
—— de penitencia.
Prima pars Titi Livi.
Secunda pars Titi Livi.
Agellius Noctium Atticarum.

[CCCXXXIV] *Distinctio secunda.*
Quintus Cursius.

[CCCXXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vegetius de re militari.
Solinus.

[CCCXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Valerius Maximus de dictis et factis memorabilium.
Historia Trojanorum.
Sermo Petri Ravennatis.
S. Guerrici Abbatis.
S. estote fortes.
Sermo, homo quidam erat dives.
—— Gubernator prudens.
—— hodie dilectissimi.

Sermo, Ascendit deus.
—— longe aspiciebam.
Item Sermo, Aspiciebam.
Mariole.
Liber exortacionum beati Bernardi, ad Eugenium papam.

[CCCXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Bernardus de amore dei.
Abbreviacio Veteris Testamenti.
Liber Odonis prioris de moribus ecclesie.
Epistole Cipriani.

[CCCXXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Apologeticus Gregorii Nazanzeni.
Epistole Regis Atheniensium.
Decreta. Codex.
Inforciatum.
Digestum vetus.
Digestum novum.
Instituta.
Item Instituta.
Liber de preparacione titulorum.
Item liber preparacione titulorum.

[CCCXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Quedam compilacio legum.
Item Exactis.
Prescianus magnus.
Prescianus constructionum.

[CCCXL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Athocismi Prisciani.
Priscianus de accentibus.
—— de versibus Virgilii.
—— de nomine, pronomine, et verbo, ad instructionem puerorum.
Beda de arte metrica.
Donatus de barbarismo.
Beda de scematibus.
Donatus de arte metrica.
Tractatus de iv alphabetis in lamentacionibus Jeremie.
Marcianus Capella, lib. ix.
Liber Quintilliani, lib. x.

[CCCLI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa legum.
Liber Senece de clamacionibus.
Marcianus Cocus.

[CCCXLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Zema Marciani.

Item Apophorica Marciani.
Vegetius de re militari.

[CCCLXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de situ Jerusalem et locis sanctis.
Policraticus Johannis, lib. iii.

[CCCXLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Methalogicon ejusdem, lib. viii.

[CCCXLV] *Liber M. Herberti de Boseham.*
Prima pars psalterii secundum Longobardum.
Secunda pars psalterii secundum Longobardum.
Prima pars epistolarum Pauli secundum Longobardum.
Secunda pars epistolarum Pauli secundum Longobardum
Thomus.

[CCCXLVI] *Distinctio tercia.*
Liber Radfilfi Remensis.
Genesis glosata.
Exodus glo.
Leviticus glo.
Numerus glo.
Deutronomium glo.
Josue, glo.

[CCCXLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Liber Judicum glosatus.
—— Ruth, glo.
—— Regum, glo.
Paralipomenon, glo.
Esdras, glo.

[CCCXLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Neemias, glo.
Judith, glo.
Thobias, glo.
Hester, glo.
Job, glo.
Psalterium secundum Longobardum.
Parabole, glo.

[CCCXLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ecclesiastes, glo.
Item Cantica Canticorum, glo.
Liber Sapientie, glo.
Ecclesiasticus, glo.
Ysaias, glo.
Jeremias, glo.
Tractatus super Ezechielem.

[CCCL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule super omnes prophetas.
Item notule super librum Sapientie et super Job, et super librum Proverbiorum, et super quedam evangelia.
Daniel glosata.
Duodecim Prophete glosat.
Matheus, glo.
Marcus, glo.
Lucas, glo.
Johannes, glo.
Actus Apostolorum, glo.
Epistole canonice, glo.
Epistole Pauli secundum Longobardum.
Apocalypsis, glo.
Sententie Longobardi.
Boecius de Trinitate.
Hillarius de Trinitate, lib. xii.

[CCCLI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Hillarius de sinodis contra omnes hereses.
Item Hillarius ad Constantinum Augustinum (?) de fide catholica.
Hyllarius contra Auxentium Arrianum episcopum Mediolanensem.
Expositio Johannis super Jerarchiam Dyonisii.
Jerarchia Dionisii.

[CCCLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistole Dionisii.
Tractatus super Jerarchiam Dionisii.
—— super Genesim.

[CCCLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus super Leviticum.
Item Tractatus super librum Regum.
Duplices glose super Genesim.

[CCCLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Dupplices glose supper Matheum.
Glose super Exodum.

[CCCLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose super Pentateuchum.
Libellus de jure civili.
—— de operibus sex dierum.
—— super omne quod est in, quantum est bonum est.
—— contra Nestorium et Enticem.
Item diversa notabilia theologie.
Distinctio quarta.
Glose super Ysaiam et xii prophetas.

[CCCLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose super Danielem.
—— —— librum Numeri.
—— —— Parabolas.
—— —— Ecclesiasten.
—— —— Cantica Canticorum.
Notule super libros Salomonis.
Glose super Jeremiam.
Oratio Abacuc prophete.
Tractatus super Marcum, Lucam, et Johannem.
Pars glosarum super decreta.
Speculum Ecclesie.

[CCCLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio domini Remigii Antisiodorensis super Missam.
Tractatus Odonis Cameracensis episc. de canone altaris.
Expositio Hildeberti episcopi de divinis misteriis.
Tota ars phisice.
Liber Sermonum.

[CCCLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Yvonis Carnotensis de consonantia sacramentorum veteris et novi Testamenti.

[CCCLIX] *Liber Ricardi capellani Sancti Thome.*
Prima pars psalterii secundum Longobardum.
Secunda pars psalterii secundum Longobardum.
Prima pars decretorum.
Secunda pars decretorum.

[CCCLX] *Libri Lanfranci Archiepiscopi.*
Epistole Pauli secundum Anselmum.
Item epistole Pauli secundum Anselmum.
—— —— —— —— ——

[CCCLXI] *Libri Huberti Archiepiscopi.*
Biblia.

[CCCLXII] *Libri Radulfi de Watevile.*
Epistole Pauli glosate secundum Longobardum.
Biblia.

[CCCLXIII] *Libri Thome de Stureya senioris.*
Biblia.

[CCCLXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Concordantie morales super bibliam.
Triplex translacio psalterii.
Omnes libri Esdre.
Interpretaciones Ebraicorum nominum.
Historia ecclesiastica.

[CCCLXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Arbor propagacionis filiorum Ade.
Testamentum patriarcharum.
Sententie Longobardi.
Tractatus Thome de Alquino super primum librum Sententiarum.
—— ejusdem super secundum librum.
—— —— —— tercium librum.
Prima pars Concordantiarum.
Secunda pars.
Tercia pars.
Quarta pars.
Quinta pars.
Postille super Pentateuchum.
—— —— xii Prophetas.
—— —— Proverbia Salomonis.

[CCCLXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Postille super Cantica Canticorum.
—— —— Ysaiam.
—— —— Ezechielem.
—— —— Danielem.
Notule super hystoriam ecclesiasticam.
Tractatus S. Cantuar. Archiep. de penitentia Magdalene.
Epistola Pauli ad Romanos, glosata secundum Petrum Longobardum.
Postille super Danielem.
—— —— Matheum.
—— —— Marcum.

[CCCLXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Tractatus de sacramentis.
Claustrale Hugonis de Sancto Victore.
Excerpta utilia ex dictis Sanctorum.
Libellus de canonibus evangeliorum.
Tractatus de prelatis et eorum officiis.
Postille super Marcum et Lucam.
—— —— Ysaiam.
—— —— Genesim.
—— —— Job ad literam.
—— —— epistolas Pauli.
Liber Augustini xxviii in uno volumine videlicet,
Augustinus retractionum, lib. ii,
—— contra achademicos, lib. iii.
—— de vita beata, lib. i.
—— de ordine, lib. ii.
Soliloquiorum Augustini, lib. ii.
Augustinus de immortalitate anime, lib. i.

Augustinus de moribus ecclesie catholice. Et de moribus Manicheorum.
— de quantitate anime, lib. i.
—— unde malum et de libero arbitrio, lib. iii.
—— de Genesi contra Manicheos, lib. ii.
—— de musica, lib. vi.
—— de magistro, lib. i.
—— de vera religione, lib. i.
—— de utilitate credendi, lib. i.
—— de duabus animabus, lib. i.
—— de fide et simbolo, lib. i.
—— de Sermone domini in monte, lib. ii.
—— de mendacio, lib. i.
—— contra mendacium, lib. i.
—— de agone christiano, lib. i.
—— de natura boni, lib. i.
—— de bono conjugali, lib. i.
—— de virginitate, lib. i.
—— de divinacione demonum, lib. i.
—— de baptizatione parvulorum, lib. i.
Epistola Augustini ad Marcellinum.
Augustinus de unica baptizatione, lib. i.
—— de spiritu et litera.
Libri Augustini xiv, in uno volumine, videlicet,
Augustinus de consensu evangelistarum.
—— de c.xxviii questionibus veteris et novi testamenti.
—— de doctrina Christiana.
—— de octoginta tribus questionibus.
—— de viii dulctii questionibus.
—— ad inquisiciones Januarii.
Questiones Orosii, lxv. et totidem responsiones Augustini.
Augustinus contra Felicianum hereticum.
Yponosticon Augustini.
Augustinus de questionibus evangelii secundum Matheum.
—— —— —— —— Lucam.
—— de diversis questionibus.
—— de presencia dei ad Dardanum.
—— de mirabilibus divine scripture.
Encheridion Augustini.
Summa Magistri Johannis de Abisvilla.

[CCCLXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Mariale.
Item dialogus Adelardi Bathoniensis de questionibus naturalibus secundum Arabicos.
Jerarchia Dyonisii.

[CCCLXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Dionisius de ecclesiastica ierarchia.
Item Dionisius de divinis nominibus.
Dionisius de mistica theologia.
Sententie Johannis Damasceni.
Introductio elementaris dogmatum, Johannis Damasceni.
Item Trisagium Johannis Damasceni.
Interpretaciones hebraicorum nominum.

[CCCLXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermo Stephani Archiepiscopi Cantuar.
Expositio super simbolum Athanasii.
Excerpta de dictis beati Anselmi, et sanctorum patrum.
Epistola Jeronimi ad Marcellinum.
—— Augustini ad Jeronimum de origine anime.
Expositio Misse secundum Ysidorum.

[CCCLXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Passiones apostolorum et quorumdam martyrum.
Boecius quomodo Trinitas unus deus.

[CCCLXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio super librum de anima.
Item liber phisicorum Aristotelis.
Speculum ecclesie.
Liber de sacramentis.

[CCCLXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Moralia super Apocalipsim.
Excerpta de dictis philosophorum.
Pronosticon Toletani Episcopi de utroque seculo.
Glose super epistolas Pauli.
—— super Matheum.
Libellus exortatorius ad virtutes.
Scriptum Nichelli monachi ad Eliensem episcopum.
Sermo, Suscepimus deus.
Electiores sermones domini S. Archiepiscopi.
Sinonima Ysidori.

[CCCLXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Soliloquiorum Magistri Hugonis.
—— de iv virtutibus principalibus.
Tractatus de tribus habitaculis.
Admonicio beati Augustini de penitentia.
Monita Sancti Basilii Episcopi.
Expositio super canonem misse.
Historia de actibus Apostolorum.

[CCCLXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Questiones et notabilia.

Libellus de derivationibus.
Tractatus super Canonem Misse.

[CCCLXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Macer de virtutibus herbarum.
Rithmus Anglice.
De Institutione misse.

[CCCLXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Marbotus de natura lapidum.
Libellus de Jona propheta, versifice.
Marbodius de ornamentis verborum.
Questiones de omni hystoria.
Enigma Dionisii.
Libellus de versibus scriptis intra sepulchrum domini.
Tractatus de offertorio misse.
De triphonia ecclesie.

[CCCLXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de arte musica.
Tractatus de arte medica.
Dictionarius.
Libellus de regulis artis grammatice.
Liber misteriorum.
Libellus de prepositionibus.
Ars legendi in ecclesia.
Tractatus de opera.

[CCCLXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Beda de compoto.
Item Beda de temporibus.
Beda de lunacionibus cum tabula ejusdem.
Musica Guydonis.
Libellus de moralibus que Rome sunt.
—— de In prepositione.
Summa antisiodorensis.

[CCCLXXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Unum ex quatuor.
Distinctiones super quedam verba biblie.
Postille super cantica canticorum.
Collecte de jure civili et canonico.
Apparatus super librum Institutionum.

[CCCLXXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa de negociis civilibus.
Opus probe uxoris adelphi.
Ars notoria.
Item ars notoria que appellatur nova ars.
Notule super tres libros sententiarum.

Questiones Petri Pictavensis.
Moralium dogma.

[CCCLXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de grammatica.
Expositio simboli Niceni.
Ysidorus de summo bono.
Notule super Lucam.
—— —— sententias.
Lapidarius.
Expositio quorumdam verborum psalterii.
Liber de xii lapidibus preciosis.
Diversa notabilia de theologia.
Libellus de introductione dialectice.
Summa Reymundi de casibus abbreviata.

[CCCLXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Postille super Matheum.
—— —— Johannem.
Item summa Reymundi.

[CCCLXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa de casibus.
Fulgencius.

[CCCLXXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones quidam de sanctis et de tempore.
Anticladianus magistri Alani.

[CCCLXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Claudianus magnus.
Cosmographia Bernardi Silvestri.
Virgilius.
Opus probe uxoris Adelphi.
Tractatus de numero et astrolabio.
Anselmus de differenciis donorum.
Libellus de quadripharia dei operacione.
Liber de Mathematica.
Albimazar de floribus.
Ysagoge Johannicii.
Tractatus R. Premostracensis de canone misse.
Methodius.
Liber de usibus ordinis monastici.
Virgilius de Eneydis.
Distinctio undecima.

[CCCLXXXVII] *Libri Radulfi de Northwis.*
Historie Pauperum.

[CCCLXXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Instituta Justiniani.

Regule juris.
Glose M. Vicarii super regula juris.
Setardus.

[CCCLXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Promotheus.
Summa legum.

[CCCXC] *Liber Henrici Piun* (?).
Exodus glosatus.

[CCCXCI] *Liber W. de Okholte.*
Instituta Justiniani.

[CCCXCII] *Libri M. Hugonis de Luchis.*
Liber Regum, glosatus.
Epistole Pauli glosate secundum Longobardum.
Actus Apostolorum, glosati.

[CCCXCIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Hester, glosata.
Thobia, glos.
Judith, glos.
Matheus, glos.
Miracula Sancti Thome.

[CCCXCIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita Sancti Thome.

Libri Roberti de Hastinge.

[CCCXCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Allegorie historiarum.
Historie manducatoris.
Pauperum.
Instituta.

[CCCXCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regule juris.
Decreta abbreviata.

CCCXCVII] *Libri Roberti de Eynesham.*
Unum ex quatuor.
Glose super eundem.
Thomus.

[CCCXCVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Omelia in festo Sancti Thome.
Item cause exilii beati Thome.
Job Glosatus.

[CCCXCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Jeronimus ad Papam Damascum de prodigo filio.

[CCCC] *Liber Wiberti Prioris.*
Psalterium glos. secundum Longobardum.

[CCCCI] *Liber Honorii Prioris.*
Epistole canonice, glosate.

[CCCCII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose epistolarum Pauli ad Romanos.
Epistole et sermones ejusdem.

[CCCCIII] *Liber W. Gauterii Prioris.*
Biblia, cum interpretacionibus hebraicorum nominum.

[CCCCIV] *Libri W. Britonis.*
Psalterium glos. secundum Longobardum.
Epistole Pauli glos. secundum Anselmum.
Decreta Graciani.
Liber de tropis loquendi.

[CCCCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Questiones lxv Orosii et totidem responsiones Augustini.
Tractatus de vi verbis domini in cruce.
—— Odonis Abbatis de bello in librum Regum.
Hugo de laude caritatis.
Item Hugo de septenis.
—— —— de virtute orandi.
Liber Soliloquiorum ejusdem.
Excerpta de dictis ejusdem.
Meditaciones ejusdem.
Responsio ejusdem ad quedam interrogata.
Distinctiones psalterii et tropi loquendi.

[CCCCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de usura.

[CCCCVII] *Libri Salomonis supprioris.*
Moralia S. Archiepiscopi super xii prophetas.

[CCCCVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistole beati Bernardi Abbatis.
Verbum abbreviatum.

[CCCCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tropi loquendi.
Item tractatus de missa.
Liber Sermonum.

[CCCCX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule quedam de theologia.
Sermones Innocencii pape.

[CCCCXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule super Leviticum.
Sermo A. Nequam et concordantie.
Glose super quandam partem psalterii et questiones de theologia.

[CCCCXII] *Liber Gregorii.*
Psalterium glosatum secundum Anselmum.

[CCCCXIII] *Libri W. Duredent.*
Psalterium glosatum secundum Anselmum.
Lucas, glos.
Johannes, glos.

[CCCCXIV] *Libri Symonis.*
Prima pars psalterii, glos.
Secunda pars.
Tercia pars.

[CCCCXV] *Libri Auredi heremite.*
Psalterium glosatum secundum Poretanum.

[CCCCXVI] *Libri Petri de Lewes.*
Job. glosatus.

[CCCCXVII] *Distinctio duodecima.*
Psalterium glosatum secundum Anselmum.
—— —— —— Poretanum.
Item psalterium glosatum secundum eundem.
Epistole Pauli glosate secundum eundem.
Item Epistole Pauli glos. sec. eund.
Epistole Pauli glos. sec. Anselmum.

[CCCCXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Epistole canonice, glosate.

[CCCCXIX] *Liber Fulconis.*
Epistole Pauli glos. secundum Poretanum.

[CCCCXX] *Libri Gaufredi rubricani.*
Tituli psalterii.
Epistole Pauli glos. super Anselmum.
Glose super Matheum.

[CCCCXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose super Apocalipsim.

[CCCCXXII] *Libri Atsonis.*
Psalterium glosatum secundum Anselmum.
—— —— —— Longobardum.

[CCCCXXIII] *Liber Johannis.*
Epistole Pauli glosate secundum Anselmum.

[CCCCXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Cantica Canticorum, glos.
Epistole canonice, glos.
Libri Absalonis.
Regum, glos.
Psalterium, glos. secundum Longobardum.
Matheus, glos.

Johannes et Marcus, glos.
Epistole Pauli, glos. secundum Longobardum.

[CCCCXXV] *Liber Felicis.*
Psalterium, glos. secundum Longobardum.
Matheus et Johannes, glos.
Glose super Matheum.
Johannes et Marcus, glos.
Actus Apostolorum, glos.

[CCCCXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur*
Lucas, glosatus.
Epistole Pauli secundum Anselmum.
Decreta.
Glose super Matheum.
Job, glosatus.

[CCCCXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Cantica Canticorum, glos.

[CCCCXXVIII] *Libri Willelmi Fruntard.*
Exodus, glos.
Johannes, glos.

[CCCCXXIX] *Libri Symonis de Evesham.*
Genesis, glos.
Parabole, glos.

[CCCCXXX] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Ecclesiastes, glos.
Cantica Canticorum, glos.
Apocalipsis, glos., et Marcus, glos.
Item Apocalipsis, glos.

[CCCCXXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Cantica Canticorum, glos.

[CCCCXXXII] *Libri Thome Brenel.*
Decreta Graciani.
Mens decretorum.
Libri Aaron.
Cantica Canticorum.

[CCCCXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regula beati Benedicti.
Quedam notule super Prophetas.
Item Cantica Canticorum.
Sermo, Parate viam domino.

[CCCCXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de naturis quorumdam avium moraliter expositis.
Distinctiones Promethei super decreta.
Johannes, glosatus.

[CCCCXXXV] *Libri magistri Humfridi.*
Psalterium glos. secundum Longobardum.
Epistole Pauli glos. secundum eundem.
Sententie Longobardi.
Historie manducatoris.
Decreta Graciani.

[CCCCXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Concilium Lateranense.
Decretales Epistole Alexandri.
Summa Faventini.
Brocardus.

[CCCCXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Compotus Bede de lunacionibus.
Decretales Epistole Alexandri.
Institucionnes et autentica.
Digestum vetus.
—— novum.
Omnes summe legum.
Infortiatum.
Decretales Epistole Alexandri.
Glose super glosas Mathei et Marci.

Distinctio xiii^a^.

[CCCCXXXVIII] *Libri Humfredi de Mallingge.*
Psalterium secundum Longobardum.
Epistole canonice, glosate.
Historie manducatoris.
Miracula Sancti Thome.
Liber sententiarum Longobardi.

[CCCCXXXIX] *Libri Roberti de Leysdone.*
Genesis et Exodus, glos.
Leviticus, glos.
Libri communes. glos.
Matheus, glos.
Item Matheus, glos.
Glose super epistolas Pauli secundum Longobardum.
Item glose super epistolas Pauli.
—— —— —— epistola Pauli.
Marcus glosatus.

[CCCCXL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Apocalipsis, glosata.
Boecius de Trinitate.
Cantica Canticorum.
Item Cantica Canticorum.

[CCCCXLI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones Ricardi monachi Cant. diebus dominicis per annum.
Glose super Cantica Canticorum.
Apocalipsis.
Item Apocalipsis.

[CCCCXLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de viii viciis principalibus.
Excerpta de glosa super pentateuchum.
Glose super Apocalipsim.
—— —— Ezechielem, et Ysaiam.
Psalterium glosatum secundum Longobardum.
Tituli psalterii.

[CCCCXLIII] *Liber Alexandri de Dovoriæ.*
Questiones Petri Pictavensis.
Sententie abbreviate.

[CCCCXLIV] *Liber Magistri R. de Sancto Victore.*
Liber Sermonum.

[CCCCXLV] *Libri R. de Lyede.*
Instituta Justiniani.
Decretales et olim et dolum.
Vita et miracula Sancti Thome.
Epistole ejusdem.
Libri Nigello.
Hystorie manducatoris.
Sententie Longobardi.
Cronica decani London.

[CCCCXLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita Sancti Thome, abbreviata.
Libellus versifice ad Innocentium papam.
Item passio Sancti Laurencii, versifice.
Libri distinctionum super vetus et novum testamentum.
Distinctiones super psalterium.

[CCCCXLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Allegorię Ysidori.
Distinctiones super Alphabetum.
Johannes, glosatus.
Interpretaciones ebraicorum nominum.

[CCCCXLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus super, verbum caro factum est.
Alexander. co.
Libri Reginaldi.
Liber de Tropis loquendi.

[CCCCXLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Libellus de miseria hominis.
Tractatus de missarum misteriis.
Liber de studio sapientie et xii prophetis.
Summa promethei super decreta.

[CCCCL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Secardus.
Epistole Sancti Thome.

—— —— ——

Libri Helye Thes'n.
Lamentaciones Jeremie, glos.
Lucas, glos.
Johannes, glos.
Passio et epistole beati Thome martyris.

[CCCCLI] *Libri Rogeri Noreis.*

Marcus, glos.
Lucas, glos.
Johannes, glos.
Apocalipsis, glos.
Lamentaciones Jeremie, glos.
Cantica Canticorum ter exposita.
Liber de naturis rerum et Ecclesiastes, glos.
Liber Sermonum sint lumbi.
Verbum abbreviatum et tractatus de clastro anime.
Tractatus de oneribus Egypti et quidam sermones.
Sermo, petite et accipietis.

[CCCCLII] *Distinctio xiv^a^.*

Sermo, Dixit Jesus Petro.
—— Fons et Origo.
—— Deus habitat.
—— Respuit onus.
Sermones, diebus festis et dominicis per annum.
In exordio mundi.
Sermones parate et quedam notabilia.
Sermo, videte vocationem et notule theologie.
—— in Jehenna duplex est ignis.
—— Justum deduxit.
—— Quomodo sedet et alia notabilia.
Liber proverbiorum et verborum utilium quedam persona.
Sermo, sanctificamini.
—— si exaltatus fuero.
—— Ortus conclusus.
Liber Sermonum et quedam notabilia.
—— —— Exaltent eum.
Collocarium multorum utilium.

Sermo, estote solliciti.
—— et quedam notabilia gratia prima fide.
Sermones penitentes.
Tractatus super omne capud languidum.

[CCCCLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de glorificacione corporum et beatitudine animarum.
Item sermones.
Sermones, fugite a facie gladii.
Tropi loquendi.
Sermo, Exemplum dedi.

[CCCCLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de filiis Zebedei.
Distinctiones secundum alphabetum et quedam notabilia.
—— et tractatus secundum numerorum progressum cum sermonibus.
—— super psalterium secundum Petrum Pictavensem.
Summa secundum numerorum progressum exposita.
Sermones diebus dominicis in Gallica lingua et latina.
Collectarium secundum alphabetum avaricia.
Distinctiones domus dei.
Epistole Pauli et apocalipsis.
Hugo de Archa Noe et Epistole quedam.
Liber de fide catholica et tractatus de missa.
Sermones et quedam epistole.

[CCCCLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de iv inimicis et iv amicis.
Item tractatus de interiori homine.
Glose prudentium.
Liber de philosophia. Quoniam ut ait.
Plato et Marcianus capella.
Boecius de consolacione.
Marcialis cocus.
Commentum Macrobie de sompno Scypionis.
Epistole Senece et Pannonie.
Liber de Astronomia.
—— Hermanni de Astrolabio.
Ars phisice.
Glose super phisicam.
Afforismi et diete particulares et practica Abbatis de curia.
Liber de simplici medicina et practica M. Bartholomei.
—— stomachi.
—— practicalis.

[CCCCLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus lamentabilis de dilacione Jerosolimitani itineris.

Macer de virtutibus herbarum.
Tractatus de phisica.
Distinctiones super phisicam.
Liber de phisica et lapidarium.

[CCCCLVII] *Libri Symonis supprioris.*
Biblia versifice.
Tractatus S. Archiepiscopi super ecclesiam.
Allegorie Ysidori super Pentateuchum.

[CCCCLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Hugo de arra anime.
Item Hugo de Archa noe.
Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus.
Liber distinctionum.
Dialogus beati Gregorii.
Diadema monachorum.

[CCCCLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermo beati Ysidori de corpore et sanguine domini.
Hystorie manducatoris.

[CCCCLX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Prologus beati Jeronimi.
Sententie Longobardi.
Hugo de claustro anime.

[CCCCLXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de statu anime.
Tractatus de operacionibus quarumdam herbarum.
Liber versifice de misteriis misse.
De miseria hominis.

[CCCCLXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Innocencius de missarum misteriis.
Tractatus Lotharii Cardinalis ad Benedictum presbiterum.
De fide et spe.
Pomerius de vita activa et contemplativa.

[CCCCLXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Interpretaciones quorumdam nominum secundum Ysidorum.
Tractatus de sex etatibus.
Hugo de iv judiciis.
Ysidorus de contemptu mundi.
Cassiodorus de eloquentia.
Sermo de conventu montis Israelis [isrl'?].
Glose super Cantica Canticorum.
Liber de concordantiis auctoritatum veteris et novi testamenti.

[CCCCLXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Quedam excerpta de diversis doctoribus.

Excerpta quedam ex dictis sanctorum cum sermonibus.
Sermo S. Archiepiscopi, viderunt.
Item sermo ejusdem, vidi super.
Vel de mortalitate rerum qui dicitur angelus.
Vita et miracula Sancti Thome.

[CCCCLXV] *Distinctio, xv*[a].
Liber de concordantiis auctoritatum veteris et novi Testamenti.

[CCCCLXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur :*
Rubrice epistolarum et evangeliorum per annum, tam diebus dominicalibus quam sanctorum.

[CCCCLXVII] *Liber R. Fruntardi.*
Hystorie manducatoris.

[CCCCLXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Arbor propagacionis filiorum Ade.

[CCCCLXIX] *Libri Alexandri de Osprenge.*
Verbum abbreviatum.

[CCCCLXX] *In hoc volumine continentur :*
Liber tropis loquendi.
Unum ex quatuor.
Glose super unum ex quatuor.
—— · —— sententias.

[CCCCLXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule et questiones de theologis.
Glose super Genesim.
Liber Sermonum et quedam notabilia.
Notule super hystorias.
Tractatus M. P. Paris de tropis loquendi.

[CCCCLXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de missa.
Excerpta utilia de libris sanctorum cum aliis notabilibus.
Verbum abbreviatum.
Item tractatus M. P. Paris de tropis loquendi.

[CCCCLXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de missa.
Excerpta de libro florum.
Verbum abbreviatum.
Hugo de meditacione.
Introitus in hystoriam M. P. Lumbardi.
Regule preteritorum et suppinorum a Prisciano excerpte.
Decreta minora.

[CCCCLXXIV] *Libri W. Thesaurarii.*
Glose super iv. Evangelia.
Pantheologus inperfectus.

Liber de legibus et consuetudinibus Anglie.
Hugo de claustro anime.

[CCCCLXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de xii. abusionibus seculi.

[CCCCLXXVI] *Liber Magistri Gervasii.*
Decreta.
Glose super decreta.
Pauperum.
Regule juris.

[CCCCLXXVII] *Libri M. R. de Mepeham.*
Unum ex quatuor.
Summa M. J. Belet.

[CCCCLXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermo cum distinctionibus.
Decreta.
Instituciones.
Secardus.

[CCCCLXXIX] *Libri Petri de Knoltone.*
Glose super Psalterium secundum precentorem Paris.

[CCCCLXXX] *Libri M. Warini.*
Psalterium glosatum secundum Longobardum.
Sententie Longobardi.
Hystorie man *(sic)*.
Epistole Yvonis Carnotensis.
Marcus glosatus.

[CCCCLXXXI] *In hoc volumine ocntinnetur:*
Epistola Augustini ad Dardanum.

[CCCCLXXXII] *Liber R. de Chevene.*
Biblia.

[CCCCLXXXIII] *Libri Philippi de Wynchelesc.*
Decreta.
Liber Regum, glosatus.

[CCCCLXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Evangelica hystoria.
Actus Apostolorum.
Liber de dupplici adventu.

[CCCCLXXXV] *Libri Willelmi Capun.*
Moralia S. Archiepiscopi super vetus et novum Testamentum in v. voluminibus.
Historie manducatoris.
Sententie Longobardi.
Distinctiones Stephani Archiepiscopi.

Libri de significationibus nominum.
Glose super epistolas Pauli.

[CCCCLXXXVI] *Libri Wyberti de Bello.*
Matheus glosatus.
Alquinus de Trinitate.

[CCCCLXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus contra G. Pictavensis episcopum.

[CCCCLXXXVIII] *Libri Willelmi de Ely.*
Questiones Theologie.

[CCCCLXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositiones divinorum librorum.
Tractatus de veteri Testamento.
Item sermones.
Epistole P. Blesensis abbreviate.

[CCCCXC] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de fide et spe.
Sententie ex moralibus beati Gregorii.
—— diversorum doctorum catholicorum.
Summa S. Archiepiscopi.

[CCCCXCI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermo A. Nequam.
Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus.
Epistole beati Bernardi.
Epistole S. Archiepiscopi.
Expositio super orationem dominicam et quedam notabilia.
Concordantie veteris et novi Testamenti.

[CCCCXCII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Interpretaciones Ebraicorum nominum.
Item Sermones S. Archiepiscopi.
Liber Sermonum.

[CCCCXCIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus Petri Blesensis ad Henricum Regem Anglorum qui dicitur ludus regis.

[CCCCXCIV] *Libri Ricardi de Mallingge.*
Questiones M. A. Nequam de Sermonibus.
Item Sermo M. A. Nequam.
Sermo, Aspiciens a longe.
Item, Sermones.
Excepciones ejusdem.

[CCCCXCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Flores Sententiarum.
Synonima Ysidori.
Pars glosarum super Psalterium.

Glose super novum Testamentum secundum A. Nequam.
Sermo, plantaverat.

[CCCCXCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose super Cantica Canticorum.
Distinctiones super Psalterium.
Incepciones sermonum et flores sententiarum.
Distinctiones super Psalterium cum questionibus et aliis notabilibus.
Liber de claustro materiali.

[CCCCXCVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de xii abusionibus claustri.
Hugo de claustro anime.
Item Hugo de oratione.

Distinctio xvi^a.

[CCCCXCVIII] *Libri Johannis Abbatis de Davinton.*
Decreta.
Liber qui dicitur Angelus.
Libri Alani.
Epistole Pauli glosate secundum Anselmum.
De vi verbis domini in cruce.

[CCCCXCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de miseria hominis.
Tractatus de missarum misteriis.
Excerpta de verbo abbreviato.

[D] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Incepciones Sermonum cum questionibus et aliis notabilibus.
Johannes glosatus.
De miseria hominis.

[DI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de missarum misteriis.
Item glose divinorum librorum.
Libri judicorum beati Gregorii de salute animarum.
Item quedam Evangelia.
Quedam Excerpta de diversis doctoribus.
Biblia versifice.

[DII] *Liber Johannis de Sidingbourne.*
Biblia.
Sententie Longobardi.
Psalterium glosatum secundum A. de Bromfeld.
Notule Alexandri Nequam super Psalterium.

[DIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Promotheus.
Distinctiones super Psalterium.

[DIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tropi loquendi.
Questiones J. de Sidingbourne.
Glose super Epistolas Pauli.
Sermo S. Archiepiscopi Fornacensis.
Notule super Regum.
Questiones theologie.

[DV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regule theologie.
Item Regule Ciconii.
Maxime theologie cum questionibus.
Expositio Alexandri Nequam super caput aquile.

[DVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones.
Item notabilia de diversis doctoribus excerpta.
Liber Soliloquiorum M. Hugonis.
Summa Magistri Johannis Bilet.

[DVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermo cum notabilibus.
Libri Martini Episcopi de iv virtutibus.
Proverbia Sapientum.
Tractatus de x plagis Egypti.
Gesta Salvatoris nostri.
Compilacio prologorum biblie.
Proverbia excerpta ab auctoribus.
Fulgencius de fide.

[DVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sententie Juliani pomorii.
Speculum ecclesie.
Genealogia Regis Henrici.
Macrobius de Saturnalibus.
Tractatus de aliis confessionibus.
Sermo, S. Archiepiscopi, Vidi.
—— Querite.
Sermones et distinctiones.
Sermo, Emitte.
—— Ecce quam bonum.
—— Oculi domini.
De miseria hominis.

[DIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vita Sanctorum Alphardi et Ruffini fratrum.
Item Sermo et quedam notabilia.
Concilium Lateranense.

[DX *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus super decreta.
Sermo et quedam dicta patrum utilia.
Liber versuum de primo.
—— —— sic licet omnis apex.
Sermones et proprietates rerum, versifice.

[DXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Interpretaciones secundum Re.
Tractatus de Sacramento altaris.
Tractatus super illum versum psalmi, si dormiatis inter medios cleros.
Sermo Regem venturum.
Liber exortationum beati Bernardi.

[DXII] *Libri S. Archiepiscopi.*
Glose super sententias.
Liber de principis instructione.
Erameron versifice.

[DXIII] *Libri Hugonis de Plukele*
Speculum penitentie.
Quedam Evangelia.
Questiones bone de theologia.
Item questiones.
Psalterium in latino et gallico.
Expositio super orationem dominicam et quedam notabilia.
Moralium dogma.

[DXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus.
Item in principio erat verbum.

[DXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus super ante vi dies pasche.
Item libellus de conjugio.

[DXVI] *Libri Willelmi de Scotindone.*
Moralia domini S. Archiepiscopi super Genesim, cum Sermonibus abbreviatis.
Item moralia S. Archiepiscopi super Ysaiam.

[DXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de capite x° et membris ejus.
Distinctiones notabiles.
Collectarium.

[DXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones.
Item prologus beati Jeronimi in Genesim et pars Genesis.
Pars glosarum super Psalterium.
Item questiones Theologie.

Moralia ejusdem super xii prophetas.
Expositio moralis super libros Machabeorum.

[DXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones dominicales per annum.
Sermo S. Archiepiscopi, Aperite.
Sermo ejusdem, Stelle dederunt.

[DXX] *Libri Thome de Sancto Valerico.*
Biblia.
Verbum abbreviatum.
Psalterium glosatum secundum Longobardum.
Regula beati Benedicti.

[DXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Rubrice de sonitu et consuetudinibus Cantuar. Ecclesie.
Professio monachorum.
Item rubrice de usu divini officii in Ecclesia Cantuar.

[DXXII] *Libri Symonis de Hybernia:*
Parabole Salomonis.

[DXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapientie.
Ecclesiasticus.
Item gesta et infantia Salvatoris.
Penitentiale.

[DXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de cognicione urinarum.
Libri Jordani.
Moralia S. Archiepiscopi super libros Salomonis.
Item moralia ejusdem super Ysaiam, Jeremiam, et Ezechielem.
Interpretationes ebraicorum nominum.

[DXXV] *Libri Johannis de Chetham.*
Biblia.
Decreta.
Tractatus beati Bernardi super Cantica.

[DXXVI] *Distinctio xvii^a^.*
Rabi Mosse.

[DXXVII] *Liber H. de Gerunde.*
De penitencia Magdalene.
Libri Ricardi Cruce signati.
Tractatus S. Archiepiscopi super Ecclesiasticum, lib. xxiv.
—— M. R. de Sancto Victore.

[DXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sententie abbreviate.

Speculum penitentie.
Liber constitucionum abbreviatus.

[DXXIX] *Libri W. Prioris Dorovie.*
Decreta.
Item Decreta.
Decretales Epistole.

[DXXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Exceptiones de tribus libris codicis.
Liber de verborum significacionibus.
Item Regule juris.
Item decretales.

[DXXXI] *Libri W. Terri.*
Ysaac de viribus anime.

[DXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Unum ex quatuor.
Summa Tartredi.
Item forma citacionum, commissionum, procuracionum, excusationum, absolutionum.

[DXXXIII] *Libri M. Reginaldi de Merstone.*
Decreta Graciani.
Decretales veteres.

[DXXXIV] *Liber M. Johannis Blundi.*
Liber Machabeorum.

[DXXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Paralipomenon glosatum.
Esdras, glos.
Neemias, glos.
Thobias, glos.
Judith, glos.
Hester, glos.

[DXXXVI] *Liber M. P. de Ringelton.*
Biblia, versifice.

[DXXXVII] *Liber Johannis de Hertford.*
Exceptiones M. R. de Sancto Victore, libri xiii.
De penitentia Magdalene.
Sermo, adorna thalamum.

[DXXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositiones divinorum librorum.
Flores proverbiorum Salomonis.
Summa M. R. Pulli de Trinitate.
Thobias, versifice.

[DXXXIX] *Libri M. Hugonis de filethe.*
Decretales.
Marcus et Lucas, glos.

[DXL] *Libri M. Hugonis de Romenal.*
Biblia.
Decretales epistole.

[DXLI] *Libri Rogeri de Reddingge.*
Biblia.
Psalterium glosatum secundum Longobardum.
Cantica Canticorum, glos.

[DXLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Actus apostolorum, glos.
Apocalipsis, glos.
Epistole canonice glos.
—— Pauli glosate secundum Longobardum.
Historie manducatoris.

[DXLIII] *Libri M. Gaterii de Evesham.*
Notule super Psalterium.
Tractatus Radulfi flammat'. super Leviticum.

[DXLIV] *Liber Thome de Elham.*
Diadema monachorum.

[DXLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus Martini Episcopi de quatuor virtutibus.
Sermo beati Ysidori de corpore et sanguine domini.

[DXLVI] *Liber Thome de Bridlington.*
De penitentia Magdalene.

[DXLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Proprietates rerum secundum alphabetum.
Item Sermones et the^ca [theologica?] S. Archiepiscopi.

[DXLVIII] *Libri Symonis de Leicestria.*
Digestum vetus.
Codex.
Decretales.
Item Decretales.
Instituciones.
Regule juris.

[DXLIX] *Liber Reginaldi de Coctone.*
Liber Florum.

[DL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de penitentia.
—— de modo confitendi.
Excerpta de medullis diversarum scripturarum.
Bernardus de interiori homine.

Monita beati Basilii.
Proverbia et dicta Sapientum.
Instructio signorum monasticorum.
Tractatus de noviter conversis.
Instructio noviciorum secundum consuetudinem Cantuariensis Ecclesie.
Libellus J. Sarum de statu curie Romane.
Item libellus ejusdem versifice.
Libellus de modo scribendi in negociis causarum et sententiarum.

[DLI] *Liber Symonis clerici.*
Decreta.

[DLII] *Libri Gregorii de Wynchelse.*
Summa M. Roberti de Cursun.

[DLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus Nigelli monachi ad Eliensem episcopum.
Quedam excerpta de Gregorio Warneriano.
Tractatus M. A. Nequam super vetus et novum Testamentum.

[DLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Proverbia M. W. de Monte.
Liber de contrarietatibus.
Tractatus de recordacione peccatorum.
Alexander coquinarius.

[DLV] *Liber M. W. de Waltone.*
Biblia.

[DLVI] *Liber Johannis de Hereford.*
Papias inperfectus.

[DLVII] *Libri Geraldi de Londone.*
Liber florum.

[DLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de penitentia.
Simbolum Apostolorum, glos.
Liber Cassiodori de Anima.
Tractatus de modo predicandi.
—— R. Premostracensis de ca^{e} abar.
Conflictum inter ducem et philosophum de natura hominis.
Libellus de prescientia predestinationis.
Hugo de x preceptis.
Libellus de sacramentis.
Sermo et notule cum distinctionibus.
Questiones theologie cum notabilibus.
Parabole M. Odonis.

[DLIX] *Libri M. Ricardi de la Lee.*
Biblia.
Exodus.

[DLX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Leviticus, glos.
Libri numeri, glos.

[DLXI] *Liber J. de Bokkingg.*
Liber de anima.

[DLXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Commentarium super librum de anima.
Liber de celo et mundo.
Averois super librum de sensu et sensato.
Idem super librum de sompno et vigilia.
—— —— —— de memoria et reminiscentia.
Librii xii philosophie prime.
Barbarismus donati.

[DLXIII] *Libri M. W. de Sancto Georgio.*
Biblia.
Matheus et Marcus, in uno volumine.
Epistole Pauli glos. secundum Longobardum.
Sententie.
Decreta.
Libri Dionisii.
Sermo de Nativitate.
Speculum penitentie.

[DLXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa magistri A. Nequam.
Item Alexander coquinarius.
Notule super Epistolas Pauli.

[DLXV] *Liber Johannis de Crundale.*
Omnis episcopus.

[DLXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Concilium Turonense.
Item diversa concilia a summis pontificibus in diversis locis celebrata.
Libri Paulini.
Numerale.

[DLXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de vera et falsa amicitia.
—— de significacionibus verborum sancti Evangelii.
Gesta Salvatoris.
Sermo et excerpta de libris. sanctorum.
Liber sermonum.

[DLXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Asseneth.
Liber de Sancto Apolonio.
Epistola Sancti Macharii ad filios.
Libellus de infantia salvatoris.
Parabole Ecclesiastes et Ecclesiasticus, in uno volumine.

[DLXIX] *Libri Willelmi de Dovoria.*
Biblia.
Decretales nove.
Libri extra gradus.
Libri G. presbiteri.
Liber Sermonum.

[DLXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Distinctiones notabiles.
Item glose super Judicum, Josue, Ruth, Regum, Thobiam, Judith, Hester, Neemiam, Machabeorum.
Item glose super trenos.
—— liber sermonum.

[DLXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Allegorie super Genesim.
Quedam excerpta de libris sanctorum.

[DLXXII] *Libri Michaelis de Sandwico.*
Decretales nove.
Epistole de tempore beati Edmundi.

[DLXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de sententia excommunicationis.
Item summa Reymundi.
Testamentum Patriarcharum.
Sermo, venite.
Penitenciale Magdalene.

[DLXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de thematibus.
Tractatus de obedientia carnis ad spiritum.
Libellus de oratione cum aliis notabilibus.
Liber officiorum ecclesiasticorum.

[DLXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose super Osee.
Infancia salvatoris.
Evangelium Nazareorum.
Asseneth.
Methodius.
Prophetia Hildegardi.
Epistole Frederici Imperatoris.

Libellus qualiter Tartari invaserunt regna Christianorum.
Liber Salomonis.

[DLXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Proverbia Salomonis.
Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapientie.
Ecclesiasticus.

[DLXXVII] *Libri Gauterii de Bourne.*
Glose super Pentateuchum.

[DLXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose super Epistolas Pauli.
Item glose super pauperum.
Tractatus de relacionibus in Trinitate.
Decretales nove.
Semediarum conversarum, lib. xii.

Liber Ricardi de Cruce.

[DLXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de diversis sentenciis.
Liber Martini episcopi qui dicitur formula vite honeste.
Gregorius de conflictu viciorum et virtutum.
Item tractatus de viciis et virtutibus.
Parabole Salomonis.
Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapientie.
Ecclesiasticus.
Proverbia et dicta sapientum.
Epistole Canonice.
Notule et distinctiones.
Liber Sermonum.
Item distinctiones R. Cursun.
Liber de missarum misteriis.
Item liber de miseria hominis.
Parabole Odonis.
—— beati Bernardi.
Expositio orationis dominice.
Dicta patrum utilia.
Vita beati Thome martiris et sancti Anselmi, in uno volumine.
Libri communes decretis et legibus.
Decreta pontificum et quedam concilia.
Secunda pars canonum.
Decreta minora.
Excepciones de decretis pontificum.

[DLXXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Quedam excerpta ex Registro beati Gregorii pape.
Libellus qui dicitur ceria Cipriani.
Quedam epistole Romanorum pontificum, ad regem Anglie et Archiepiscopo Cantuar.
Sententie de Trinitate.
Excerpta de diversis libris sanctorum.
Item excerpta de decretis pontificum.

[DLXXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sententie de Trinitate.
Excerpta ex libris beati Augustini.
Pars glosarum super decreta et leges.
Summa Decretorum.

[DLXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de origine juris canonici.
Item Summa Decretorum.

[DLXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de preparatoriis Judicorum.
Glose super decreta.
Summa Johannis Faguntini.
Instituciones Justiniani.
Item instituciones Justiniani.

Item Instituta.
Glose super instituta.
Item glose super instituta.
Liber de preparatoriis titulorum.
Liber de Summa Trinitate.
Item Regule juris.
Exacte.

[DLXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Excerpta ex libris beati Augustini et aliorum doctorum.
Interpretaciones hebraicorum nominum.

[DLXXXV] *Libri Ricardi de Wenchepe.*
Quedam pars hystoriarum.
Sententie.
Vita sancti Thome Elphegi et Dunstani.
Benedictiones solempnes.
Expositio Rabini de Agno Paschali.

[DLXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de modo predicandi.
Liber penitentialis R. de Sancto Victore.
Tractatus de viciis et virtutibus.
Item tractatus de corpore domini.

Liber de sacramentis.
Testimonium patriarcharum.
Epistole Nigelli ad Eliensem episcopum.
Seneca de institucione morum.
Tractatus beati Bernardi de interiori homine.
Liber Martini episcopi de iv virtutibus.
Instituciones noviciorum secundum consuetudinem Cantuariensis ecclesie.
Gesta Salvatoris.
Infantia Salvatoris.
Hystorie Sancte Marie de Sardan.
Tractatus R. Premonastratencis de canone misse.
Questiones de sacramento altaris.
Simboli apostolorum glos. cum aliis no^bus^ l de antichristo.
Parabole Odonis.
Item parabole beati Bernardi.
Conflictum inter ducem et Philippum de natura hominis
Hystorie Trojanorum et Britonum.

[DLXXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Gesta Alexandri Regis Macedonum.
Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotilem.
Prophetia Sibille.
Rubrice de usu seculi.
De penitentia Magdalene.
Speculum duorum.

[DLXXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus epistolaris.
Item Sermones.
Liber de modo audiendi confessiones.
Liber de compoto.

[DLXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de arte metrica.
Item liber tonorum.
Liber de modo dictandi.
Collectarium de multis notabilibus.
Liber de vita et honestate clericorum.

[DXC] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Innocencius de miseria hominis.
Exempla patrum.
Contencio inter Archiepiscopum Cant. et Menevenses.

[DXCI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Versus fenestrarum vitrearum ecclesie Christi et rithmus, versifice.
Quedam summa de phisica.
Macer de virtutibus herbarum.
Cronica.

Burnellus.
Brutus, gallice.

[DXCII] *Libri S. Archiepiscopi.*
Tractatus ejusdem super quinque libros Moysi.
—— —— —— Prophetas.
Annales de Doroberniensibus Archiepiscopis.

[DXCIII] *Liber M. Alexandri Poucyn.*
Codex.

[DXCIV] *Libri Thome Prioris.*
Liber de Naturis.
Viaticus Constantini cum Geraldo.
Septem libri textus artis medicine, videlicet,
Johannicius.
Liber tegni Galieni.
—— Afforisimorum Ypocratis.
—— pronosticorum.
—— Ypocratis de regimine morborum acutorum.
—— urinarum Theophili.
Philaretus de pulsibus.
Liber de naturis animalium.

[DXCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Avicenne de anima.
—— Aristotelis de causis.
Libellus Clementis de racionibus fidei.
Avicenna de proprietatibus elementorum.
Liber de practica medicorum.

[DXCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Circa instans.
Tabula Salernitaria.
Diete universales et particulares.

[DXCVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber urinarum Ysaac.
Signa Ricardi.

[DXCVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tabula Salernitana.
Antidotarium Nicholai.
Algorismus de signis planitarum.

[DXCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de compoto.
Tractatus de arte medicina.
Liber urinarum Egidii.

[DC] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Platearius.
Liber urinarum Ysaac.
Logica vetus.

[DCI] *Libri Willelmi de Refham.*
Tractatus et questiones super iv libros sententiarum.
Summa antisiodorensis super sententias.
Questiones de theologia.

[DCII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Glose super phisicam.
Notule super logicam.
Sententie super metaphisicam.
Item questiones de theologia.
Glose super Psalterium.

[DCIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de dupplici sapientia.
Glose super quasdam epistolas Pauli.
Item glose super Ysaiam.
Summa magistri W. de rupella de viciis et virtutibus.
Anselmus de casu diaboli.

[DCIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Anselmus de grammatica.
Item Anselmus de veritate.
Anselmus de libero arbitrio.
Cur deus homo Anselmi.
Anselmus de presciencia, predestinacione et gratia.
Item Anselmus de conceptu virginali et originali peccato.
Item sermones.
Ars predicandi.
Epistole Aristotelis ad Alexandrum.

[DCV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Vegecius de re militari.
Palladius de agricultura.
Privilegia universitatis Parisiensis.
Summa M. W. de Conchis de questionibus naturalibus.

[DCVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de sapientia philosophorum.
Metaphisica Avicenne.
Phisica ejusdem.
Liber de divisione philosophie.
Translatio libri posteriorum cum commento Temistii.
Liber Ysaac filii Salomonis de quatuor elementis.
—— M. Aluredi de motu cordis.
—— Hermetis mercurii de trimegistis.
—— de generacione animalium.
—— Avicenne de anima.
—— de naturis.

[DCVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Anselmus de veritate.
Liber de causis et causatis.
—— priorum et posteriorum.

[DCVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber ethicorum.
Topica Aristotelis.
Liber de animalibus.
Logica vetus.

[DCIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Elenchorum Aristotelis.
Philosophia Aristotelis.
Liber de morte et vita.
—— de causa et causato.
—— de sompno et vigilia.
—— de sensu et sensato.
—— metheororum.
—— de plantis.
Averois super librum de sensu et sensato.
Item logica vetus.

[DCX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Geometria euclidis.
Huguntio.
Ysidorus Ethicus imperfectus.
Prescianus Magnus.
Item Prescianus de constitucionibus.

[DCXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Prescianus de accentibus.
Barbarismus Donati.
Glose Prisciani de constructionibus.
Priscianus de xii versibus Virgilii.
Grescismus.
Viaticus Constantini imperfectus.
Ysagoge Alexandri super tegni Galieni.

[DCXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Questiones super librum phisicorum.
—— —— methaphisicam.
—— —— librum metheororum.
—— —— librum de ge^{ue} [generatione] et cor^{ne} [corruptione.]
—— —— —— de anima.

[DCXIII] *Liber Roberti de Foxle.*
Summa Gaufridi.
—— Egidii.

[DCXIV] *Libri Henrici de Depham.*
Biblia.
Decreta.
Decretales apparate.
Item decretales apparate.
Decretales abbreviate.

[DCXV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber scintillarum Cassiodori.
Quedam summa super sententias.
—— excerpta de libris Sententiarum.
—— glose super decretales.
Casus decretalium et decretorum.
Summa super decretales cum summa Gaufredi.
Receptorium Juris.

[DCXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa Bernardi Compostelli super decretas imperfecta.
—— Martiniani super decreta.

[DCXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Margarita Bernardi.
Tractatus de confessione et penitentia.
Summa penitentialis M. Johannis de Deo.
Tractatus de perfectione status religionis.
Quedam tabula super decretales.
Constituciones de lamethe cum quibusdam constitucionibus Romanorum pontificum.
Summa Reymundi.
Item Summa Reymundi.

[DCXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Flores moralium beati Gregorii pape.
Liber Sermonum dominicalium et festivitatum.
Item libri Sermonum.
Vita Sancti Thome martiris.

[DCXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus de penitencia.
Item Sermones.
Breviarium bone fortune.

[DCXX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Methodius.
Tractatus de x preceptis.
Item tractatus super librum sententiarum.
Summa Guidonis de modo loquendi et scribendi epistolam.
Libellus de exordiis amicorum.
Athelardus de naturalibus questionibus secundum Arabicos.
Prophetia Merlini.
Speculum spirituale amicitie.

Speculum hilaritatis.
Summa penitentialis.

[DCXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tabula super librum sententiarum.
—— —— —— Reymundi.
—— moralium beati Gregorii.
—— super partem biblie.
Speculum Juniorum.

[DCXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Excerpta de dictis beati Bernardi.
Distinctiones notabiles.
Collaciones abbreviate.
Item notule cum sermonibus.
Glose super Apocalipsim.
Distinctiones R. Groseteste.
Liber de Regimine Principis.
Glose super Deutronomium cum questionibus theologie.
Regula beati Benedicti.

[DCXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones cum distinctionibus.
Tractatus Innocentie de officio misse.

[DCXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa qui bene presunt.
Proverbia Senece.
Monita beati Ysidori de viciis enitandis.
Tractatus de diversiis sententiis doctorum.
Augustinus de conflictu viciorum et virtutum.

[DCXXV] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Regula beati Augustini de vita clericorum.
Meditaciones Anselmi.
Moralia super librum Sapientie.
Meditaciones Bernardi.
Laus monastice vite.
Liber Martini Episcopi de iv virtutibus principalibus.
Proverbia Senece.
Sententie Sapientum.
Expositio super, missus est.
Orationes ad deum et virginem gloriosam.
Liber de viciis et virtutibus.

[DCXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de anima.
Veni mecum.

[DCXXVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Practica equorum.

Descripcio sapientie.
Distinctiones lii.
Liber de contemplacione crucis, gallice.
Summa M. W. de Conchis.

[DCXXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber Johannis Bituricensis de astronomia et phisica.
Quedam summa de sirurgia edita a M. Rogero Fugardi.

[DCXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Commentum Guydonis super eandem.
Liber urinarum Ysaac.
Antidotarium Nicholai.
Liber qui dicitur lumen laicorum, gallice.

[DCXXX] *Liber M. Roberti de Gressenhale.*
Autentica.

[DCXXXI] *Libri Johannis de Chileham.*
Tractatus de canone altaris.
Breviarium bone fortune cum distibs [distinctionibus?].
Quidam liber qui sic incipit, In dandis accipiendisque muneribus.

[DCXXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de arte metrica.
Sententie super librum Elencorum.

[DCXXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Questiones super librum de sensu et sensato.
Summa Petri Hyspalensis.

[DCXXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Questiones super Priscianum.
Liber de causis cum commento.
Tractatus de viii partibus orationis.
Questiones super librum de generacione et corruptione.
—— —— —— phisicorum Aristotelis.
—— —— —— Priorum.
Sententie fratris Thome de Alquino super librum proyarmeas.
Questiones super librum de anima.
—— —— —— posteriorum.
Expositiones super quedam evangelia.
Priscianus de constructionibus.
Questiones super librum phisicorum.
Item questiones super librum phisicorum.
Donatus cum Prisciano et barbarismo.
Sententie super librum metheororum.
Sententie super Priscianum.
Sermones.
Item Sermones.

[DCXXXV] *Libri Petri de Ikham.*

Decretales.
Casus decretalium Bernardi.
Item casus decretalium J. de Deo.
Casus decretorum W. Brixensis.
Parabole Magistri Odonis.

[DCXXXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Expositiones biblie, versifice.
Anselmus de monte hilaritatis.
Hugo de abusionibus claustri.
Gesta Salvatoris.
Epistola Dionisii ad Thymotheum, de morte Pauli.
Bernardus de moribus et vita honesta.
Johannes Crisostomus de reparacione lapsi.
Libellus qui dicitur grece suda.
Ambrosius ad Susannam Monacham, de reparacione lapsi.
—— de moribus et vita honesta.
Dispensaciones Magistri J. de Deo.
Tractatus de penitentia.
—— de viciis principalibus.
—— de virtutibus cardinalibus.
Libellus de Summa Trinitate.
Digestum vetus.
Codex.
Institute Justiniani.
Brutus Latine et Gallice.
Tractatus de creacione mundi.

[DCXXXVII] *Libri W. de Cherringe.*

Hystorie cum genelogiis.
Sermo, Scindite corda.
Collectarium ex multis notabilibus sacre scripture.
Littere W. de Capella.
Psalterium de latino et gallico beate Marie.
Item Psalterium parvum beate Marie.

[DCXXXVIII] *Libri Johannis de Londoniis.*

Sententie Longobardi.
Brito super bibliam.
Summa Reymundi.
Item Summa.

[DCXXXIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*

Sententie abbreviate.
Tractatus super canonem misse.
Item tractatus super, missus est.
Item Sermones.

Collocarium de multis in gallica lingua.
Prescianus constructionum.
Liber de consuetudinibus Cantuariens.

[DCXL] *Libri Radulfi de Adesham.*
Summa Reymundi abbreviata.

[DCXLI] *In hoc volumine continentur.*
Testamentum patriarcharum.
Sermones.
Sermo, abjiciamus.
Item Sermo, precinxisti.
Expositiones diversorum nominum.
Collectarium de multis notabilibus.

[DCXLII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Concordantie biblie.
Quedam moralia super librum Psalmorum.
Tractatus de professione monachorum.

[DCXLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de contemplacione.
Excerpta ex libro confessionum beati Augustini.
Item Sermones.

[DCXLIV] *Libri Johannis de Hardres.*
Sententie Longobardi.
Legenda sanctorum.
Veritates theologie.
De proprietate nominum.

[DCXLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Interpretaciones hebraicorum nominum.
Item de proprietate nominum.

[DCXLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus epistolaris.
Tractatus de modo scribendi epistolas.
Innocencius de officio misse.

[DCXLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Barbarismus cum accentu.
Tractatus de x preceptis.

[DCXLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Libellus exhortatorius ad virtutes.
Innocencius de miseria hominis.
Tractatus de paciencia et aliis virtutibus.
Item tractatus super Regulam beati Benedicti.
Expositio super, miserere mei dominus.
Tractatus qui incipit, Ires sunt qui testimonium dant in celo.
Libellus de interrogacionibus faciendis in confessione.

Expositio simboli cum notabilibus.
Tractatus Bernardi de moribus et vita honesta.
Sermones.
Expositio super orationem dominicam.
Libellus de miraculis beati Thome.
Tractatus de xii viciis mortalibus.

[DCXLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tractatus de virtutibus cardinalibus.
Monita beati Ysidori de viciis evitandis.
Tractatus de virtutibus cardinalibus.

[DCL] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio orationis dominice.
Hugo de institucione noviciorum.
Meditaciones beati Bernardi.
Regula beati Benedicti.
Questiones de theologia cum notationibus.
Tractatus de sacramentis.
Liber transformatus in Christum crucifixum.

[DCLI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Veritates theologie.
Admonicio beati Bernardi ad monachos.
Summa Reymundi.
Item Summa Reymundi.
Liber Sermonum et quedam notabilia.
Vita gloriose virginis Marie.
Excepciones decretorum Gratiani.

[DCLII] *Libri Martini de Clive.*
Biblia.
Quatuor evangelia, glosata.
Omeliarium primum.
—— secundum.
—— tercium.
—— quartum.
—— quintum.
Postille super epistolas canonicas.
—— super Johannem.
Item postille super epistolam ad Romanos.

[DCLIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Notule super epistolam ad Romanos.
Item notule super epistolam ad Corinthios.
Questiones super primum et secundum librum sententiarum.
Tractatus super iv libros sententiarum.
Concordantie parve.
Expositio super orationem dominicam.

[DCLIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Expositio simboli Apostolorum.
Item Sermones.
Hugo de xii patriarchis.
Macrobius de sompno Scipionis.

[DCLV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Tullius de senectute.
Paradoxa Tullii.
Tullius de amicitia.
Boecius de disciplina scolarium.
Regule beati Benedicti.

[DCLVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Bernardus de dispensacione et precepto.
Regula beati Augustini ad canonicos.
—— ——Basilii ad monachos.
Liber de institucione noviciorum.
Formula vivendi.
Regula sancti Pachomii.
Sermo S. Archiepiscopi.
Item Sermones dominicales et Sanctorum.

[DCLVII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Al gorismus.
Tractatus de spera.
Liber de diversis formis electionum.
—— de compoto.
Concilium de Lambethe.
Penitenciale.

[DCLVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Regula beati Benedicti.
Admonicio beati Basilii ad monachos.
Bernardus de dispensacione et precepto.
Ysidorus de summo bono.
Sermones.
Anselmus de viii beatitudinibus.
Hugo de v septenis.
—— de laude caritatis.
—— de amore dei et amore mundi.
Item Hugo de virtute orandi.
De xii abusionibus seculi.
Item de xii abusionibus claustri.
Glose super xii et xiii librum de civitate dei.
Ysidorus de homine et partibus ejus.

[DCLIX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Sermones

Item tractatus de penitentia.
Didascalicon Hugonis.
Summa fratris J. de Rupella.

[DCLX] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de causis.
Sententie Johannis Damasceni.
Questiones Augustini de predestinatione et gratia.
Augustinus de differentia spiritus et anime.
Item Augustinus de vera innocentia.
Augustinus de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus.
Logica vetus.
Item logica vetus.
Liber priorum.

[DCLXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber posteriorum.
—— ethicorum.
—— de morte et vita.
—— de simplici medicina.

[DCLXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber de animalibus.
—— Johannicii.

[DCLXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Liber afforisimorum Ypocratis.
—— pronosticorum.
—— tegni Galieni.
Philaretus de pulsibus.
Liber urinarum Theophili.
Diete universales et particulares.
Practica Nicholay.
Viaticus Constantini.

[DCLXIV] *Libri Johannis de Wy.*
Distinctiones Mauricii.
Sermones.

[DCLXV] *Libri Danielis de Sifletone.*
Biblia.
Sententie Longobardi.
Item sententie Longobardi.
Hystorie manducatoris.
Serapion.

[DCLXVI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Commentum Egidii super librum de pulsibus.

[DCLXVII] *Libri Andree de Hardres.*
Summa fratris Thome de Alquino.
Priscianus de constructionibus.

[DCLXVIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Barbarismus Donati.
Priscianus de accentibus.
Logica vetus.

[DCLXIX] *Libri Marcelli de la Lese.*
Biblia.
Casus decretalium.
Sententie.

[DCLXX] *Libri J. de Welles.*
Summa Mandegoti de electionibus.

[DCLXXI] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Summa Egidii.
Constituciones Octonis legati in Anglia.
—— Octoboni legati.
—— Bonifacii Archiepiscopi.
Concilium Oxoniense.
Cupientes glo[a].
Summa Reymundi, glosata.
Sextus liber decretalium.
Johannicius.

[DCLXXII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Afforismus Ypocratis.
Liber pronosticorum.
—— tegni Galieni.
—— de Regimine acutorum morborum.
Philaretus de pulsibus.
Liber urinarum Theophili.
Diete universales.
—— particulares.
Liber febrium Ysaac.
—— urinarum Ysaac.
Viaticus Constantini.
Antidotarium Nicholai.
Liber de versibus Egidii.
Parabole Salomonis.

[DCLXXIII] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ecclesiastes.
Cantica Canticorum.
Liber Sapientie.
Ecclesiasticus.
Tractatus de penitentia.
—— de viciis principalibus.
—— de virtutibus cardinalibus.
—— de xii alis confessionum.

Quedam utilia excerpta de jure canonico et civili.
Promotheus et glose super eundem.
Collectarium de jure canonico et civili.

[DCLXXIV] *In hoc volumine continentur:*
Ordo Judiciarius.
Item Regula beati Benedicti.

[DCLXXV] *Libri Alexandri de Sandwyco.*
Summa Innocencium.
—— Reymúndi.
Constituciones provinciales.
Missale novum.

[DCLXXVI] *Libri domini R. de Wynchelese archiepiscopi.*
Biblus in Rubeo panno serico.
Item Biblus in rubeo corio.
Quatuor Evangelia, glos[a].
Psalterium glosatum primum.
—— —— secundum.
Epistole Pauli glos.
Glose super epistolas Pauli.
Libri Salomonis, glos.
Omelie secundum beatum Gregorium.
Actus Apostolorum.

[DCLXXVII] *Ista continentur in eodem:*
Epistole canonice.
Apocalipsis.
Sententie manducatoris.
—— super librum ethicorum.
Hystoria scolastica.
Augustinus de Trinitate.

[DCLXXVIII] *Ista continentur in eodem:*
Augustinus super Genesim.
—— de doctrina Christiana.
—— de quantitate anime.
—— de videndo deo.
Retractaciones Augustini.
Augustinus de civitate dei.

[DCLXXIX] *Ista continentur in eodem:*
Liber confessionum Augustini.
Augustinus de libero arbitrio.

[DCLXXX] *Ista continentur in eodem:*
Liber de vera religione.
—— enchiridion.
—— de octoginta tribus questionibus.
—— de fide ad Petrum.

Liber de immortalitate anime.
—— soliloquiorum.
—— sententiarum Prosperi.
—— de fide et operibus.
—— super Genesim contra Manicheos.
—— de predestinacione Sanctorum.
—— de perseverantia.
—— Ysidori de summo bono.
Epistole Augustini.
Lectura super Ecclesiasticum.
Liber de vii donis Spiritus Sancti.
Sermones annuales de Sanctis.
—— doctrinales et de Sanctis.
Item Sermones.
Hugo de sacramentis.
Lectura super Johannem.
Postille super Apocalipsim.
Liber de veritate Thome de Alquino.

[DCLXXXI] *Ista continentur in eodem:*
Liber de scientia dei.
—— de ydeis.
—— de verbo.
—— de providencia.
—— de predestinacione.
—— de libro vite.
—— de cognicione Angelorum.
—— — —— scientie Angelice.
—— de mente.
—— de magistro.
—— de prophetia.
—— de raptu.
—— de fide.
—— de ratione superiori et inferiori.
—— de conscientia.
—— de cognicione primi hominis.
—— — —— anime
—— de bono.
—— de appetitu.
—— de voluntate dei.
—— de libero arbitrio.
—— de sensualitate.
—— de passionibus.
—— de gratia dei.
—— de justificacione.
—— de gratia Christi.

Thomas de Alquino contra gentiles.
Prima pars Summe Thome de Alquino.
Ultima pars Summe Thome de Alquino.
Quedam opuscula Thome de Alquino et quolibet ejusdem.
Scripta Thome de Alquino super primum et secundum librum sententiarum.
Scripta Thome de Alquino super tercium sententiarum.
—— —— — —— —— quartum sententiarum.
Liber questionum de potencia Thome de Alquino.
Prima secunde Thome de Alquino.
Secunda secunde Thome de Alquino.
Tractatus Thome de Alquino super secundum sententiarum.
Scriptum Egidii super primum sententiarum.
Decreta Gratiani.
Nove decretales apparate.
Liber naturalium Aristotelis.
—— de celo et mundo et meth.
Priscianus minor.
Exilium et Martyrium Sancti Thome Martyris.
Regula beati Benedicti.

[DCLXXXII] *Libri Magistri Michaelis de Berham.*
Sententie Longobardi.
Legenda Sanctorum.
Liber de viciis et virtutibus.
Sermones dominicales per annum.
Item rationale.
Decreta.
Huguntio super decreta.
Nove decretales apparate cum glosa Goffredi.
Prima pars hostiens'.
Secunda pars hostiens'.
Innocencius super decretales et speculum judiciale.
Summa Atsonis.
—— Goffredi.
—— Rofredi.
—— Monaldi.
Glose J. Monachi super vi libros.
Septimus liber sine glosa et sextus liber tripliciter glosatus.
Instituta et auctentica.
Digestum novum.
—— vetus.
Inforciatum.
Liber de legibus longobardorum.

[DCLXXXIII] *Libri M. Roberti de Cornubia medici.*
Avicenna.

Duo primi libri Avicenne.
Libri Galieni de Medicina.
Novi tractatus Johannis Messue cum practica averois de medicina cum questionibus super viaticum.
Practica Gilberti.
Libri originales Ypocratis et Galieni.
Scripta Magistri Thedei cum quibusdam aliis contentis.
Viaticus Constantini cum commento.
Liber hali de regali dispositione.

[DCLXXXIV] *Libri Simonis de Sancto Paulo.*
Decreta Graciani apparata.
Digestum novum in parte apparatum.
—— vetus apparatum.
Afforciatum in prima parte apparatum.
Quinque libri Anselmi cum vita beate Marie.
Liber sancte Crucis de triumphis ecclesie.

[DCLXXXV] *Liber Rogeri de Trokkingge.*
Diadema monachorum.

[DCLXXXVI] *Libri Johannis de Taneto.*
Biblus.
Summa Reymundi.
Liber de miraculis beate Marie in lingua Gallicana.

[DCLXXXVII] *Libri Galfridi de Chileham.*
Summa Britonis.
Ysidorus ethymolog.
Sententie Longobardi.
Matheus glosatus ejusdem.
Collocarium de multis.

[DCLXXXVIII] *Liber Antonii Bek.*
Pantheon.

[DCLXXXIX] *Libri Roberti Poucin.*
Biblus.
Sententie Longobardi.
Prima pars summe Thome de Alquino.
Distinctiones Mauricii.
Decretales abbreviati.
Sermo S. Archiepiscopi.
—— Guidonis.

[DCXC] *Libri Stephani de Faversham.*
Summa confessorum prima.
—— —— secunda.
Questiones extracte de diversis scripturis.
Diverse questiones theologie.
Liber de sacramentis fratris Johannis Parisiensis.

Tractatus Thome de Alquino de Christo.
Sermones abbreviati.
Sentencie super librum priorum et questiones philosophorum.
Missale abbreviatum.
Ordinale temporale.
—— sanctorum.

[DCXCI] *Libri Johannis de Gore:*
Liber penitencialis.
Tractatus de veritate cum aliis contentis.
Logica vetus et nova, in uno volumine.
Liber naturalium Aristotelis.
Collectarium de multis, Gallice et Latine.
Registrum de consuetudinibus Thes'.
Lumen laycorum, Gallice.

[DCXCII] *Libri Ricardi de Clive:*
Decreta.
Decretales.
Prima pars hostiensis.
Secunda pars hostiensis.
Innocentius quartus super decretales.
Speculum judiciale.
Summa Reimundi.
Sextus et septimus libri decretalium.
Glose super sextum librum decretalium.
Casus decretalium.
Instituta.
Codex.
Digestum vetum. *(Sic)*
—— novum.
Omelia Gregorii.
Sermones dominicales et de Sanctis.
—— de beata Maria.

[DCXCIII] *Liber Willelmi de Ledeberi.*
Biblus.
Sentencia Longobardi.
Psalterium glosatum.
Item psalterium cum ympnario.
Glose fratris Thome de Alquino super Matheum et Marcum.
—— ejusdem super Lucam et Johannem.
Prima pars Summe ejusdem Thome.
Secunda pars Summe ejusdem Thome.
Scriptum ejusdem Thome super tercium librum sentenciarum.
—— —— —— —— quartum librum sentenciarum.
—— bone fortune super secundum librum sentenciarum.

Secunda pars Summe Thome de Alquino.
Summa Thome de Alquino super ethica.
Liber ethicorum.
—— phisicorum Aristotelis.
Liber qui dicitur templum domini.
Innocencius super decretales.
Summa Reimundi.
Priscianus de constructionibus.
Liber de legibus Anglie et collectarium de multis.
Legenda Sanctorum.
Summa de viciis et virtutibus cum aliis contentis.
Extracta summarum de singulis capitulis ethicorum.

[DCXCIV] *Libri Johannis Everard:*
Summa Gofredi super decretales prima.
—— —— secunda.
Historia veteris et novi testamenti, versifice.
Matheus, glosatus.
Vetus logica et nova, in uno volumine.
Liber metafisice et ethicorum, in uno volumine.
Sententie super veterem logicam et novam.
—— —— librum topicorum Boicii.

[DCXCV] *Libri W. de Northwico.*
Sentencie Longobardi.
Prima pars Summe Thome de Alquino.
—— —— secunde partis Thome de Alquino.
Secunda pars secunde Thome de Alquino.
Tractatus Petri de Tarento super iv libros sentenciarum, primus.
Item tractatus ejusdem Petri super iv libros sentenciarum, secundus.
Lectura super Ysaiam.
Liber sermonum qui sic incipit, dilectus meus.
Item liber sermonum qui sic incipit, cum appropinquasset.
Item sermones per annum qui sic incipiunt, universum tempus.
Distinctiones theologie.
Summa Gofredi.
Instituta.
Digestum vetus.
Liber naturalium Aristotelis.
—— ethicorum cum metafisica Aristotelis.
Questiones super librum metafisice.
Exequie mortuorum.
Processionale.

[DCXCVI] *Libri Magistri Bricii de Scharstede:*
Dispensaciones Johannis de deo.

[DCXCVII] *In isto volumine continentur.*

Summa Innocencii super decretales.
Concilium Oxoniense.
Item constituciones curie de Arcubus London.
—— repertorium juris.
Summa Compostolani ejusdem.
Item Summa Mandegodi de electionibus cum glosa.

[DCXCVIII] *Libri Johannis de Winchelese:*

Missale.
Item Missale pro dimidio anni primum.
—— —— — —— — secundum.
—— Ordinale pro dimidio anni primum.
—— —— — —— — secundum.
—— Palladius de agricultura.

CHAPTER III.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE GERMAN, FLEMISH, AND SWISS BENEDICTINES.

A copy of Ambrose *De bono mortis*, covered with the blood of BONIFACE, was exhibited during many succeeding centuries at FULDA as a relic. It was contemplated there by many who regarded as superstitious and heretical some of the tenets of Boniface. But no Christian, whatever might be his own peculiar creed, ever looked upon that blood-stained memorial of him without the profoundest veneration.

For, since the Apostolic age, no greater benefactor of our race has arisen among men than the monk of Nutsall, unless it be that other monk of Wittemberg, who, at the distance of seven centuries, appeared to reform and reconstruct the Churches founded by the holy Benedictine. To Boniface, the North and West of Germany and Holland still look back as their spiritual progenitor; nor did any uninspired man ever add to the permanent dominion of the Gospel, provinces of such extent and value.

STEPHEN, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, I. 375.

BOOK II. Chapter III. The Libraries of the German, Flemish, and Swiss Benedictines.

Mission of Boniface, the civilizer of Northern Germany.

To this day the traveller in Northern Germany is frequently reminded of the good deeds of the monk who, in his remote Hampshire cell, mused on the stories which were told him of the barbarous condition of the Frisian and Hessian Pagans, until he resolved, with God's blessing, to be to them the messenger of good tidings; and who persisted in his missionary enterprize, though war seemed to close the door against it abroad, and an abbacy awaited his acceptance at home. Many a ruin is pointed out as all that remains of a noble monastery, once the centre of civilization to the surrounding district.

Of the large group of monastic communities which owed their foundation to Boniface and to his immediate disciples, many became famous in succeeding ages, and some retained their celebrity for very long periods. Fulda was pre-eminent. Before the close of the eighth century it is said to have contained 400 monks, exclusive of novices. It attained distinction as a seat of learning under Hrabanus Maurus, who had studied under Alcuin, and who governed Fulda for twenty years with the energy and piety which he afterwards displayed more conspicuously—though, it may be, not more usefully—on the archiepiscopal throne of Mentz. Hirschau was an off-shoot of Fulda, and became itself the cradle of that restoration of monastic discipline in Germany, which seems to have been almost as urgently needed at the close of the eleventh century, as at the close of the fifteenth.

Library of Corvey. (About 820.)

Corvey, too (*Corbeia Nova;* the old and paternal Corvey was in Picardy), stands very saliently out amongst the great monasteries of Northern Germany for its care of learning. As selection is unavoidable, its Library may have the better claim to a somewhat detailed notice, because it is one of the few which it is possible to illustrate by conjoining a catalogue of the eleventh century with one of the nineteenth.

Of the early history of Corvey Abbey it is enough to say, that it exhibits a civilizing influence gradually diffused throughout Lower Saxony, resembling that which spread from Fulda throughout Thuringia. The precise year of its foundation is uncertain, but may be placed

by near approximation about 820.[1] The old Chronicler Dithmar calls it the "Head and Mother of the neighbouring communities; the ornament of the fatherland; and the marvel of all Germany."[2] It was the training-place of men whose names, after the lapse of so many centuries, are yet most worthily held in honour, and some of whom deserve to rank as the foremost organizers of the mediæval church, not in Germany alone, but in the countries round about.

"Early gifts to the Corvey Library."

Amongst the incidental notices of the gradual formation of the Library that occur in those *Annales Antiqui Corbeienses* which Leibnitz has printed in the second volume of his *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium,* I find commemorations of many gifts bestowed on it as well by the liberality of strangers as by the zeal of the Abbots. Those of John of Montorp, and of Albert of Hombach, in the eleventh century, and of Hildebolt of Beven, and the Count of Schaumberg, in the fourteenth, are especially noticeable. Of the first named donor it is recorded: ..,. *librum in folio Arabicum è Pannonia allatum intulit Bibliothecæ nostræ*; and of the last, *Comes de Schaumberg .... Colloquium suum habuerunt in monasterio. Inter alia quisque utilem librum donavit Bibliothecæ.*

Towards the close of the eleventh century, Marchwart, then Abbot, enacted that every novice on making

[1] In 822, according to the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* iv. 232; comp. Ziegelbauer, *Historia rei litterariæ ordinis S. Benedicti, ubi supra.*

[2] "Haupt und Mutter aller übrigen Klöster, des ganzen Vaterlandes Zierde, und ein Wunderwerk Sachsens und des ganzen Deutschen Landes," — Dithmar, as quoted by Schönemann, *Zur Geschichte der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel;* in the *Serapeum,* xviii. 66. Comp. *Annales antiqui Corbeienses* apud Leibnitium *Script. rerum Brunsvicensium,* tom. ii.

his profession should give a book (. . . *ut quivis novitius in die professionis suæ etiam librum donaret Bibliothecæ utilem et alicujus pretii*); and it seems probable, that this regulation may have greatly contributed to that comparatively rapid growth of its Library, for which Corvey is conspicuous. [1]

Early catalogue of the Corvey Library.

The following Catalogue of this Library, as it was at the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century, is copied from a MS. which was successively in the Libraries of De Thou, of Vander Putten, and of Meerman; and which is now in the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps (by whom it has been privately printed at the Middle Hill press, and to whose kindness I am indebted for its communication):—

CATALOGUS BIBLIOTHECÆ LIBRORUM IN BIBLIOTHECA CORBEIENSI INSITUS, HIC HABETUR TITULATUS, IMPRIMIS, CODICES BEATI AUGUSTINI, DEINDE ALIORUM DOCTORUM.

Augustinus. 12 volumina super Psalterium.
—— de Civitate Dei. 3 *volumina.*
—— Liber Confessionum.
—— Liber Epistolarum.
—— contra Crescentium Grammaticum.
—— de Pastoribus.
—— de Singularitate Clericorum.
—— Codex ad Valerium Ipponiensem.
—— adversus quinque Hereses.
—— de modis Locutionum, *etc.*
—— Epistolæ ad Valentinum.
—— de Natura Boni.
—— de Baptismo parvulorum.
—— liber de Baptismo contra Donatistas.

[1] Be this as it may, the testimony as to the existence of the regulation in question at Corvey is sufficient to clear it from the objection taken by the learned authors of the *Hist. Litt. de la France* to a nearly similar allegation in respect of the Abbey of Fleury.

Early Catalogue of the Corvey Library.

Augustinus. Liber Disciplinarum.
—— Do. utrum Anima a semet ipsa sit.
—— Do. ad interrogata Simpliciani.
—— Do. de Utilitate credendi.
—— ad Renatum de Natura et Origine Animæ.
—— de Doctrina Christiana.
—— utrum Anima a seipsa sit.
—— de Opere Monachorum.
—— Liber de catecizandis Rudibus.
—— Epistolæ ad Valerium.
—— liber Academicorum.
—— Do. Interrogationum ac Locutionum.
—— de Concordia Evangelistarum.
—— Questiones et Orosii. *(Sic.)*
—— Sermones in Epistolis Sancti Johannis.
—— Enchiridion.
—— liber Interrogationum et Solutionum.
—— Sententiæ de libro Enchiridion.
—— Sermones super Evangelium Johannis.
—— Solutiones contra diversas res.
—— de octo partibus Orationis.
—— Solutiones contra Hereticos.
—— Musica.
—— Epistolæ.
—— in Kategoriis Aristotelis, et in eodem Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, et de Sancta Trinitate.
Ambrosius. Liber de Noe.
—— Contra Novatianum.
—— Super Lucam Evangelistam.
—— Expositio in Epistola ad Galathas.
—— de Trinitate, *Id est* [Idem?] de Sacramentis.
—— Exameron.
—— Epistolæ ad Romanos.
—— Explanatio sex dierum.
Autperti Ambrosii duo Codices super Apocalipsin.
Actus Apostolorum.
Athanasius de Sancta Trinitate.
—— de fide Catholica.
Athanasius.
Attici et Cretoboli Altercatio.
Aratoris Liber.
Aviti Liber Epistolarum.
Annei Florii Epitoma de Tito Livio.
Alexandri Regis Istoria.
—— Regis Liber.

Alarici Regis auctoritas.
Aristotelis Kategoriæ.
Alexandri Regis et Dindimi liber de Philosophia.

Beda contra Julianum Hereticum.
—— super Actus Apostolorum.
—— de Templo Salomonis.
—— Expositio in Parabolis Salomonis.
—— super Regum.
—— super Apocalipsin.
—— in Lucam.
—— de titulis Psalmorum.
—— in Genesi.
—— de Naturis Rerum.
—— Exameron in Genesi.
—— de Temporibus, et in eodem Ars Donati, et Beda de metrica Arte et Epigrammata Prosperi.
Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ.
—— in Isagogis, et in eodem Expositio in Æneidis.
Boetii Aritmetica et Musica, et de Consolatione Philosophiæ. *In libro uno.*
—— Musica et Geometrica.
—— Musica et Breviarum Sancti Adalardi.
—— Arithmetica et Beda de Ratione Temporum.
—— Commentum in Isagogis, et Musica et Geometrica.
—— Musica, et in eodem Glosæ de Martiano.
—— in Periermeniis Aristotelis.
—— Commentum super Chategorias Aristotelis.
—— de Trinitate.
—— Commentum de Trinitate.
—— de Thopicis differentiis.
—— Musica, et pars Geometriæ.
Basilii Dialogus.
—— Exameron.

Canonum Corpus.
Calcedonensis Sinodus.
Canones Apostolorum.
Canonum Capitula.
Canones de Niceno Concilio.
Collectio Sanctorum Patrum.
Cassiodori tria volumina super Psalterium.
Cipriani Epistolæ.
Cirillus super Leviticum.
Cassianus de Institutione et Habitu Monachorum, et de vera libertate.
Cicero in Rethorica.

Early Catalogue of the Corvey Library.

Cicero Tullius de Officiis.
Ciceronis liber.
Cicero ad Herennium.
—— Tusculanorum.
Cheremonis Collatio.
Cornutus in Persio.
Catonis libellus, et in eodem Ars Focæ Grammatici.
Commentariorum liber et in eodem Annotationes in Martianum.

Danihelis Prophetæ.
Donati secunda editio, et in eodem Vitæ Abbatum.
Donatus Minor.
De quantitate Animæ. [*Liber unus.*]
De eo quod imagines non sunt adorandæ, nec penitus abolendæ.
De Situ Hierusalem. [*Liber unus.*]
De Natura Rerum. *Do. Do.*
De Arte Grammatica cujusdam Liber.
De Virginitate Sanctarum Virginum.
De vera Libertate. [*Liber cujusdam.*]
Diomedes Grammaticus.
De ceco inluminato liber.
Diversorum Auctorum liber unus.

Egesippi Istoria.
Esdras Propheta.
Eucherii Lucdunensis Episcopi.
Eusebii Cronica.
—— Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ. [*Libri duo.*]
—— Pamphili adversus Sabellium.
Ennodii liber.
Evangeliorum quatuor libri.
Expositio cujusdam in Evangelis.
—— super librum Æneidorum.
—— in Canticis Canticorum.
—— cujusdam in Virgilium.
—— in Marcum Evangelistam.
Eographii in commentum Andriæ. [*Sic in MS.*]
Eutichis liber de Verbo.
Expositio cujusdam in Epistolis Pauli, et item ad Thessalonicenses Expositio.
Effrem Admonitio ad Monachos.

Fortunatus de diversis Rebus.
Fulgentius de fide Catholica.
—— de Remissione Peccatorum.
Fausti Liber.

Fileaster de Heresibus.
Francorum Gesta.
Firminiani Lactantii liber de falsa Religione.
Fulgentii Fabularum Libellus.
Flavii Vigeti Liber.
Foce Grammatici Ars.

Gregorii prima pars in Job.
—— secunda pars.
—— tertia pars.
—— quarta pars.
—— quinta pars et Sexta.
—— Omeliarum libri quatuor.
—— Liber pastoralis.
—— in Expositione Ihezechielis. *Libri quatuor.*
—— Dialogorum Liber.
Gregorii Turonensis Historia.
Gregorii Epistolæ.
Gregorii Nazanzeni liber.
Glosemata contra Simmacum.
Glosarii septem.
Gai Cæsaris Historia.
Glose super Martianum.
—— super Priscianum.

Early Catalogue of the Corvey Library.

Hieronimus. Questiones in Genesi.
—— in Isaia Propheta.
—— contra Jovinianum.
—— super Psalterium. *Libri duo.*
—— in Epistola Pauli ad Ephesios.
—— Do. ad Galathas.
—— super Hieremiam.
—— contra Rufinum.
—— contra Ecclesiasten.
—— in Psalmis.
—— de Nominibus Urbium vel Locorum.
—— super Danihelem.
—— in Hiezechielem.
—— liber Ecclesiasticorum Dogmatum.
—— de vitis Sanctorum Patrum.
—— Questiones in Genesi.
Hilarii Pictavensis Episcopi liber.
—— liber de Fide Catholica.
Haimo in Apocalipsin.
Liber Hiezechielis.
Haimonis Omeliæ de Evangeliis dominicis diebus.

Johannis Romani Expositio in Genesi.
—— Os Aurei. *Libri duo.*
Isidorus de Novo et Veteri Testamento.
—— ad Florentinam sororem suam.
—— de diversis Legibus.
—— Ethimologiarum.
—— de David et Goliad.
—— de Voluntate Dei.
—— Sinonima et ejusdem de diversis Rebus.
—— liber.
Juliani Tholetanensis Liber.
—— Prognostica.
Josep Explanatio in Isaiam.
Junii Columellæ Liber.
Iginus de Astronomia.
Isaiæ Prophetæ libellus.
Juvenci liber, et in eodem Sedulius.
—— —— et similiter in eodem Sedulius.
Ignatii Martyris Liber.
Isitius super Leviticum.
Job Liber.
Josuæ Liber.

Luciferi Liber ad Constantium Imperatorem.
Lucani quædam pars, et in eodem quædam pars Virgilii.
—— Poetæ liber.
—— Do. Annotationum Codex.
Lucanus, et in eodem Auctores plurimi.
Liber in Collocutione de Rethorica.

Martini Episcopi Vita et Transitus.
Milo de Sobrietate.
Martiani Felicis Capellæ. *Libri tres.*
Macrobii Teodosii Saturnaliorum liber.
Martialis Poeta.
Martiani Expositio a Johanne Scoto excerta
—— et Pulcrerii liber.
Matfredi Liber.
Machabeorum Liber.
Medicinales quatuor.
Moysi Liber Genesis.

Nicholai Episcopi ad Episcopos Ecclesiæ.
Nasonis Poetæ liber.
Notarii duo.

Orosius de Situ Orbis Terrarum ad Augustinum.
Origenis in Genesi.

Origenis Omeliæ de Balac et Balaham.
—— Explanatio in Epistola ad Romanos.
—— Liber et Apollogeticum Pamphili Martiris.
Odonis Abbatis occupatio.
Oratii Expositio.

Pauli Apostoli Epistolæ.
—— Epistolæ. *Græce et Latine.*
Psalterium Glosatum.
—— tripliciter, in uno volumine.
—— Depictum.
Paulini Epistolæ ad multos.
—— versus de Vita Sancti Felicis.
—— liber de Transitû ejusdem.
Paralipomenon liber.
Pollio in duodecim libros Æneidorum.
Paterii liber.
Philippus in Job.
Porphirii Isagoge.
Philippicarum Historia.
Primasii liber in Apocalipsin.
Plinius.
Prosper de permissionibus Dei.
Prosperi Opusculum de diversis Rebus.
Prudentius Himnorum.
—— de Psicomachia, et in eodem Beda de Temporibus.
Pompeius Grammaticus.
Prisciani tres integri.
—— tres inperfecti.
—— de Constructione.
—— de duodecim versibus Æneidorum.
Persius in quo et Juvenalis,

Questiones in Genesi.

Rabbanus in laude Sanctæ Crucis.
—— super Actus Apostolorum.
Ramtramni Monachi contra opposita Grecorum.
Ratbertus Pascasius de Corpore et Sanguine Domini.
—— in Matheum.
—— in Lamentationem Hieremiæ, et in eodem quædam pars Juvenalis.
Ruphinus in Prophetis.
Rufini Liber.
Rethoricæ Artis Liber.
Regum Liber.

Early Catalogue of the Corvey Library.

Romanorum Pontificum Gesta.
Remigius super Donatum.
Regulæ Quatuor.

Smaragdi liber de Grammatica.
Smaragdus in partibus Donati.
Sacsonis et Franconis Altercatio.
Statii liber.
Solinus de situ orbis terrarum.
Senecæ liber.
Solini liber de Gubernatione Dei.
Sedulius, et in eodem versus de Sancto Benedicto et Marcellini et Petri Passio. *Ritmice.*
—— et Prosper et Beda de Metrica Arte, et Franco et Saxo et Ortographia Bedæ.
—— et in eodem Arator.

Titus Lucretius Poeta.
Titus Livius.
Terentii liber et in eodem disputatio Karoli et Albini.
Terentius, in quo et Statius.
Themestii Philosophi liber.
Tertulliani Apollogeticum de Ignorantia.
Tertullianus de Resurrectione Carnis.
Tripartita Historia.
Tiberii Cesaris Pragmaticum.

Virgilii Eglogæ, et in eodem libri octo Prisciani.
—— pars quædam in Æneidis.
—— Eglogæ.
—— versus, et in eodem Eglogæ, et duo libri Georgicorum.
—— quinque integri.
—— Maronis Epytoma.
Vigilius contra Mestorium.
Virorum illustrium liber.
Victoris Chronica.
Vita Beati Adalardi Abbatis.
Victorinus in Rethorica.
Victorini.
Grammatica.
Valerii Maximi Codex.
Valerianus de Arta et Angusta via.
Vitæ vel Passiones Sanctorum Apostolorum Martirum vel Confessorum seu Virginum, per viginti volumina.

Viginti et quatuor libri sine titulis.

This Catalogue is remarkable alike for what it contains, and for what it does not contain, that might yet be confidently looked for in it. No small portion of the literary fame of Corvey rests on the often repeated anecdote, that the first five books of the Annals of Tacitus were found there—by Giovanni Angelo Arcimboldi,[1] according to the usual account,—and were brought thence to Pope Leo X. Of the many extant notices of this incident, that of the elder H. Meibomius, which includes the testimony of Lipsius, may here suffice:—*Imò Corbeia Saxonica*, he writes, *rempublicam literariam digno beneficio affecit conservans insigni omnium prædicatione quinque priores Annalium* Cornelii Taciti *libros, quâ de re hoc scribit* Justus Lipsius *ad librum secundum Annalium* Taciti: *'Quinque hi priores libri inventi sunt Corbeiæ, quod Monasterium ad Visnegrum est, atque illum depromptum vere hinc thesaurum. Quæstor quidam Pontificius ad Magnum* Leonem *(nempe* X.) *detulit donatus ab eo aureis quingentis.*[2]

Various accounts of the discovery of the Tacitus at Corvey.

[1] Arcimboldi (who afterwards became Archbishop of Milan) had been sent into Germany in 1514 by Leo X. on the same errand as that eminent promoter of the Reformation, Dr. John Tetzel. Leo entrusted the MS. to the younger Philippus Beroaldus, and in the brief which conferred on him an exclusive copyright in it for ten years, he says, that the security and extension of literary studies "seem chiefly to depend on two circumstances,—the number of men of learning and the ample supply of excellent authors. As to the first of these, we hope with the divine blessing to show still more evidently our earnest desire and disposition to reward and to honour their merits; this having been for a long time past our chief delight and pleasure. With respect to the acquisition of books, we return our thanks to God, that in this also an opportunity is now afforded us of promoting the advantage of mankind." *Leonis* X. *Bulla, Taciti Op.* a Beroaldo præf. (Rom. 1515), as quoted by Roscoe, *Life of Leo* X. ii. 392, 393.

[2] Meibomius ("agens de MSS. Codicibus quibusdam Bibliothecæ hujus Monasterii"), as quoted by Ziegelbauer, *Historia rei litterariæ Ordinis S. Benedicti, ubi supra.*

In the Catalogue it will be seen that no Tacitus occurs. But it would be somewhat rash, I think, to argue from this circumstance, that the MS. did *not* come from Corvey, in the face of the positive assertion which occurs in the Briefs addressed by Leo X. to Albert, Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg (two years after the publication by Beroaldus), in the hope that the example of the benefit which had accrued to the monks of Corvey, would induce certain other monks, who were supposed to possess a complete Livy, if not to part with this precious treasure, at least to lend it to the Pope for publication. These briefs were first printed by Bayle (*Dictionnaire* § Leon X.), to whom they were communicated by the Prussian Councillor von Seidel. Whilst they confirm the ordinary statement, that the Tacitus MS. came from Corvey, they correct it very importantly as to the manner in which it was obtained.

The first Brief recites generally the Pope's care for the discovery and preservation of ancient authors, and the absence of any selfish or concealed purpose in the pursuit; the second clinches the argument thus:—*Tantum ad commodum et utilitatem virorum eruditorum tendimus; de quo etiam dilecti filii Abbas et Conventus Monasterii Corwiensis Ordinis S. Benedicti Padebornensis diœceseos nostri locupletissimi possunt esse testes, ex quorum bibliotheca cum primi quinque libri Historiæ Augustæ* Cornelii Taciti *qui desiderabantur,* furto subtracti fuissent, illique per multas manus ad nostras tandem pervenissent, *nos recognitos prios eosdem quinque libros et correctos a viris prædictis in nostra curia existentibus, cum aliis* Cornelii *prædicti operibus quæ extabant nostro sumptu imprimis fecimus. Deinde*

vero, re comperta, *unum ex voluminibus dicti* Cornelii *ut prœmittitur*, correctum et impressum ac etiam non inordinate ligatum, *ad dictos Abbatem et Conventum Corwiensis remisimus quod in eorum bibliotheca loco substracti reponere possent. Et ut cognoscerent ex ea substractione potius est commodum quam incommodum ortum, misimus eisdem pro Ecclesia Monasterii eorum indulgentiam perpetuam.*

The Corvey Tacitus.

However much the modern collector may incline to differ from His Holiness as to the amplitude of that compensation which substituted for so precious a manuscript a fine specimen of printing, and a perpetual indulgence, the letter shows that the history of the Codex was keenly enquired into, and that the evidence which affiliated it upon Corvey satisfied Leo. Of course, the *. . per multas manus ad nostras tandem pervenissent* . . opens a vista of possible mistake, and the conjecture that the MS. came from Fulda,[1] not from Corvey, may, after all, be well founded. But it cannot derive much support from the silence of the preceding Catalogue.

Corvey, like its neighbours, suffered severely in the wars which accompanied the Reformation, and some of its spoils found refuge in the Library of Wolfenbuttel.[2] It continued to subsist, however, and to possess a considerable Library, almost until our own day. Early in the present century the Monastery was secularized, and it was on that occasion that the transcript of its Catalogue was prepared, to which our attention has now to be directed. After the peace of Tilsit, all Hesse-Cassel,

[1] Massman in the *Jahrbücher für wissensch. Kritik* (1841), ii. 701.

[2] Hermann in the *Serapeum,* iii. 98.

it will be remembered, became part of the Kingdom of Westphalia. King Jerome's government, in 1811, made a present of what then remained of the Corvey collection to the University of Marburg, not, according to Dr. Hermann, without exciting some displeasure on the part of Heyne of Göttingen, who made the Marburg men a little sore by expressing his wonder what the books should do there! But, unfortunately, the collection had been sadly plundered before it was given to Marburg, as will be seen by the following Catalogue, which does not appear to be of earlier compilation than the latter part of the last century. An asterisk (*) indicates the entries that are also to be found in the preceding Catalogue, and a (†) those which came to the University. The last named articles are more fully described in Dr. Hermann's Catalogue of the Marburg Library, printed in 1838, and to which there is a supplement of 1841.

MANUSCRIPTA BIBLIOTHECÆ CORBEJENSIS.

(1) *A Diurnal with Calendar, Litany, and various prayers; with initial letters in gold and other ornaments; of the fifteenth century.* [With this is bound up the following:]
S. Aurelii Augustini . . . Meditationum Orationes, *in a later hand.*

(2) *Latin Prayers for the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul.* [15*th cent'y.*]

(3) *Latin Diurnal.* [13*th cent'y.*]

(4) —— —— *with miniatures; and the Prayers of St. Bridget.* [15*th cent'y.*]

(5) *A.* Speculum Ecclesiæ.
B. Expositio S. Hieronymi super quatuor Evangelistas.
C. Excerpta ex Homeliis S. Augustini secundum Joannem, incœpta a Cœna Domini.
D. Excerptio de tractatu Rabani Mauri in Mathæi Evangelium.
E. Epistola Augustini ad Hieron, de origine animo. [12*th cent'y.*]

† (6) Exercitium devotum circa Missam, &c. [With other tracts.]

(7) *A Diurnal with very fine miniatures on vellum.* (*End of* 15*th or beginning of* 16*th cent'y.*]

(8) *A. An alphabetical Herbal, with notes, in Low German.*
B. Mittel gegen allerhand Krankheiten.
C. Allerlei Wasser zuzubereiten. [*Low Germ. and Latin.*]
D. An unfinished work on Wine and its uses.
[*The first three pieces in this volume purport to have been written by* Frater Heinrich Breyell, Prior in Köninxstorp, *in the year* 1511.]

† (9) Tractatus de puritate Conscientiæ, &c. [*With other tracts.*]

(10) Ceremoniale et Processionale. [*With directions for the exhibition of Relics on St. Vitus' Day.*]

† (11) Tractatus Patris Cossin de Haghem ritus missæ concernens, &c. [*With other tracts.*]

† (12) Homeliæ Eusebii ad Monachos, &c. [*With other tracts.*]

† (13) Tractatus Thomæ de puritate conscientiæ, &c. [*With other tracts.*]

(14) *A Prayer Book for the whole year. On vellum.* (15*th cent'y.*)

(15) *A collection of Latin Sermons for Sundays and Festivals.* [*With other tracts.*] (15*th cent'y.*)

(16) *A.* Das Leiden und die Translation des H. Vitus, &c. [*In verse.*] (15*th cent'y.*)
B. Das Schep des Heyls odder der Ruwe. [15*th cent'y.*]
C. Bericht von den Gelübden der Geistlichen, von Nicholaus Herborn, Guardian zu Marburg. [*Printed in* 1527.]

(17) Collecta auf alle Sonn- und Festtage, von Theoderici von Dorsten, im Jahre 1539. [*At the end: Miscellaneous verses in Latin and German.*]

(18) Sacra Scriptura Veteris ac Novi Testamenti. [13*th or* 14*th cent'y.*]

(19) *A.* Tractatus qui intitulatus Donatus Spiritualis vitæ.
B. Tractatus Thomæ Aquinatis de æterna beatitudine.
C. Ejusdem de divinis Amoribus. [15*th cent'y.*]

(20) *A. Prayers in honour of the Virgin Mary.* [16*th and* 17*th cent's.*]
B. A printed Passionale.
C. Prayers preparatory to Confession. [16*th cent'y.*]

(21) Tractatus Magistri Richardi super Cantica Canticorum. *On vellum.* [1441.]

(22) Sermones per annum. [17*th cent'y.*]

(23) Genealogia S. Benedicti. [15*th cent'y.*]

(24) Sermones super Evangelia. [13*th and* 14*th cent's.*]

(25) *A.* Collecta ex Naturalibus Ægidii, quæ ad Sermones applicari possunt, per Hildebrandum Polle Plebanum in Ellingerode, 1470.
B. Varii Sermones et Tractatus per eundem, ut videtur, conscripti.

(26) *A.* Sermones S. Augustini ad Fratres Eremitas.
B. Ejusdem liber de natura boni.
C. Homeliæ Eusebii.
D. Sermones S. Augustini ad Monachos.
E. Sermo B. Effrem.
F. Regula B. Augustini.
G. Tractatus Heinrici de Hassia, contra monachos proprietarios.
H. Sermo magistri Gerhardi Groten ad clerum Trajectensem.
I. Apologeticus B. Bernhardi. [15*th cent'y.*]

† (27) *A.* Epistola Magistri Gerhardi Groet. [*With other tracts.*]

(28) *A.* Compendium Naturæ, 1377 finitum.
B. Constitutiones variæ Sermonum Pontificum, &c.
C. Sermones varii.
D. Constitutiones Concilii Basiliensis et variorum Pontificum ac quædam resolutiones dubiorum de anno Jubilæo. [15*th cent'y.*]
[*E.* Compendium Bibliæ. *Printed.*]

(28*) *The Holy Gospels, in Old German.*

(29) *A.* Contemplatio Passionis D. N. J. C. ex diversis authoribus.
B. Tractatus B. Bernhardi super Cœnam Domini.
C. Passio Domini Jesu Christi.
D. Liber de instructione Animæ per Adam Monachum.
E. Flores B. Bernhardi de Passione Domini 1440 conscripti.
F. Sermo B. Bernhardi de Venerabili Sacramento.
G. Alius Sermo de gestis Salvatoris.
H. Officium Veræ Solemnitatis Corporis D. N. J. C. ab Urbano IV. institutum.
I. Sermo B. Bernhardi de Passione D. N. J. C.
K. Ejusdem super Homeliam Ecce nos reliquimus omnia, [15*th cent'y.*]

(30) Vetus Testamentum. [14*th cent'y.*]

(31) Compendiosa narratio de initio, progressu ac privilegio S. Congregat. Bursfeldensis, cum appendice statutorum pontificum circa Ordinis Benedictini Conservationem. [17*th cent'y.*]

(32) De Unione Bursfeldensi. 1441. [17*th cent'y.*]

(33) Descriptio Privilegiorum Congreg. Bursf. [17*th cent'y.*]

(34) *A.* Quatuor novissima.
B. Epistola Eusebii de morte B. Hieronymi.
C. —— S. Augustini ad Cyrillum.
D. —— S. Cyrilli ad S. Augustinum de miraculis S. Hieronymi.
E. Expositio super Librum Job.
F. —— de moribus et Vita Philosophorum ac Poetarum Veterum.
G. Speculum Stultorum.
H. Epistola Bernardi ad litem de gubernanda domo, &c. [15*th cent'y.*]

(35) *A.* Das Buch genannt Krautgarten. Subb conscriptus.
B. Das Buch von den XII Tugenden. [15*th cent'y.*]

(36) *A.* Spiritualis philosophia de sui ipsius cognitione.
B. Compendium Theologiæ.
C. Collatio habita ad Patres per . . (Bernardum, ut puto.) [15*th cent'y.*]
[*D.* Seneca de formula honestæ vitæ. *Printed at Leipsic by Böttiger.*
[*E.* Proverbia Senecæ. *Printed.*]
F. Tractatus qui dicitur 'Igniculus devotionis.'
G. Collatio Magistri Thuonis in festo Penthecost.
H. Conflictus Virtutum et Vitiorum.
I. Collatio Magistri Thuonis in Exequiis cujusdam Doctoris.
K. Ejusdem de corpore Christi.
L. Expositio decem Præceptorum Magistri Henrici de Vrimania.
M. Speculum de restitutionibus male acquisitorum.
N. Jacobi Doctoris de Statu Secretiori incedendi in hac vita.
O. Ejusdem de contractibus redemptionum ad Vitam.

Recent Catalogue of the Corvey Library.

(37) *A.* Ceremoniæ ordinis S. Benedicti de observantia. [14*th cent'y.*]
B. Ordinarium. [15*th cent'y.*]

(38) Sermones cujusdem Patris. [14*th or* 15*th cent'y.*]

(39) *A.* Die Namen der Mitglieder der vom Abt Erckenbert zur Ehre des H. Vitus errichteten Brüderschaft.
B. Ein Evangelien Buch, nebst Benediction der Wachskerzen, &c. [11*th and* 12*th cent's.*]

(40) *A.* Lex Saxonum, Franconum, et Thuringorum.
B. Capitula delegati Missorum.
C. De pœnitentia et remissione peccatorum Theodori Archiepiscopi.
D. Collecta Capitula ex Græcis et Latinis Canonibus Synodis ac Decretis Præsulum ac Principum. [*Imperfect.*]
E. Expositio super Apocalypsin. [*A fragment.*]
F. Commentarius super varios textus [*concerning chastity, &c.*]
G. Epistola Nicolai Papæ.
[*The volume contains* 328 *pages; and its date may range from the* 8*th to the* 10*th centuries. At p.* 179 Capitula *appear to be continued. On p.* 233 *begins* Capitulum de indicio pœnitentiæ. *On p.* 271 *begin various* privilegia, *which have been printed by Schaten and Falck.*]

(41) *A receipt book of the* 17*th century.*

(42) *A chemical treatise of the* 17*th century.*

(43) *Another book of similar date on chemistry and medicine.*

(44) *A.* Expositio Regulæ S. Benedicti.
B. Libellus de Virginitate. [*Imperfect.*]
C. Moralisatio pro Monachis ingredientibus Religionem.

D. Scripta pro Reformatione quorundam Monasteriorum.
E. Formula renovandi Religiones et observantia lapsus.
F. Decretum Synodi Constantiensis de Visitationibus Monasteriorum.
G. Epistola S. Bernardi de cura et modo rei familiaris.
H. Varia S. Bernardi Scripta, al's Planctus jubilus de dulcedine Jesu, &c.
I. Tractatus de vitæ moribus. [15*th cent'y.*]

(45) *A.* Vita et passio S. Bonifacii Archiepiscopi.
B. Vita B. Galli Confessoris.
C. Vita S. Ottmari.
D. Vita S. Mauri.
E. Passio SS. Martyrum Primi & Feliciani.
F. Sermo in festivitate Sanctorum omnium. [10*th to* 13*th cent's.*]

(46) Sermones Fratris Johannis Sosati Lectoris Fratrum Heremitarum. [15*th cent'y.*]

(47) Sermones de Sanctis. [1472.] *(With other tracts.)* [15*th and* 16*th cent's.*]

(48) *A.* Ein Buch genannt 'Der Seelentrost.'
B. Eins genannt 'Die siebeh Zellen.'
C. Eins genannt 'Lucidarius.'
D. Die Geschichte eines Ritters genannt Tantalus, von den Staaten der andern Welt, de [1149.]
E. Veritas Judæorum ab Alphoncis de Arabico in Latinum, et ulterius in Teutonicum translata.
F. Tractat von dem Eigenthum durch Heinrich von Hessen.
G. Einige Reden. [15*th cent'y.*]

† (49) Officium de S. Vito, &c.

(50) Expositio super Psalmos. [14*th cent'y.*]

(51) Evangelium Evangelistæ Matthæi. [10*th or* 11*th cent'y.*]

† (52) *A.* Tractatus Anthon. Archiepiscopi Florentini de eruditione simplicium. [*With other tracts.*]

(53) Liber qui dicitur 'Bonum universale de Apibus,' cujus pars prima de Prælatis, 2da vero de subditis, agit. [*By Hildebrand Polle, fin.* 1477.]

(54) Ceremoniale Monasticum. [11*th or* 12*th cent'y.*]

(55) *A.* Liber S. Augustini de doctrina Christiana.
B. Expositio ven. Bedæ in septem Canon. Epistolas.
C. Liber S. Augustini de Agone Christiano.

(56) Das Buch 'Mamotractus' genannt, *or* 'Expositio super omnis libros Bibliæ.' 14*th or beg. of* 15*th cent'y.*

(57) *A* Das Buch genannt 'Collationes Abbatum.'
B. Vita S. Anthonii Abbatis. [15*th cent'y.*]

(58) *A Diurnal.* [15*th cent'y.*]

(59) Collationes Abbatum. [13*th or* 14*th cent'y.*]

† (60) Libri quatuor Cassioni Monachi ac Libri Isidori ad Fulgentium, &c.

(61) Liber dictus 'Malogranates', 1437 conscriptus.

(62) *A.* Liber Institutionum S. Effremii, anno 1520 conscriptus.
B. Vita S. Magni Confessoris. [*Imperfect.*]
C. Homeliæ Henrici, 1441 conscriptæ. [*Imperfect.*]
D. Speculum B. Mariæ V. [15*th cent'y.*]

† (63) Sermones B. Bernhardi, &c.

(64) *A.* Stella Clericorum.
B. Eine Art von Phisic nach dem Alphabete.
C. Paraphrasis in Pater Noster vel Orationem Dominicam.
D. Sermonita de Summa Raymundi.
E. Quæstiones theologicæ secundum quatuor libros sententiarum.
F. Regulæ sacræ Theologiæ.
G. Paraphrasis super Confessionem. [15*th cent'y.*]

Early Catalogue of the Corvey Library.

† (65) *A.* Homeliæ super totam ferme Scripturam Novi Test.

(66) *A.* Mammotractus, quidam Liber sic dictus. [*Printed at Cologne*, 1479.]
B. Tractatus Johannis Andreæ super Arboribus consanguinectatis affinitatis. [*Printed at Nuremburg*, 1478.]
C. A MS. chiefly relating to confession. [15*th cent'y.*]
D. Another MS., containing Biblical Commentaries. [15*th cent'y.*]

(67) Liber de pœnitentia. [1455.]

† (68) *A.* Glossa Psalterii. [15*th cent'y.*]
B. Honorium super cantica canticorum, *or* 'Sigillum Mariæ,' [1379.]

(69) Vocabularium. [14*th cent'y.*]

(70) Antiphonale. [*With musical notes.*] (15*th cent'y.*)

† (71) *A.* Vigiliæ Glossatæ. [*With other tracts.*]

(72) *A.* Libri Boecii Romani de Consolatione Philosophiæ, et commentarius saper eodem. [*Printed at Cologne*, 1488.]
B. Libri Gersonis de Consolatione Theologiæ. [*Printed at Cologne*, 1488.]
C. Philosophia Alberti. [15*th cent'y.*]
D. Libri de anima Aristotelis juxta mentem D. Thomæ. [*Printed in* 15*th cent'y.*]

† (73) *A.* Postilla super Mathæum et Lucam. [*With other tracts.*]

(74) Gersonis opusculum de perfectione religionis et moderamine et duodecim alii Tractatus varii generis. [15*th cent'y. On vellum.*]

† (75) Opera Nicolai de Dinckenspuel, &c.

(76) *A.* Liber Johannis Lostami de compunctatione cordis.
B. Epistola Petri Damiani ad Blancam de terrore mortis.
C. Vita Beati Theopili.
D. Gersonis Considerationes de mystica Theologia.

E. Ejusdem Tractatus de Scriptoribus.
F. Ejusdem Carmen super Magnificat.
G. Ejusdem de Consolatione Theologiæ.
H. Ejusdem de remediis contra pusillanimitatem, scrupulositatem, &c.
I. Ejusdem Tractatus de Contractibus.
K. Johannis Turrecrematæ Tractatus de Sacramento Eucharistiæ.
L. Regula S. Basilii.
M. Statuta Cartusiensium.

[*All of the 15th cent'y.*]

(77) Codex quatuor Evangeliorum. [*9th or 10th cent'y.*]

(78) *A.* Mammotractus, sen. liber expositorius totius Bibliæ. [*Printed in 15th cent'y.*]
B. Vocabularium. [*15th cent'y.*]

† (79) *A.* Glossa 3tiæ quinquagena Psalterii. [*With other tracts.*]

(80) Postillæ Domiciales (?) cum Præceptorio. [*14th and 15th cent's.*

(81) Sermones Magistri Thomæ de Hasselbach super Epistolas Dominicales. [*Followed by a Decree of the Council of Basel.*]

† (82) *A.* Tractatus de observatione Interdicti per Johannem Caldrinum. [*With other tracts.*]

(83) Excerpta Huguitionis pronuntiata in Scola S. Crucis Hildesiensi 1431, &c.

(84) Legenda Beatæ Katerinæ de Senis. [*15th cent'y.*]

(85) Ceremoniæ ac Statuta nigrorum Monachorum Ord. S. Benedicti de Congreg. Bursf. [*15th cent'y.*]

† (86) *A.* Expositio Haymonis in Apocalypsin. [*With other tracts.*]

(87) Libri prophetarum Isaiæ, Jeremiæ, Baruch, Ezechiel, Daniel, Ozeæ, &c. Conscripti per Johann Dyck. [*15th cent'y.*]

† (88) *A.* Glossa Psalterii. [*With other tracts.*]

† (89) Postilla super Evangelia Dominica per totum annum, &c.

† (90) Lectura super librum tertium sententiarum, &c.

(91) *A.* Processus Judicii per D. Doctorem de Urbach.
B. Summa Brevissima super quartum librum sententiarum, per Johann. Andreæ.
C. Tractatus de Ecclesiastico Interdicto per Joh. de Caldrinis.
D. Speculum Virtutum ex Canonibus—Speculum Peccatoris—Speculum Prælatorum.
E. Tractatus Henrici de Oldendorf de Colonia, de Pœnitentia, de Eucharistia, de Confessione; per Henricum Bergridum de Northusen conscriptus.
F. Lectura super summam Johannis in iv. libri decret.
G. Bullæ Apostolicæ ad Andream Abbatem Seti. Ord. Scivellensis diœcesis, seu potius Formulæ in Causa Appellationis ad Palatium et Formulæ Processuum ibi ventilandorum.
H. Litteræ Petri Cardinalis et Judicis in causa Archiepisco-

patus Inoguntinensis quo Ludovicus Episcopus Bambergensis a Papa Gregorii provisus, ast ob vim Episcopi Spirensis recuperare vix poterat, de 1375.

[*All of the 15th century.*]

(92) *An Ancient Evangeliary. In Uncials, and with many miniatures; the cover ornamented with various figures in relief. On vellum.*

(93) *A.* Speculum Monachorum.

B. Apparatus Petri Bœrii super constitutiones Dni. Benedicti Papæ XII.

C. Tractatus Hugonis Nigri de S. Victore de Institutione Novitiorum.

D. Quædam ammonitio ad Religiosos proprietarios.—Sermo ad Monachos proprietarios.—Regula S. Benedicti.—Constitutiones Benedicti Papæ VII.

E. Forma professionis Fratrum Eremitarum S. Augustini.

F. Horologium devotionis circa vitam Christi.

G. Hugo de humilitate, obedientia, et charitate.

H. Tractatus de arte moriendi.

I. Aurea Bulla.

K. Tractatus de canonica portione.

L. Vocabularius juris legalis.

M. Repetitio Joannis Kalendini circa Cap. Perpendimus, &c.

[*All of the 15th century.*]

(94) *A.* Liber quatuor Sententiarum.

B. Gesta Alexandri Magni.

C. [A description of the then known world, its peoples, cities, and wonders.]

D. Sermones in Dominicis et Festis.

[*All of the 15th cent'y.*]

(95) *A.* Libri duo de officio Missæ 1436 conscripti.

B. De Imitatione Christi et contemptu omnium vanitatum.

C. Cordiale quatuor novissimorum.

D. Speculum Amatorum mundi.

E. Quæstio de Præceptis, Consiliis, et Monitis Regulæ S. Benedicti.

F. Sermo in die S. Benedicti et quidam alii Sermones.

(96) Acta quædam in puncto Jurisdictionis Ecclesiasticæ, inter Episcopum et Principem Herbipolensem et Abbatem Fuldensem, 1710 conscripta.

(97) Gobelini Cosmodromi Chronicorum continuatio per Martinem Klockener Paderanum ad annum usque 1613.

(98) Expositio Roberti Holkoten Ord. Præd. super Librum Sapientiæ. [*15th century.*]

(99) *A.* Tractatus Belial, seu Processus Belial contra filium Dei.

B. Tractatus Bartoli de Nobilitate.

C. Tractatus ejusdem de armis.
D. —— —— de Repressaliis.
E. Practica Johannis de Matischo de Electione.
F. Decretum Electionis.
G. Tractatus de irregularitate, ad Johannem de Borbonia editus.
H. Tractatus de censura Ecclesiastica Johannis de Lignano.
I. Tractatus super materia hæreticorum per Zanghinum Ugolin.
K. De quatuor modis procedendi super criminibus per Bornuscontros.
L. Casus arbitrarii per Salvanum Bononiæ Doctorem Decretorum.
M. Tractatus de permutationibus Alexandri.
N. Contrarietas Glossarum ordinariarum in jure canonico.
O. Lectura super Extravag. Execrabilis Joannis XXII.
P. Lectura de Arbore Consanguineitatis et Affinitatis cum textu.
Q. Tractatus Bartoli de Alimentis.
R. Tractatus Dynni de successione ab intestato.
S. Tractatus Mar. de Favo de successione ab intestato.
T. Tractatus Jacobi de Arena de Cessionibus.
U. Repetitio C. nro. de pe. et remiss. casperi de Cal.

[*The volume originally contained six other treatises, which had been taken out.*

[*All of the beginning of the 15th century.*]

(100) *A.* Sermones S. Leonis Papæ. [*Printed at Rome,* 1470, &c.]
B. Homeliæ S. Joannis Chrysostomi.
C. Liber Isidori de Summo Bono. [*15th century.*]
† (101) *A.* Liber Abbatis Philareti. [*With other tracts.*]
(102) Historia Anabaptistarum per Hermann. de Kersenbrock.
(103) Historia Anabaptistica Hermanni de Kersenbrock, 1739 per Justinum de Wetzel descripta.
(104) Missale. [*14th century.*]
† (105) Johannis ab Hagen Expositio in Apocalypsin, &c.
(106) Antiphonale. [*14th century.*]
† (107) *A.* Tractatus Jacobi Cartusiensis de superstitionibus, &c. [*With other tracts.*]
(108) Antiphonale. [*End of 15th or beginning of 16th century.*]
(109) Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti. [*In two volumes, 15th cent.*]

Any feeling of surprise at the almost entire dispersion of the ancient collection—if any such have been produced—must be materially diminished on observing that of the 109 MS. volumes (containing probably between

400 and 500 separate works) catalogued during the last century, but twenty-five reached Marburg, by the gift of the Westphalian government.[1] Of the noble buildings of the Abbey enough yet remains to make the princely family, which has its residence there, appear almost buried amidst them. But many generations must pass away before the memories of Corvey will cease to excite the curiosity of every traveller, having education enough to know that even the "Dark Ages" had their enlightened and heroic men, wearing monkish garbs, but leaving the world much the better that they had lived in it.

Library of Reichenau. (f. 724.)

The Benedictine Abbey of *Reichenau*—finely seated on an island in that broad part of the Rhine which is rather lake than river—dates from the year 724, and appears to have possessed the beginnings of a Library at an early period in its annals. These, in the course of the ninth century, grew into a collection of considerable importance, as is shown by four several catalogues, written between the years 820 and 850, all of which have been printed by Neugart.[2] The first of them is a general list of the books which were contained in the Library in the year 822; the second and third are lists of works transcribed under the rule of two successive Abbots; the fourth is a catalogue of additions to the Library, acquired, during a period of fifty-five years, partly by transcription and partly by gift. Among the more noticeable books included in these lists are the historical works of Josephus, of Eusebius, of Or-

[1] *Serapeum*, iii. 99—110.

[2] *Episcopatus Constantiensis Alemannicus*, i. 536—544. (Vogel, in *Serapeum*, iii. 7.)

osius, of Jerome, of Cassiodorus, of Beda, of Gregory (of Tours); the *Vita et gesta Caroli Imp. Augusti;* five books *Historiarum gentis Winilorum;* a work entitled, *Sex a mundi principio ætates usque hactenus, postea Karoli majoris domus Francorum, Pipini senioris ac filii ejusdem Karoli, et Pipini et Karle filiorum Karoli, deinde postquam Pipinus ad regem elevatus est, postea Karoli regis, deinceps gesta Hludovici regis ac imp. ad extremum quædam decreta adversantia.* The chronological and geographical works are numerous. Of the ancient poets we find *Virgilii Georgicon libri* iii., and *Æneidos libri* vi.; and of the Christian poets a long series, including Juvencus, Sedulius, Fortunatus, Dracontius, and Aldhelm. Among the scientific and encyclopædical authors are Pliny, Galen, Vegetius, Vitruvius, and Boetius; and among the grammarians, Priscian, Caper, and Isidorus. Lastly, may be mentioned (in the class "Jurisprudence"), *Lex Salica, Lex Alemannica, Lex Ripuaria, Lex Longobardica;* and the *Capitularia Caroli Magni, Pipini,* and *Ludovici.*[1] Of the theological department—rich, as were all the great Benedictine Libraries, in patristic works—it can scarcely be necessary to speak in detail.

For about a century and a half the collection seems to have been both preserved and increased. But as in the year 1006 Reichenau suffered severely by fire, that frequent and terrible foe of monastic possessions, so, for several successive centuries, its community fell into that old slough of avarice, contention, and apathy, which

[1] I take this enumeration from the able essay of Vogel, *Die Bibliothek der Bened. Abtei Reichenau,* founded on Schonhuth's *Chronik des ehemaligen Klosters Reichenau: ein Beitrag zur Schwäbischen Geschichte aus handschriftl. Quellen dargestellt.* Freib. 1836, 8°, (Serap. iii, 1—14.)

have always been the foes, more destructive still, of the monastic virtues.

Until nearly the middle of the fifteenth century, the chroniclers of Reichenau have to tell of little more than its accelerating debasement. There is then a temporary gleam of prosperity, under the restoring and energetic rule of Frederick of Wartenberg, who was Abbot from 1428 to 1453, and who signalized his government by great zeal and liberality towards the Library. But his successors did not emulate his example. Internal and prolonged neglect had begun the work of dilapidation, long before the atrocities of the Thirty Years' War came to assist it. What has survived of this once famous collection is to be found, partly in the University Library of Heidelberg, and partly in the Ducal Library of Carlsruhe.[1] One solitary missal of the tenth century—in company with a ciborium, a cope, and a crozier—is still shown to the "Pilgrims of the Rhine" amidst the ruins of Reichenau.[2]

Library of St. Gall. (f. about 820.)

At several points of their respective histories, there are links of connection between Reichenau and St. Gall, of a closer sort than those which unite, more or less directly, all the monasteries of mediæval times. The fate of their Libraries, however, has been different. There

[1] *Catalogus librorum Manuscriptorum quos Fridericus ab Wartenberg Abbas a Dom. Marchione de Rotal fratre Episcopi Ottonis* III. *Episcopi Constantiensis emit, et in Bibliothecam Monasterii Augiensis reposuit.* (Ziegelbauer, *Historia rei literariæ Ordinis S. Benedicti*, i. 573; Schonhuth, *Chronik, ut sup.*, (as quoted by Vogel, *Serap.* iii. 11,) 256—258); Petzholdt, *Handbuch deutscher Bibliotheken*, 205.

[2] Murray, *Northern Germany* (11th Edit.), 555.

remains enough of the old collection of St. Gall to attract and to gratify the student of mediæval literature; whilst its new Library, although not a large collection, has been gathered with care, and is rich in Swiss history.

The Abbot Gozbert may be regarded as the founder of one of the few Libraries which can point in their annals to the celebration of a millennial jubilee. He ruled the community from 816 to 836, and of his zeal for the Library it is recorded,..... *Primus eam instruxit, neglectam antea ac prope nullum librorum usu habitam*..... Of about 400 volumes collected by this Abbot, a contemporary catalogue is still extant. It is also stated, that he set apart for the books a room above the Scriptorium. The collection thus begun, grew rapidly, as well by remarkable industry in transcription, as by numerous gifts from successive Abbots, monks, and pupils. In the tenth century the invasion of the Huns necessitated the hasty removal of the books to Reichenau (as a place of comparative safety, on account of its insular position), whence they were not brought back without some losses. Even thus early, the Library of St. Gall could boast not only of Greek, but even of Hebrew MSS.; and it is hinted by the historian of the community, that some of these treasures so sorely tempted the brethren at Reichenau to break at least the tenth commandment, as to lead to some mistakes of identity, when the books had to be returned; the number of volumes being right enough, but their contents not in exact agreement with the original catalogue.

Library of St. Gall. (f. about 820.)

Whatever may have been the extent of the injury thus occasioned, other and more grievous losses quickly

followed. For a while they were compensated, in some degree, by increased activity in the Scriptorium, especially under the rule of the Abbot Burchard II., at the commencement of the eleventh century, from which period are to be dated some of the most precious treasures which still adorn the Library of St. Gall. Weidmann, its keeper and historian, regards the first four centuries of its annals (830—1200) as the *golden*; the fifth (1200—1300) as the *iron*; and the sixth and part of the seventh (1300—1463) as the *leaden* eras.

In the thirteenth century the community had enemies enough out of doors, but its worst foes were those of its own house. At that time the turbulence of its dignitaries was equalled only by their ignorance. Then came the famous Council of Constance, with its perilous levies on all the monastic Libraries that were within reach; and in the case of St. Gall, it seems not improbable that some of the volumes which it lost, went again towards the enrichment of its neighbours. The fifteenth century was marked by the memorable researches of Poggio Bracciolini.

The amiable biographer of Poggio has observed, that "the expense occasioned by these literary excursions was a heavy incumbrance" upon one "whose property could by no means bear any extraordinary diminution."

But it seems highly probable that, in this instance at all events, the compassion is a little misplaced. Poggio regarded literary researches in monastic Libraries as a species of war which ought to be carried on at the enemy's cost. His countrymen have loudly celebrated his "discovery" of Quintilian, but they make no mention

of the "two waggons" which (if we may trust the monkish chronicles) he had to procure, in order to carry off his spoils. The incident, and what it involves, if true, are of course much more discreditable to the monks than to their visitor. But it gives a different colour to Poggio's account of what he saw, as well as to Dr. Shepherd's compassionate allusion to the slenderness of his resources.

Poggio's discoveries in the Library of St. Gall.

In a letter addressed to Guarino Veronese (16. Dec. 1416), he narrates his visit to St. Gall in company with some friends. They found, he says, a large number of MSS., and among them a complete copy of Quintilian, "safe and sound, but buried in rubbish and dust," in the lowest room or dungeon of a tower, "unfit even for the residence of condemned criminals." Besides Quintilian they found there the first three books and part of the fourth book of the "Argonautics" of Valerius Flaccus, and the Commentary of Asconius Pedianus on eight of Cicero's Orations.[1] These are all that are specifically mentioned, but they were probably only a small portion of Poggio's "discoveries."

With the rule of Abbot Ulrich VIII. (1463—1491) a period of renewed literary activity dawned upon St.

[1] Poggio's letter is in the Wolfenbuttel Library, and is printed in *Poggiana* (iii. 309), but I cannot now refer to it otherwise than as it is reported by Tiraboschi, and after him by Shepherd. ("Tra una grandissima copia di libri dic' egli che lungo sarebbe l'annoverare trovammo un Quintiliano ancor sano e salvo, ma pien di polvere e d'immondezza, perciocchè eran que libri nella biblioteca non com' il loro onor richedeva, ma sepolti in una oscura e tetra prigione, cioè nel fondo di una torre in cui non si getterebbon nemmeno idannati a morte."—Tiraboschi, *Storia del literatura Italiana*, vi. 121.)

Gall.[1] It again acquired scholastic fame, and again suffered eclipse in the stormy times which followed. Its subsequent fortunes belong to another section of our subject, and are elsewhere briefly referred to.

Library of Sponheim (founded 1124).

The Library of the Abbey of Sponheim was probably founded in 1124, but acquired its chief celebrity under the government of John Tritheim, who was Abbot from 1483 to 1505, and whose Chronicle of his community is both more widely known, and in its main substance better authenticated, than is usual with monkish chronicles. For about a century from the foundation, there are frequent records in the *Chronicon Sponheimense* of the care of the superiors to collect books, and of the industry of the brethren in their transcription. But, as usual, this period is followed by one of the opposite character, and of longer duration, in which the interests of literature, in common with interests still more important, were wholly neglected. An incident that stands recorded of a certain Abbot Gobelin—nineteenth in succession—throws a gleam of light on the corruptions of this period, and discloses to us the impunity with which a worthless monk, with a lawless baron at his back, could flout a general council. This worthy not only preferred to live on the outside of his monastery, but for purposes of his own stripped it of its title deeds, and of many other MSS., refusing to restore them even at the demand of the Council of Basel. Thirty years

[1] Weidmann, *Geschichte der Bibliothek von St. Gallen, aus den Quellen bearbeitet, auf die tausendjährige Jubelfeier.* An epitome of the history of this Library, founded on Weidmann's book, will be found in *Serapeum* iii. 113.

after his death some of the charters were recovered from his castle, but the book MSS. had vanished. At this time (1469) the contents of the Library at Sponheim had dwindled to ten volumes.

Regeneration of the Community of Sponheim by Tritheim.

Under circumstances like these, Abbot Tritheim, fourteen years afterwards, began his regenerating labours. He had to struggle with a community which, notwithstanding some new and purer blood transfused into it from Mentz, was still ignorant and poverty-stricken (in a different sense from that of pristine monachism, for it was overburdened with debt), although it may have ceased to be openly dissolute. With the new Abbot, study was the prime necessity of life. His views as to the connection between the right cultivation of theological science, and the ancillary pursuit of secular acquirements, were large and vigorous. The very embarrassments of the community in respect of finance became a spur to the labours of the Scriptorium. If books could be rarely bought, they must be the more assiduously borrowed and transcribed. The new art of printing, too, was making rapid strides, and often enabled Tritheim to obtain precious but neglected manuscripts from other convents, in exchange for printed books of a more popular and current sort. In this way it sometimes chanced that he saved from imminent risk of destruction choice codices, which are now among the prized treasures of our modern Libraries. Italy and Greece, as well as all parts of Germany, were laid under contribution, and scarcely any language then known to literature was unrepresented in the collection which Tritheim had at length amassed.

From several passages in his correspondence and in his *Nepiachus*,[1] it appears that before his retirement the Sponheim Library contained—in place of the fourteen volumes he found there—more than 2000 volumes, of which the majority were MSS. Of Greek MSS. alone, there were upwards of an hundred. Unhappily no catalogue of the collection is now extant. We know that in the year 1502 the Abbot himself undertook the preparation of one, which appears to have been classed according to languages, and to have comprised 1646 volumes. The contemporary allusions to the Library are numerous, and they sometimes mention specifically certain works which it contained. There is also a fragmentary list of some of the Greek codices, but it includes only forty of them in number.[2]

Growth of the Sponheim Library.

The early celebrity of the Sponheim collection was probably enhanced by its reverses. In 1504, when William of Hesse carried fire and sword through the Palatinate, it had to be hastily removed to Creuznach, and scarcely had the restoration of peace permitted its return, when internal discord and disaffection towards the Abbot began to arise in the community for which he had laboured so assiduously, and were fanned into a flame by the ambitious projects of some of its members. Illness, and the temporary absence it had occasioned, rendered Tritheim less able to cope with his rebellious monks; and eventually he determined to resign his dig-

[1] E. G. *Epistolæ familiares* l. i. 420; 502; l. ii. 508, 513; 548; 556; 559 (Vogel, in *Serapeum*, iii. 323), and *Nepiachus*, 1828.

[2] Busæus has printed it in the *Paralipomena Opusculorum Petri Blesensis et Jo. Trithemii aliorumque nuper in typographeo Moguntino editorum a Jo. Busæo*, 777—794.

nity and retire to a small abbey at Würzburg. This retirement took place in 1506, and lasted until Tritheim's death, ten years afterwards.[1] To his dying day, in spite of all mortifications and temporary discouragements, he continued to be a book-lover and a student. Formidable and diversified as is the list of his published writings, several still remain inedited, and some have perished. At one time unduly praised, his books have since, perhaps, been as unduly depreciated. Several of them will yet repay perusal. The subsequent history of the Sponheim collection will claim a word of notice hereafter.

[1] How severely these mortifications were felt is abundantly shown in his published correspondance. At one time he is so depressed in mind as to contemn what in his better days had been his glory:—"Magno fateor bibliothecæ quondam tenebar amore," he wrote to Johann Bracht, "et cunctis mundi opibus libros meos anteferebam, sed posteaquam rerum mutationem perpendi adesse mearum, omnia quæ prius amaveram stercoris æstimatione contempsi, animoque imperavi meo, nihil præter se ipsum deinceps suum credere, et quæ in morte necessario esset relicturus, multo magis vivens in carne disceret non amare," etc. *Epist. fam.* l. ii. 518, 514. (Vogel, in *Serapeum*, iii. 325.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH BENEDICTINES.

Libri, et maxime Augustiniani, ut nosti, apud nos auro preciosores sunt. PETER of CLUGNY, Epistles (Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, p. 865).

Standing upon the accumulated labours of ages, we are apt to be ungrateful to those who, with weary labour, and often working through dark and dreary nights, built up the platform which now supports us. We complain impatiently of the blindness of many a man without whom we should not have seen; and of the incompleteness of many a man's doctrine, who was only incomplete because he was still engaged in searching for some truth which, when found, he handed on as a precious heirloom to us who know him not.
KINGSLEY, *Preface to the Sermons of* Tàulerus, p. xxxiii.

MONTE Cassino (as we have seen already) was not inaptly called the "Sinai of the Middle Ages." The code which was thence promulgated was an elevating, a civilising, and a uniting code, given amidst wide-spread debasement, ignorance, and dissension. It struck at the root of that idle, dreamy life of mere contemplation, which had been so long the canker and the opprobium of Eastern monachism. The Benedictine was not merely to pray, to meditate, and to adore. He was to dig, to sow, to plant, to build, to write; to pacify those who were at strife; to shelter the oppressed; to offer sanctuary to the penitent; he was to render to God that most acceptable of all worship, if offered in the spirit of

Christian humility, the worship of conscientious and unselfish labour.

What, in the course of successive generations, this great community was enabled to achieve in one department of its activities,—that, namely, of the keepership of literature, if the expression be a permissible one,—has been glanced at, as respects Britain and Germany, which, though in this particular neither first nor greatest, lay nearest home. The retrospect turns now towards Italy, the birthplace, and France, the most fruitful seed-plot, of the Benedictine Order.

Of the founder's biography, it is enough to say in the pithy words of St. Gregory: "If you seek an epitome of the life of St. Benedict, read his Rule." Monte Cassino had more than its share of the vicissitudes of that early and troubled time. Monks who had seen the pious founder carried to his grave lived to see their monastery ruined by the Lombards. It was in the restored edifice that the first collection of books was slowly gathered, to be for the most part laid waste by the Saracens in 884. What was saved—by removal—of these early treasures, was almost entirely destroyed by fire twenty years afterwards.

Growth of the Library of Monte Cassino.

When the monastery was again rebuilt, it entered on a new series of changes and calamities,—in the course of which earthquake added its ravages to those of fire and sword,—but the Library continued to make progress through them all. In the eleventh century the monks of Monte Cassino became famous for the industry with which they transcribed, not only the theological and ecclesiastical MSS. they had amassed, but also Homer,

Virgil, Horace, Terence; the Idyls of Theocritus; the Fasti of Ovid; and not a few of the historians of Greece and Rome. The copies thus made were widely disseminated.

Visits of famous men to the Library of Monte Cassino.

A circumstance which adds special interest to a community less in need of adventitious attractions than any of its contemporaries, is the number and celebrity of the men who in various ages have visited it, and have recorded their impressions of what they saw. Some of these visits belong to very modern days, but an episodical reference to them may not, perhaps, be out of place. It will serve, too, to show both sides of the shield. At Monte Cassino, as elsewhere, the learned and laborious monk of one generation was followed by the faithless guardian, the stupid mutilator, and the brutal purloiner of another.

Boccaccio's account of the Cassino Library in 14th Century.

Boccaccio's visit appears to have occurred about 1360, and has been narrated by his disciple Benvenuto da Imola, probably from his dictation: *Volo ad clăriorem intelligentiam hujus litterœ referre illud, quod narrabat mihi jocose venerabilis præceptor meus Boccacius de Certaldo. Dicebat enim, quod cum esset in Apulia, captus fama loci, accessit ad nobile monasterium Montis Cassini, de quo dictum est. Et avidus videndi librariam, quam audiverat ibi esse nobilissimam, petivit ab uno monacho humiliter, velut ille qui suavissimus erat, quod deferat ex gratia sibi aperire bibliothecam. At ille rigide respondit, ostendens sibi altam scalam: Ascende, quia aperta est. Ille lœtus ascendens, invenit locum tanti thesauri, sine ostio vel clavi, ingressusque vidit herbam natam per fenestras, et libros omnes cum bancis coopertis*

pulvere alto. Et mirabundus cœpit aperire nunc istum librum, nunc illum, invenitque ibi multa et varia volumina antiquorum et peregrinorum librorum. Ex quorum aliquibus erant detracti aliqui quinterni, ex aliis recisi margines chartarum, et sic multipliciter deformati. Tandem miseratus, labores et studia tot inclytorum ingeniorum devenisse ad manus perditissimorum hominum, dolens et illacrymans recessit. Et occurrens in claustro, petivit a monacho obvio, quare libri illi pretiosissimi essent ita turpiter detruncati. Qui respondit, quod aliqui monachi volentes lucrari duos, vel quinque solidos, radebant unum quaternum, et faciebant psalteriolos, quos vendebant pueris, et ita de marginibus faciebant brevia, quæ vendebant mulieribus. Nunc ergo, o vir studiose, frango tibi caput pro faciendo libros.[1]

With all due grains of allowance for the Decameronian vein so clearly traceable in this anecdote, and in the appended moral (couched in Latinity charmingly characteristic), there is doubtless substantial truth in it, which, if need were, might be supported by corroborative testimony. But the dawn of a better day was not distant.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century Tasso spent the last Christmas of his life at Monte Cassino, but his thoughts were then busy with higher themes than those of literature, and he probably passed more of his time in the subterranean chapel in which the remains of St. Benedict are supposed to rest, than in the twice restored Library. About a century later occurred the visits of Mabillon and his companions of the Congregation of St. Maur.

[1] *La Commedia di* Dante, *commentata da* B. da Imola (Parad. xii, 74), as quoted by Valery, *Voyages historiques*, etc., l. xiv. c. 12.

Dom Michel Germain's account of the visit to Monte Cassino, of Mabillon and other Benedictines of St. Maur.

In one of the frank and gossiping letters addressed by Dom Michel Germain to his friends at home, there is an amusing account of this visit. After praising the excellent supper at the abbot's house, which had made amends for the too lenten fare they had met with on their journey, the good Benedictine then proceeds: "The next morning we went up the holy mountain on foot, by a road which in its windings runs for three miles before one reaches the monastery. Figure to yourself a terrace, whereon stands a castle the length of which is greater than its depth, and in the midst a very beautiful and symmetrical church. The buildings are substantial and, in spite of their position on the mountain, very lofty; with nothing of magnificence about them save that derived from the extent of frontage, and the regularity of the long range of windows; .... all the chambers are vaulted as well as the offices and outbuildings; and this is the usual practice in the Congregation of Mount Cassino, which has a right to pride itself on its ability to teach us the art of building wisely, substantially and pleasingly ..... The Library is newly restored. Printed books and MSS. are bound alike, but the former are not of much note. Nor are there more than five hundred MSS. These were put entirely at our disposal *(dont nous avons été les maîtres)*. Some *Cardinals have carried off the best. Of those thus removed some were shown to us in the Vatican.*"

Dom Michel goes on to express his regret that Baluze should have blamed the Monks of Cassino so severely as he had done in his *Nova Collectio Conciliorum*, for with-

holding a certain MS. relating to the Council of Ephesus. This volume "was *borrowed* a long time ago by a certain Cardinal who would not return it. One cannot doubt," he adds, "that the borrower was Cardinal Casanata, who, far from writing on M. Baluze's behalf, as the latter had hoped he would do, kept the cat in the bag so cleverly, that the worthy Fathers, whatever their good will, could be of no service in the affair. But be sure you caution M. Baluze against writing to Rome about it, since not only would it be of no avail, but might obstruct the success of other attempts to get sight of the MS. The Italians have not entrusted this work to a man devoted to the Holy See, in order that he may hand it to a Frenchman, already known to be a little predisposed against some of their pretensions. The best plan is not to say a word. With God's help, by hook or by crook, sooner or later, we shall get hold of it; or if not we, our friends who stay at Rome. But M. Baluze, to whom I beg my humble respects, should take an opportunity of doing justice to the Fathers of Cassino, who are really very worthy fellows, much more learned and clever than we fancied before we had seen them."

He then praises the exercises, the discipline, and the worship of the community, and proceeds: "I return to the Library. We have found some good things and have filled two or three quires of paper .... Admission to the muniment-room has been offered us, and we mean to profit by it. Besides the deeds, *it contains some fine MSS. which are concealed there for fear lest the Seculars*

should take it into their heads to ask for them so pressingly as to preclude refusal."[1]

Despite of perils so numerous and so diversified, and after all the vicissitudes of twelve centuries, Monte Cassino can yet boast of the possession of "800 volumes of MSS. mostly of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, . . . and of a wonderful collection of charters and records . . . . including 100 diplomas and papal bulls (beginning with the year 744), and 45,000 other records, many of great antiquity."[2] Within the last few years the collection has been officially visited by Messrs. Renan and Daremberg, at the instance of the French Ministry of Public Instruction, and in his Report of July, 1850, M. Renan writes thus:—"This noble abbey, well deserving a better country, would have sufficed to console us for the inhospitality and the disappointments which were awaiting us at Naples. The eight days which we passed in its archives, amidst the kindest attentions, have been perhaps the best employed days of our journey, and the most fruitful of useful results. The discovery which I prize most highly is that of some unpublished pages of Abelard. According to the catalogue, the volume numbered 174 contained the *Enchiridion*, the *Retractationes*, three books of *Theologia Christiana*, by St. Augustine; and the *Sic et non* of Abelard. The authors of the catalogue had noted that a 'Christian Theology' ascribed to Saint Augustine must needs be apocryphal. At the first glance I imagined that the work must be the *Theologia Christiana*

Visit of Mr. Ernest Renan, 1849.

[1] *Correspondance inédite de Mabillon et de Montfaucon avec l'Italie*, etc., i. 169-172.

[2] Curzon, *Notices of Italian Libraries*, privately printed in the *Miscellanies* of the Philobiblon Society, vol. 1 (1855).

of Abelard, and the conjecture was amply verified, when I compared the MS. with the text published by Martene and Durand, in the 5th volume of the *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*. Besides, this work did not consist of three books only, as indicated the catalogue, but, like the published text, of *five* books; except that instead of the titles of the fourth and fifth, there were blanks left for rubrication, ... and that the fifth book contained important variations and additions, amounting to five or six pages of enlargement of the Benedictine text .... It will serve also to complete the text of that important work in the fine edition of M. Cousin, whose judicious counsels had repeatedly drawn my attention to Abelard, before I set out."

M. Renan proceeds to state that he had also collated the *Sic et non*, and that although he knew already, from Cousin, the fact that extensive varieties existed amongst the several MSS., he was nevertheless surprised at the amount of those which the Monte Cassino codex presented; and he then continues:

"The Archives contain a large number of MS. works of the celebrated philosopher Cremonini, some of which are unpublished; and amongst them an inaugural lecture on the text *Mundus nunquam est*; *nascitur semper et moritur*, and two letters,—the one from the Inquisition of Padua to Cremonini, calling upon him to retract his errors; the other, Cremonini's reply, containing a distinct refusal to do so, couched in terms of remarkable boldness.

"A MS. which possessed great interest for me on account of its bearings on the mediæval study of Greek

is a Psalter of the twelfth century, written in five volumes, the first of them containing the Greek text, transcribed in Latin characters. . . . . The collection, too, contains many other documents of value for the history of the Greek language in the west, especially during the Carlovingian period."[1]

The most ancient MS. now at Monte Cassino is (according to M. Valery) Origen's *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans,* of the year 569. It contains this curious inscription: *Donatus gratiâ Dei presbyter, proprium codiceus Justino Augusto tertio post consulatum ejus in ædibus B. Petri in Castello Lucullano* [which occupied the site of *Castello dell' Uovo*] *infirmus legi, legi, legi.* The oldest diploma is one of Ajo, prince of Benevento, bearing date 884, and beginning thus: *Ajo Dei providentiâ Longobardorum gentis princeps.*[2] The series of Longobardic charters is especially curious for its miniatures, as is that of Papal Bulls for the extraordinary privileges conferred on Monte Cassino,—privileges "of such a nature," says Montfaucon, "that the like have scarce ever been granted to monks."[3]

Library of the Monastery of Pomposia (in the 11th century).

In the Italian Diary of the illustrious Benedictine last named, there is an interesting letter which contains an account and catalogue of the Library of the monastery of Pomposia as it was in the eleventh century. This document was found in the Library of the Duke of Mo-

[1] *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires,* i. 384-387.

[2] Valery, *Voyages historiques, etc., ut supra,* l. xiv. c. 12.

[3] Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum,* c. xxii.

dena, and was communicated to Montfaucon by Fontanini. It runs thus:—

"The Epistle of Henricus Clericus to Stephanus:

"To Stephanus, well grounded in philosophick knowledge, Henricus Clericus wishes the illumination of heavenly wisdom.

Letter of Henricus Clericus on the Library of Pomposia.

"On hearing the fame of the venerable Abbot Jerome of Pomposia, ever making a progress in good applications, you desire an account of what he has collected, by a general inquiry relating to Holy Writ, and the compass of his Library, as he has by the Spirit of God almost neglected all other pursuits for this only. This, my beloved friend, I will faithfully declare from his own mouth, and my personal observation, tracing it up as high as possible, to the best of my capacity.

"The Monastery of Pomposia, as I have been informed, has been wonderfully improved from the Time of Guido, renowned for sanctity, the first head of it. Moved by his goodness, great numbers of men took the sacred habit in it: several Marquesses, Counts, and sons of Noblemen have laid aside the pleasures and pomps of the world, at this day, to follow there the strictest duties of Religion.

"Amongst these, my Master, Jerome the Abbot, was, from his earliest years, trained up in the Monastic Life, and afterwards advanced greatly in the arts of grammar, and of logick.

"First, he was constituted a Prior, and then Abbot, by the Brotherhood; as he was possessed of all good qualities of mind and conduct, he found he could not edify his charge without a better sense of piety prevailing amongst them. Hence he set himself to collect the volumes of learned men, that, amidst the great variety, all might be furnished with proper information. I think, indeed, no man can have a just notion of moral virtue and vice without a knowledge of the Holy Writings; for who can cure without physic, or make a voyage without a sail?

"But since the good are ever obnoxious to envy, some were disgusted at it, urging that he embezzled the income of the House, and that he might sometime run away with all the books to get a Bishoprick; I was ever averse to these reproaches, and always took the reasonable part in my judgment. Bonus (Good indeed, both in name and example), who was first an Hermit, then a Monk, was his Librarian; a man generally thought to be a perfect scholar; and so eager of Copies, that he purchased all, however indistinct or irregular were the characters. For the Abbot resolved to write them over again, and digest them into one Library. Some of the Brothers are even piqu'd at me, for my pains about the Title-pages, who are incapable of reading the Copies.

"No Church, City, or Province, not Rome itself, can parallel this collection. Who then can be so foreign to Religion as not to be fond of a retreat, where he may be so well instructed? As evil communication corrupts good manners, so good communication will effect the contrary.

"But to compleat your satisfaction in this matter, you shall view the Titles of them; nor is this useless, for some, perhaps, may be removed and lost; but the Librarian, on a perusal of this list, may possibly discover who has taken the Book away, and so retrieve it ..... So far on the Abbot and the Monastery; I have, you know, penned a set Traetise on this subject. This was recorded and rendered in the Book of the Pontiffs, in the year from the Incarnation MXCIII.

Twelve Books of St. Augustin upon Genesis.

His Twelve Books *de Civitate Dei.*

Three Books of the Sayings of our Lord, in Matthew, Luke, and John.

The same, *de Catech. Rudibus;* one, *de Magistro;* one, *Questionum;* one, *de Agone Christiano;* one, *de fide Catholicâ;* one, *contra V Hæres. Paganos, Judæs, Manichæos, Sabellianos, et Arrianos;* one, *de altere. Eccles. et Synagogæ;* one *Serm. de decem Chordis; De Vita Christiana;* one to Bonifaee against the Donatists.

Thirty-eight other Epistles, Sermons, and Answers, to St. Augustine, and Epistles to him, as they are now extant in his works; in two vols.

St. Ambrose *de Consolatione Valentiani.*

Cyprian's Sermons and Epistles, eighty-one; and of the Jewish Incredulity .....

Thirty-four Tracts of Jerome on the Scripture, and his Epistles.

Fulgentius *de Trinit.* and *de Creaturis,* two; Nicetæ *de Ratione Fidei; de Spiritu; de Apellationibus Christi.*

Seven Tracts of St. Ambrose *de Trinitate,* etc.

Catalogum (so written) *Sanctorum,* one.

Historia Illustrium Virorum, one.

Super Matthæum, Chrysostomi, one.

Seventy of his Homilies, and two other Tracts, *de Lapso,* and *de Compunctione,* two.

Eleven Expositions of St. Ambrose on the Scriptures.

Three Tracts of Hilary.

Seven Tracts of Nazianzen.

One of Gregory, Bishop of Cliberis.

Psalterium Hieronymi.

Cassian's *Collationes:* two of the Body and Blood of Christ.

Lanffranc against Berengarius.

Ambrosii *Hekemeron;* and *de Virginitate De Pasch. Hebdom.*

Many Epistles of Jerome.
Cassiodorus. Lupus Servatus. *Historia Africana.*
Exposition of the Song of Songs.
Officia Amalarii. Orosius. Eutropius and Paulus. Pliny and Solinus. *Hist. Mex. Mes. Hist. lib.* 12. *Hist. Afr. lib.* 3.
Expositio Arabani sup. V. lib.
Pliny, Solinus, *Hist. Alex.* again.
Petrus Damianus.
Expositio sup. Psalt.
Expositio Origenis *super Lucam.*
Eight on the Monastic Rules of Basil, etc.
Hildelphonsus *de Trinit.*
Twenty-two Tracts of St. Austin, Sermons, etc.
Three pieces of Seneca. His Tragedies.
Regino's Chronicle. Book of the Popes.
Paschasius *de Corp. et Sang. Christi.*
Umbertus *de eodem.*
Seventeen Tracts and Epistles of St. Austin, and two of Pope Gregory and St. Isidore.
Forty other Tracts of St. Austin in 1 vol.
Twenty-one Tracts of the same Father.
Fourteen other Tracts of the same.
Nineteen other Tracts of the same.
Three other Tracts of the same.
Clement of Rome's Recognitions, lib. 10, with an account of the beginning of them.
Ambrose's Eighteen Expositions on the Apocalypse, in the same manner.
Jerome on the Apocalypse.
Bede on the same, three books.
St. Ambrose on the 118th Psalm; on the Canticles, five books; four other Pieces of the same; fourteen other Tracts of his.
St. Austin against Julian, six books; Six more by St. Austin; three others of the same Father.
The Etymologies of Isidore of Sevil.
Of the Consent of the Evangelists, four books.
Ten Books of Livy; [but forty chapters *(sic)* are wanting to our Abbot, which he is very desirous to procure.]
Six Tracts of Isidore of Sevil.
Liber prosemiorum Scripturæ.
Sermo Sancti Joan. Os. *(sic)* aurei de Psalm 50; one of his Epistles.
Acta Methodii *Episcopi.*
Twenty Tracts of St. Austin.
Apponius on the Canticles.
Clement's Decrees of the Pope to Damascus.

Forty-four Books of the Ancient Histories of Trogus Pompeius [*i. e.* Justin's Epitome].

An Exposition, by an Anonymous Hand, on St. Matthew, in seventy-six Chapters, with a Prologue.

"By the care of this Abbot almost all these Books are now transcribed: some, indeed, mentioned by St. Augustin in his Book of Retractations, he has not met with: but he is ever inquisitive after all the religious writings he can possibly hear of, so that the Pomposian Church is become the most renowned in Italy. This is the clemency of God, to encrease our thirst of knowledge by knowing. Indeed, his desire of enriching the Church in this way is unbounded. Some envious detractors may object. Why does this Rev. Abbot insert the Heathen Authors, accounts of tyrants, etc. among his Theological Works? To this we answer, in the words of the Apostle, 'That there are Vessels of Clay, as well as Gold.' This was designed to allure and employ the taste of all mankind.

'Hence,' says Christ, 'in my Father's House are many Mansions.' I believe, indeed, the more holy a man is, he will be so much the more happy; the same is the intention of the Gentile writings: to give us a contempt of the world and secular grandeur. Whence the Apostle, 'We know that all things work together for grace to them that love him.'

"So may they rest in peace. But may this learned Abbot pursue his undertaking to the end: that books may abound, useful, to all posterity, and be recorded in Catalogues, to preserve the memory of them, for the service of future times." [1]

To make even a tolerable approximation towards an adequate account of the Libraries of the great monasteries of Italy, would require much wider limits than it is at all practicable to assign to that subject here. The reader who desires to pursue it will find much information brought together in the *Iter Italicum* of Blume, and in consulting that work would do well to refer to the valuable supplements to it which Vogel has contributed to the *Serapeum* at various times.

Library of the Monastery of Fleury (f. 7th Century).

The great Benedictine Abbey of Fleury held high rank amongst the Monasteries of France, and its foun-

[1] *Diarium Italicum* (Henley's Translation), 62-65.

dation dated from the middle of the seventh century. Within two centuries of that foundation it had already attained eminence as a school of learning. Like all similar institutions it had its share in the troubles and losses of that disturbed period. But it continued—after intervals of depression—to thrive and to attract both masters and scholars even from distant lands. According to certain authorities it could boast at one time more than five thousand students.

Some of the historians or chroniclers of Fleury go on to say, that "every student was bound to deposit two copies of some work, ancient or modern, in its Library," and if so, we can easily conceive that the community must have possessed, even at an early period of its history, an extensive collection. But it will be safer to conclude with the learned authors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France* that "without having recourse to an assertion which it would be difficult to vouch for, the various departments of literature that we know to have been then cultivated at Fleury, and the number of early MSS. which survived to later times, are sufficient to show that its Library was well furnished.[2]

The first salient fact about the Library of Fleury for which there is conclusive testimony, seems to be the levy of a tax, expressly for its support, on the officers

[1] Helyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques*, v. 95.

[2] *Histoire littéraire, ut supra*, vi. 35. In Vogel's opinion (an opinion eminently entitled to respect as that of an indefatigable labourer in this field of research) the implied doubt is superfluous. The assertion he thinks to be, on the face of it, probable and in accordance with known analogy, and he instances the case of Corvey, elsewhere noticed. *(Die Bibliothek der Benedictinerabtei Saint Benoit, oder Fleury an der Loire;—Serapeum*, v. 17-29; 46-49.

and dependent priories of the abbey. This impost was established by Abbot Macarius in 1146.[1] The document is curious and will, I think, be found worth inserting at length:—

Import levied by Abbot Macharius for support of the Library of Fleury (1146).

"Egò Macharius Abbas Monasterii S. Benedicti Floriacensis, videns Bibliothecæ nostræ codices vetustate nimia cariosos et teredine ac tinea rodente corruptos, ad eorum reflectionem, et novorum comparationem seu membranarum: In choro, videlicit, libri Cantoris, Breviariorum, Psalteriorum, Exceptionariorum, Glossariorum, Gradualium, Processionariorum, Antiphonariorum, Legendariorum, Matutinalium, et librorum Capitulicoemptionem. Rogatu etiam Cantoris vel Armarii Haetonis charissimi fratris nostri. In capitulo nostro, toto Conventu congregato, et consentiente, constitui. Constitui, inquam, ne tam ego quam Priores nostri, et qui intra Monasterium Obedientias habent, ad hoc opus tam necessarium, tam utile, tam honestum, in Brumali tempore, festivitate B. Patris Benedicti taxam conferre omittamus. Quam pecuniariam collectam, Cantor et Armarius noster ab iis, quibus imposità est, exigens et observans; in prædictatos usus annutatim, ac diligenter expendere debet. Volumus etiam, ut eosdem annuos tales reddant eorum successores, quales in propria solvunt, qui nunc possident:

Prior noster, 10 solidos.
—— de Regula (la Reole), 10 sol.
—— de Saltu (du Saulx), 10 sol.
—— de Patriciaco (Pressy), 10 sol.)
Præpositus de Diaco (Dié), 10 sol.
Thesauriarius noster, 10 sol.
Camerarius, 10 sol.
Præpositus istius villæ, 6 sol.
Cellerarius, 4 sol.
Infirmarius, 5 sol.
Eleemosinarius, 4 sol.
Subcamerarius, 4 sol.
Magister operis, 4 sol.
Pistrinarius, 2 sol.
Prior de Castro novo super Carrum (Chateau neuf-sur-Carrous), 6 sol.
—— de Sancto-Cæsare (Soucerre), 6 sol.
Præpositus de Castillione (Chatillon-sur-Loire), 20 sol.
Prior de Valliaco (Vailles), 4 sol.
—— de Sancto Bricio (S. Brisson), 6 sol.
—— de S. Ammiano (S. Aignan le Tailland), 6 sol.
—— de Greitio (Grecs-d'Ours?), 6 sol.

Prior de Curte Mariniaci (la Cour de Marigni près Loris), 6 sol.
—— de Castellusio, .. 2 sol.
—— de Vicanibus, .. 4 sol.
—— de Lauriaco (Lorris), 10 sol.
—— de Villa Abbatis, .. 10 sol.
—— de Monasterio (Monstier), 4 sol.
—— de Castro Novo supra Ligerim (Chateauneuf-sur-Loire), 3 sol.
—— de Vitriaco (Vitry), 4 sol.
Præpositus de Yeura villa (Yevre-la-Ville), 6 sol.
Prior de Yeura castro (Yever-le-Chatel), 6 sol.
—— de Stampis (Estampes), 10 sol.
—— de Anicurte (Annecourt), 6 sol.
—— de Gyraco alias Vuarti, .. 6 sol.
—— de Mitinguis ( ), *Monetæ Anglicæ,* 2 sol.
—— de S. Jacobo de Burote .. *Monetæ Cænomanensis,* 10 sol.
—— de Sancto Hylario (St. Hilaire), *moneta Cænomanensis,* 4 sol.
—— de Chesa (La Chese), 2 sol.
Præpositus Aurelianensis, 6 sol.
Prior de Sancto Gervasio (St. Gervais), 2 sol.

"Et ne aliquis successorum nostrorum hunc statutum infringere aut adnihilare præsumat, sigilli nostri et sigilli Capituli impressione roborare et confirmare decrevimus. Hoc etiam firmiter tenere præcipimus, ut nulli Priorum ad prædictum festum venientium exeundi licentia concedatur: donec debitum Cantori et Armario persolvat. Ita signatum MACHARIUS *Abbus.* [Then follow the signature of the other officers of the Community.] *Actum est hoc in Capitulo nostro solemniter Kalend. Martii, anno ab Incarnat. Dom.* 1346 [1146]. *Regnante Ludovico Rege Francorum et Duce Aquitanorum anno decimo regni ejus.*" [1]

According to Marchand, this enactment of Abbot Macarius continued in force until the year 1562. Several similar regulations for the support of the Libraries of French monasteries are on record; as, for instance, in the cases of the abbey of St. Peter at Chartres, and of the Convent of the Holy Trinity at Vendome, both of which occur in the same century.

[1] *Bibliotheca Floriacensis,* i. 409-411; as quoted by Vogel, *ut supra,* 23-25. Helyot *(Hist. des Ord. Mon.,* v. 94) refers to this document as of the *fourteenth* century, misled, as it would seem, by an error of the transcriber.

Under the Abbot John, who governed Fleury from 1235 to 1248, there was much activity in the transcription of MSS., both in its own Scriptorium, and by means of literary missions to other monasteries. Some of the volumes which were written at this period may now be seen in the Town Library of Orleans, together with a few of later date. But, here as elsewhere, a time of relaxed discipline, corrupt manners, and conspicuous misgovernment, prophesied of the storm that was approaching. In the fifteenth century the good monks of Fleury, like their brethren of St. Gall, had their worst enemies at home. In the sixteenth came the inevitable retribution, by the rude hands and sharp swords of the Huguenots.

Devastation of Fleury by the Huguenots.

The district around Fleury became one of the chief theatres of that fierce strife. Some of Condé's troopers threw themselves upon the monastery, plundered it of everything that was saleable, and destroyed what they could not remove. The unfortunate Library suffered almost total dispersion. Many of the MSS. were purchased from the soldiers by Pierre Daniel, an Advocate of Orleans, and assessor of the abbey; some were destroyed; some again remained amidst the ruins for nearly a quarter of a century, when they were found by De Bois, the editor of the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis*.

Subsequent fortunes of the MSS. that were preserved.

The MSS. of Daniel were jointly purchased in 1603 by Jacques de Bongars (the friend and councillor of Henry IV.) and Paul Petau. The portion which fell to the share of the latter came eventually (and by purchase) to Christina, Queen of Sweden, and is now partly in the Vatican, and partly in the Town Library of Geneva. Daniel's share was bequeathed to Gravisset, a native of

Berne, and by him presented to his fellow-townsmen about 1630.[1]

The once again restored Monastery of Fleury continued to exist until the general overturn in 1793. Besides the MSS. discovered and examined by De Bois, as has been mentioned already, others which had belonged to the ancient collection were subsequently discovered. Some had been entrusted to friendly hands during the devastations of 1562, but never found their way back again. Others which had survived that peril were lent to the Benedictines of St. Maur, to be used in their editions of the Fathers of the Church, and were still at St. Germain-des-Près when that abbey was burnt in 1794. These, however, appear to have been amongst the books which were saved (as we shall see hereafter), and are now in the Imperial Library of Paris. The number of MSS. which remained at Fleury at the date of the dissolution is by some authorities stated at 231, and by others at 238; all of which are now in the Town Library of Orleans, and have been catalogued by Septier.

To this catalogue, and to Sinner's Catalogue of the Berne MSS., we are chiefly indebted for such information

[1] It has been several times and even recently asserted, on the authority of Bayle (§ *Bongars*), that Bongars' portion of the Fleury MSS. was purchased of Gravisset by the Elector Palatine, and so became part of the plunder of Heidelberg and consequent aggrandizement of the Vatican. But the erroneousness of this statement was shown by Sinner, nearly a century ago (*Catalogus codicum MS. Bibliothecæ Bernensis*, pp. ix-xv. Bernæ, 1760. 8°), and the books are at Berne to speak for themselves, after a full examination of Bayle's statement, Sinner concludes thus:—"Iste Jacobus [Gravisset], defuncto anno 1614 patre Renato, Bibliothecam Bongarsii (quam ille ex ultima amici voluntate adeptus fuerat), anno circiter 1628, jam tum Helvetiorum civis et Dominis in Liebeck, quod castrum cum dominio a Patre Renato emptum, hactenus in ea gente permansit, Reipublicæ Bernensi dono obtulit." (*Ubi supra*, xiv.)

as is still attainable respecting the composition of the Fleury Library. Portions of the Bible, Commentaries, Works of the Fathers, Liturgical and Homiletical works, have the usual prominence. Eusebius' Church History occurs in the translation of Rufinus. Petrus Comestor is also in the list; together with several martyrologies and collections of the Lives of the Saints. The only work of Beda that occurs amongst the MSS. which were preserved, is the treatise *De ratione temporum.* Boetius figures saliently. Servius' Commentary on Virgil, and Plautus' *Aulularia* were edited by Daniel from Fleury MSS. Sallust, the Epistles of Seneca, Priscian, Macrobius, and Marcianus Capella, occur in the Orleans catalogue. Works in French are few, but some of them are of curious interest.[1]

Variety of the perils to which Mediæval MSS. were exposed.

It is impossible to glance, even in this hurried fashion, at the fortunes of the Library of the Benedictines of Fleury, without a passing thought at the illustration they afford of the strange variety of perils to which these early collections were exposed. Invasion,—civil war,—faithless guardianship,—private cupidity,—casual fire,—follow each other in quick succession, and the result is that whilst the majority of the books so assiduously collected have utterly perished, the survivors are scattered between Rome, Paris, Orleans, Berne, and Geneva; to say nothing of some solitary stragglers which have been dispersed more widely still.

Such a retrospect may well justify the conclusion that the extent of our possessions in this kind is a far more

[1] Vogel, *ubi supra,* 47, 48. Comp. Septier's Catalogue, *ut supra.*

legitimate matter of surprise than the amount of our losses. To call to mind the ravages of the Danes and Normans, in the ninth and tenth centuries; then those of the Hungarians, and of the Saracens; and then the long series of devastating wars which followed the beginnings of the Reformation, is to summon up a retrospect which seems sufficient to have accounted almost for the entire annihilation of the early monuments of literature, had that unhappily occurred.

In the very striking chapter of Dr. Maitland's book, already mentioned,—"*The Dark Ages; a Series of Essays,*" —he has strung together in brief compass, a series of passages from the Travels of the Benedictines, which, though their scope scarcely extends beyond France and Flanders, and as respects time is confined within two or three centuries, supply abundant illustration of this view of the matter in hand.

Ravages of the Huguenots in the 16th century.

"At *St. Theudere*, near Vienne, says Martene, the Chapter showed us with the utmost kindness such fragments of their old monuments as had escaped the fury of the heretics, who in 1562 burnt all their deeds.[2] Again, at *Tarbe*, we found little to do, the cathedral and all its monuments having been burnt by the Calvinists, who throughout Bearn and Bigorre have left frightful indications of their Fury."[3] At St. John's Abbey, *Thouärs*, "the ravages of the Calvinists have dispersed most of the muniments."[4] At Grimberg, "the Library having been

[1] No. xix. Destruction of MSS., pp. 222 239. (3rd. Edit. 1853.)
[2] *Voyage littéraire de deux Benedictins*, i. 252.
[3] Ibid. (2nd part), 13.
[4] Ib., 5.

burnt by the heretics, all the MSS. were destroyed. There now remain but two Bibles, and the ancient synodal statutes of the church of Cambray."[1] At *Eisterbach*, "as all the ancient muniments were dispersed in the wars, we found no MSS., save a Bible, and the Dialogues and Homilies of Cesarius."[2] Of *Dilighen*, again, "this abbey was ruined by the heretics. It is now restored .... and has a tolerable Library, but very few MSS., and those unimportant.[3] Ruinart gives an almost precisely similar account of the Library of a monastery near *Ferté-sous-Jouarre*.[4] Of *Munster*, in Luxembourg, Martene narrates that the abbey twice suffered the fortune of war, and was entirely razed .... "we could not, therefore, expect to make any discoveries in its Library. In fact, we found there only five or six manuscripts."[5] And, again, of St. Arnoul's, at *Metz:* "This Abbey .... was entirely destroyed, like those of St. Clement, St. Symphorien, St. Peter, and St. Mary, when Metz was besieged by the Emperor Charles V.;"[6] and of the *Chartreuse* near *Liège:* "There were formerly many MSS., but, the monastery having been entirely reduced to ashes in the late wars, they were all consumed. There remain but a few volumes of sermons, by Jacques de Vitry, which escaped the flames."[7]

Destruction of Monastic Libraries in ordinary warfare.

[1] Ib. ii. 112 (Maitland, *ut sup.* No. xvii. p. 293).

[2] *Voyage littéraire, etc.* ii. 270.

[3] Ib. ii. 112.

[4] Ruinart, *Iter Litterarium in Alsatiam et Lotharingiam*, 415. (Maitland, *ubi supra.*)

[5] *Voy. litt., ut supra*, ii. 302.

[6] Ib. i. (2nd part) 112.

[7] Ib. ii. 183.

And, finally, as respects losses by accidental fire; as, for example, at *Rheims:* The cathedral and the archiepiscopal palace having been burnt in the twelfth century, all its archives were destroyed."[1] At *Gembloux:* "We passed the morning in examining such MSS. as had escaped the general destruction of that monastery by fire."[2] At *Liège*: "There was formerly, in the Jacobius Convent, a tolerably good Library, but all the MSS. were destroyed in a fire which, a few years ago, entirely consumed the monastery."[3] At *Lucelle*, again: "The fire which destroyed the monastery in 1699 deprived us of the pleasure of seeing a Library, once very rich in MSS., the whole of which were burnt to ashes, as well as a poor monk who had tried to save them."[4] At *St. Vaast:* .... "What we have now stated may serve to show that the *six* fires which have happened here have not quite destroyed everything, and may enable us to form some conception of the immense treasures we should have found, but for these destructive calamities.[5] And,—not further to multiply instances which are but too sadly monotonous,—at *Loroy,* where, "the abbey having been wholly burnt about forty years ago, not one of its old literary monuments has been preserved."[6]

Library of the Monastery of Clugni (*f.* 910).

The famous community of Clugni must not be passed over without some notice, however scanty in comparison

[1] *Voy. litt.* i. (2nd part) 79.
[2] Ib. ii. 117.
[3] Ib. ii. 182.
[4] Ib. i. (2nd part) 141.
[5] Ib. ii. 65.
[6] Ib. i. 36.

with its claims upon our attention, in any attempt to indicate the services rendered to literature by Benedictine monks. Here again I shall borrow from Dr. Maitland, who has so ably compressed the narrative of the origin of Clugni into a page or two, that it would be almost an impertinence to re-abridge the story in other English words than his.

The founder of Clugni.

"In the year 910, Berno (who was then Abbot of the monastery of Gigni in the northern part of the diocese of Lyons,) laid the foundation of what afterwards became one of the most celebrated and influential monasteries, during, and beyond, the period of the Dark Ages. Under the auspices and at the expense of William, Count of Auvergne, . . . he formed a monastery at Clugni, near Macon, in Burgundy. . . . To that monastery he transferred his residence; and Odo, who accompanied him, became his successor in the year 927. The fame of this second Abbot of Clugni so far eclipsed that of his predecessor, that many have erroneously considered him as the founder; but however probable it may be that he was the man of the most learning, the most expanded mind, and most extensive views, and perhaps of better informed, if not more zealous piety, yet it were unjust to deny that what he did was built on the foundation of his predecessor. . . . . Odo . . . had been schoolmaster and precentor of the cathedral church of St. Martin at Tours. While in his cradle, his father had devoted him to that saint; and he had been brought up by Fulke the Good, Count of Anjou,[1] who was himself one of the can-

[1] Famous for his laconic letter to Lewis IV. of France, who had ridiculed him for his clerkly accomplishments and demeanour,—"*Regi Fran-*

ons of that church. As he grew up, his father seems to have repented of his oblation to St. Martin, and to have wished to bring his son up to a military life. But .... the vow was (eventually) performed, and, perhaps, without much reluctance by the father, who, though a layman, and tempted for a while to devote his handsome and accomplished son to that which was then considered the most noble profession, was himself a learned and a reading man. 'My father', said Odo, in reply to the inquiries of the monk to whom we are indebted for his life, 'was named Abbo, but he seemed to be a different sort of person, and to have acted differently, from men of the present day; for he had by heart the histories of the ancients and the *Novellæ* of Justinian. At his table there was always the reading of the gospel. If at any time a dispute arose, there was such a general opinion of the soundness of his judgment, that people came to him from all parts to obtain his decision; and on this account he was much respected by everybody, and particularly by the most puissant Count William. Odo seems to have inherited the taste for reading; .... *relictis carminibus poetarum, alti edoctus spiritu consilii ad Evangeliorum, Prophetarumque expositores se totum convertit* .... and when he entered the priory of Beaume he brought with him his private stock of books amounting to a hundred volumes."[1]

The love of books thus early evinced by Odo, naturally gave its impress to his administration of the newly

corum Comes Andegavorum : Noveritis, Domine, quod Rex illiteratus est asinus coronatus."

[1] Maitland, *ut supra*, 298-300.

founded monastery. He was succeeded by Aymar in 942, but the government of this third Abbot of Clugni—who is characterized by Tritheim as *vir in scripturis sacris eruditus*—lasted for too short a period to leave many noticeable traces. Of Maiolus, who followed him, a better account can be given. *Adeo lectioni semper erat deditus*, says Mabillon, *ut in itinere positus libellum sæpius gestaret in manibus. Itaque in equitando reficiebatur animus legendo.*[1] Dr. Maitland (who thinks a saddle a place eminently perilous to scholars) regards it as a very natural result of this practice that worthy Abbot Maiolus sometimes fell asleep on horseback (especially when he had Dionysius the Areopagite for the companion of his rides), and met with some narrow escapes in consequence.

Once also, on returning from Rome, he was taken prisoner by the Saracens and robbed of many books. But this predatory band was captured in its turn and had to yield its spoils, which the victors restored to their owner,—*propterea sacros codices, quos barbari rapuerant beato viro sua pro parte miserunt.*[2]

The succeeding abbots Odilo and Hugh (first of his name) are said to have trodden very much in the footsteps of Maiolus. The former was especially noticeable for his similar habit of carrying many books with him in his journies, and some curious incidents are recorded of the haps and mishaps of the books and their owner. Hugh was a very eminent abbot both for what he did himself, and for what he caused to be done by others.

[1] Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti*, vii. 771.

[2] Mabillon, *ut supra*, 780.

The rule of the two extends over no less a period than 113 years (from A.D. 994 to 1109). But in this whole century and more—many as are the instructive matters which remain on its annals—there is nothing more worthy of attention than the book on the customs of Clugni, which monk Ulric was led to write in consequence of the mission on which his superior had sent him into Germany. Happening to visit the monastery of Hirschau, in the Black Forest, questions were asked of him as to the discipline and practices of his community. He answered them, and doubtless answered them well, on the spur of the occasion, but very wisely resolved to do something more, that might be of use when that occasion had long been forgotten.

The studies and discipline of Clugni.

Under the heading *Quomodo Testamentum legatur utrumque*, the question is thus framed: "I hear that your lessons in the winter and on common nights are very long; will you be pleased to state at once the manner in which the Old and New Testament is read both in summer and winter? to which it is answered:—

> "To begin with the most ancient of all the books, that is, the *Octateuch*—this book, according to general custom, and as it is in other churches, is appointed to be read in Septuagesima. On the Sunday itself there are but short lessons; except that, for the first, the whole of that Prologue [of St. Jerome] *Desiderii mei* is read. During the following nights, the lessons are so much increased that in one week the whole book of *Genesis* is read through in the Church only. On Sexagesima, Exodus is begun, and together with the other books, which are read, it also is read, both in the Church and in the refectory; so that where the lesson is finished one day shall be the beginning of the lesson for the next; and the whole *Octateuch* is read through, if not before, by the beginning of Lent. Lessons are, however, taken from it for the Sundays in Lent; but on the other nights during that period, St. Augustine's *Exposition of the Psalms*, and especially of the Songs of Degrees, is read; and

as the nights then grow shorter and shorter, so do the lessons. Care, however, must be taken that they are not so abbreviated as not to allow sufficient time for the brother who goes the round, both within and without the Choir, with his lantern to see if any one has gone to sleep during the lesson. In the Passion of Our Lord, Jeremiah is read; and, as before, the prologue forms the first lesson. It is, however, read in the Church only, and so that before Holy Thursday it is finished as far as Lamentations. In Easter week the Acts of the Apostles are read; and for one week only; during which, from the shortness of the nights, it is impossible that much should be read. After this, for two weeks, the Revelation and the Canonical Epistles until Ascension day. Then the Acts of the Apostles are again appointed, and are again read (as if they had not been read before), from the beginning, until Pentecost. These same books, however, are not the less read regularly and throughout in the Refectory, where also are read in their appointed seasons the Books of Kings, of Solomon, of Job, of Tobit, Judith, Esther, Ezra, and the Maccabees, which are all read only in the Refectory, and not at all in the Church; except the short extracts which may be made from any of them for the Sundays. From the calends of November, the lessons for common nights are doubled. The prophet Ezekiel is appointed to be read in the Church only, and is customarily finished before the feast of St. Martin; and although we celebrate the octaves of that feast with singing, and with other solemnities, yet the prophetical lessons are not changed, nor, indeed, are they on other octaves, unless they would make twelve lessons. Then the prophet Daniel and the twelve minor prophets, which would not hold out if we did not add, after the last of them, from the Homilies of the blessed Pope Gregory on Ezekiel. In Advent the prophet Isaiah is appointed; and when I inquired about this, and wished to learn in how many nights it ought, in strictness, to be read through, I could not learn from any body, and I can only say what I recollect to have heard and seen. When I was there it was sometimes read through in six common nights. After this follow the Epistles of Pope Leo on the incarnation of Our Lord; and other discourses of the holy Fathers and chiefly of St. Augustine. The Epistles are appointed for that Sunday which first occurs after Innocents Day, provided that day is neither the Circumcision nor the Anniversary of the Lord Odilo. And here, again, I must say, as I did of the prophet [Isaiah]; for different persons think differently; and I must again state what I saw. Such an Epistle as that to the Romans was read through in two common nights; and when one of the monks who portioned out the lessons had made them shorter, he was prohibited by our seniors in Chapter. If, however, it should

happen that the Epistles were finished before the Septuagesima, they read John Chrysostom's Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Now, you see, I have in some fashion gone round the circle of the year; and let us, if you please, go on to something else." [1]

Unless I greatly err, there is in this statement of Ulric's an honest and vivid picture of the monastic life of the eleventh century, in its not least important phase, and one, the candid contemplation of which ought considerably to modify some very current opinions. Of course, all this scripture-reading may have often degenerated into a dry and lifeless routine. But, assuredly, the men who appointed it looked with no complacency on monkish ignorance of the Bible; nor did they make an ill choice in their selection of its expositors. This system had been established for many generations at Clugni, and in Ulric's time, at all events, it remained an earnest and elevating practice.

Under Peter the Venerable the abbey of Clugni made large progress, in which the Library had its fair share. Then came a period of depression and laxity; followed, however, by reformation and renewed progress. From the 13th to the 15th centuries we have details of much interest respecting the transcription of manuscripts, and the growth of the Library. But I content myself with a bare indication, at the foot of the page, of the sources in which the subsequent fortunes of the Clugni collection may be traced;[2] preferring to devote the closing pages of this chapter (already of disproportionate

[1] Maitland, *ut supra*, 336-338.

[2] Marrier, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, passim;* Lorain, *Essai historique sur l'Abbaye de Cluny* (Dijon, 1839. 8vo), and Vogel, *Fernere Nachrichten über einige Klosterbibliotheken des Mittelalters* (*Serapeum*, v. 123-144).

length) to a transcript of the catalogue of the abbey of St. Riquier, hitherto accessible to the student only in the bulky volumes of D'Achery's *Spicilegium*. Here, too, we shall find large provision made for biblical study, together with other matter not undeserving our attention.

The Catalogue now placed before the reader is part of a general return of all the property of the community of St. Riquier, made by order of Lewis le Debonnaire, in the year 831.

Catalogue of the Library of the Abbey of St. Riquier (9th cent.).

DE LIBRIS LIBRI CANONICI:

Bibliotheca integra, ubi continentur libri lxxii, *in uno volumine.*
Bibliotheca *dispersa in voluminibus quatuordecim.*

—— S. HIERONYMI:

Super Isaiam.
Item in Isaiam.
Super Psalmos.
Expositio Levitici.
Opuscula ejus super Jeremiam.
In xii Prophetas, in Ecclesiastem, in Cantica Canticorum, in Ezechiel.
Liber Episcopalis.
Commentarius in Matthæum.
Expositio in Marcum; illustrium virorum; super totum Psalterium; in Epistolis duabus Sancti Pauli, hoc est ad Galatas, et ad Ephesios; in Epistolis ad Titum et Philemonem.
Liber plenarius Epistolarum ejus.
Psalterium Hebraïce veritatis.
Contra Jovinianum hæreticum, et Apologeticus ad Pammachium.
Quæstiones Genesis, et liber locorum.
Liber qui dicitur Antiomenon.
De septem vindictis Caïn.
De Egressione filiorum Israël ex Ægypto.
De Isaac, de Osanna, de Seraphim, et Calculo.
De morte Oziæ Regis.
De filio prodigo; de natura rerum; de Rhetorica: *omnia hæc in uno volumine.*
Evangelium *in Græco et Latino scriptum; qui sunt libri numero* xxii.

—— S. AUGUSTINI:

Exameron ejus contra Manichæos, et alios hæreticos.
Decadæ Psalmorum.

Epistolæ ejusdem.
Expositio plenaria super Evangelium Johannis.
Alia Expositio Augustini junioris. "Id est, fortè, cùm adhuc esset juvenis; "De sermone Domini in monte; de x plagis; de x præceptis: *in uno volumine.*
In epistola Joannis Apostoli.
Concordia Evangeliorum.
De Civitate Domini.
Enchiridion.
De natura et origine animæ.
De Doctrina Christiana.
Speculum Augustini.
Confessiones.
Hypomneosticon.
De x chordis et bono conjugali.
De arte musica.
De Virginitate servanda; et Sermones ejus: de xii abusibus; et Interrogationes Horosii; et Responsiones Augustini: *in uno volumine.*
Contra hæreticos.
De Agone Christiano.
De blasphemia Spiritus, Explanatio Rufini; de xii benedictionibus Patriarcharum: *in uno volumine.*
De Trinitate.
De videndo Deo.
De Plasmatione primi hominis.
De Definitionibus dogmatum Ecclesiasticorum, et Epistolæ S. Fulgentii: *in uno volumine.*
De Magistro.
De sancta Virginitate; et Academicorum: *in uno volumine.*
Opuscula, et Epistolæ Augustini ad Pelagium et Valentinum; et responsiones Prosperi: *in uno volumine.*
Explanatio Augustini, et Juliani, et Pauli; de partibus orationis: *in uno volumine; qui sunt libri numero xxix.*

—— S. GREGORII:

Expositio in Jexechiel, *vol. iii.* Moralia, *vol. v.* Homiliæ xl, *vol. ii.* Pastorale; Dialogus; Registrum; ordo Ecclesiasticus; liber Parterii de dictis ejusdem: *qui sunt libri numero xv.*

—— ISIDORI: Etymologias; Rotarum; Proœmiorum; et Rotarum et Officiorum; *item* Proœmiorum; *item* Rotarum; tractatus in Pentateuchon, in Regum, in Ruth, in Ezra; *in uno volumine.* Sententia, *ii vol.* Synonima; *qui sunt libri numero xv.*

—— ORIGENIS:

In Genesi Homelias xvi, *ii vol.* In Cantica Canticorum: *qui sunt libri iv.*

HILARII *autem:* De fide sanctæ Trinitatis; quæstiones Hilarii, Cypri-

ani, Alcimi Aviti, Hieronymi, Augustini, super Pentateuchum: *in uno volumine; qui sunt libri duo.*

JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI: In Epistola ad Hebræos; Homeliæ xxxiii de compunctione cordis contra Novatianos; de Jejunio, et sermones ejus lxii et vita Sancti Ambrosii: *in uno volumine; qui sunt libri vii.*

CASSIODORI: super totum Psalterium.

FULGENTII: libri xiv: *qui per singulos libros unam litteram detrahit.*

BEDÆ: De templo Salomonis; triginta quæstiones ejus in Regum, cum expositione Justi in Cantica Canticorum; *in uno volumine;* in proverbiis Salomonis, et in libro Thobiæ; in Marco, in Luca, et in Actibus Apostolorum; super Epistolas Canonicas; super v libros Moysi; in Apocalypsi; in Abacuc, cum glossis Pentateuc; de natura rerum; de Temporibus: *qui sunt libri numero xvi.*

DIVERSORUM, *autem:* Julii de auctoritate divinæ legis.

Eugipii excerptum de libris sancti Augustini.

Paschasii de Spiritu sancto.

Primasii in Apocalypsi.

Timothei libri iv, et tractatus Peregrini contra hæreticos, et Epistolæ Theophili ad Episcopos totius Ægypti: *in uno volumine.*

Expositio Arnobii super totum Psalterium.

Gregorii Nazianzeni libri viii, et Homeliæ Augustini de lætitia et gratia: *in uno volumine.*

Athanasii in Levitico: *qui sunt libri numero viii.*

DE CANONIBUS: Canones Apostolorum, et Niceni Concilii; et xii Concilia, et decretalia Apostolorum, 1 *vol.*

Canones collecti de diversis Conciliis, *vol. ii.*

Cecili Cypriani de canonibus et institutionibus Ecclesiasticorum lxxxvii, 1 *vol.*

Gelasii Papæ de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis: Epistolæ diversorum numero lvi [1] *vol.*

Homeliarius Sanctorum Patrum anni circuli, Hieronymi, Augustini, Gregorii, Origenis, Leonis, Joannis, Fulgentii, Bedæ: *in uno volumine.*

Item Homeliæ SS. Patrum super anni circulum, *in iii voluminibus.*

Homeliæ S. Agnetis.

Boetii de consolatione Philosophiæ.

Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis de generatione Adæ, et de gestis Francorum.

Expositio Philippi super Job; Glossæ SS. Patrum super Psalmos, *iii vol.*

Cassiani de incarnatione Domini.

Expositio Justi in Cantica Canticorum: et liber Eucherii Episcopi de defectu solis et lunæ; vitæ vel passiones SS. Apostolorum, Martyrum, Confessorum, Virginum, et collationes diversorum Patrum; *in vol. xviii.*

BOOK II. Chapter IV. Libraries of the Italian and French Benedictines.

Catalogue of the Library of St. Riquier (continued).

Expositio Juliani Pomerii, et Prognosticon: *in ii vol.*
Expositio Pelagii super xiii Epistolas Pauli.
—— cujusdam in Epistolam ad Romanos.
Glossæ ex dictis Patrum: *in iii vol.*
Item, Glossæ Patrum: *vol. iii.*
Liber Martini Papæ.
Regula S. Benedicti sexies.
—— S. Augustini, Fructuosi, et Isidori; 1 *vol.*
Homeliæ Cæsarii Episcopi Arelatensis.
Expositio fidæi Catholicæ S. Hieronymi.
Dicta Isidori de Hæresibus Judæorum et Christianorum; et de philosophis, poëtis; et Epistolæ Cyrilli, Leonis, Dionysi, et aliorum de ratione Paschali, et Cycli: *in uno vol.*
Altercatio legis inter Simonem Judæum, et Theophilum Christianum.
Ephrem de die judicii.
Albini (*sic*) ad Karolum de fide Trinitatis, et de incarnatione Domini.
Epistolæ Caroli ad Imperatorem Græcorum.
Psalteria vii.
Quæstiones septem artium.
Collectarium cujusdem in Matthæo.
Collectarium Scotaicum, *ubi primus est* de caritate, *ultimus ita incipit, 'Curre ne parcas.'*
Liber scintillarum: *qui sunt libri numero lxx.*

P *Omnes Codices Librorum Claustralium de divinitate sunt cxco.*

De Libris Grammaticorum:

Donatus, Pompeius, Probus, de pedibus et syllabis.
Priscianus.
Comminianus.
Servius, Victorinus Martyr [*in the margin:* Marius Victorinus].
Diomedes,
Verus Longinus [*in the margin:* Velius longus].
Taduinus [*in the margin:* Alcuinus].
Tullius Cicero, Rhetoricum libri ii.; *omnia in iv vol.*
Prosper, Aratus [*in the margin:* Arator], Sedulius, Juvencus.
Epigrammata Prosperi; versus Probæ, et medietas Fortunati, *i vol.*
Quintus Serenus de medicina.
Fabulæ Avieni.
Virgilius, Eclogæ ejusdem glossatæ.
Althelmus, metrum cujusdam de veteri et novo Testamento, *cum* vita Cosmæ et Damiani metrica: *in uno volumine; qui sunt libri xxvi.*

De Libris Antiquorum, qui de gestis Regum, vel situ terrarum scripserunt:

Josephus plenarius.
Plinius Secundus de moribus et vita Imperatorum.
Epitoma Pompeii.
Ethicus de mundi descriptione.
Historia Homeri, *ubi dicit* 'Et Dares Phrygius.'
—— Socratis Sozomeni, et Theodoriti.
Libri Philonis Judæi, *i vol.*
Ecclesiastica historia Eusebii.
Chronica Hieronymi, *ii vol.*
Historia Jordanis.
De summa temporum, et de origine actibusque Romanorum, *i vol.*
Lex Romana.
Pactum Salicæ legis: *qui sunt libri numero xv.*
Item volumen, ubi Sermones habentur de Natali Domini, Stephani, Innocentum: Bodani [*in the margin:* Bedæ] cum partes Donati glossatæ.
Liber logon, *id est,* Sermonum Græcorum, vel Latinorum.
Genealogia Bibliothecæ.
Passio Domini *in Theodisco* [*in the margin: i. e.* linguâ Teutonicâ], *et in Latino: qui sunt libri vi.*

De libris Sacrarii, qui ministerio altaris deserviunt:

Missales Gregoriani tres.
Missalis Gregorianus, et Gelasianus modernis temporibus ab Albino ordinatus, i.
Lectionarii Epistolarum et Evangeliorum mixtim et ordinatè compositi, v.
Missales Gelasiani, xix.
Textus Evangelii iv, aureis litteris scriptus totus, i.
Lectionarius plenarius à supradicto Albino ordinatus, i.
Antiphonarii sex: *qui sunt libri numero xxxv.*

Omnes igitur Codices in commune faciunt numerum cclvi; ita videlicet ut non numerentur libri sigillatim, sed codices quia in uno codice diversi libri multoties, ut supra notatum est, habentur; quos si numeraremus, quingentorum copiam superarent.

Hæ ergo divitæ Claustrales, hæ sunt opulentiæ cœlestis vitæ, dulcedine animam saginantes, per quas in Centulensibus impleta est illa salubris sententia: Ama scientiam scripturarum, et vitia non amabis.

In his valuable "*Supplemental Notes to the View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages,* Mr. Hallam has

[1] *Chronici Centulensis, sive S. Richarii, lib. iii, cap.* 3, in d'Achery's *Spicilegium,* iv. 482-486. (Par. 1661, 4^to.)

BOOK II. Chapter IV. Libraries of the Italian and French Benedictines.

quoted the cursory notice of this monastic Library given in the third volume of Ampère's *Histoire littéraire de la France*. ("We possess a catalogue of the Library in the abbey of St. Riquier, written in 831; ... Christian writers are in great majority; but we find also the Eclogues of Virgil; the Rhetoric of Cicero; the History of Homer, that is, the works ascribed to Dictys and Dares;"[1]) and he appends to the quotation this question: "*Can anything be lower than this, if nothing is omitted more valuable than what is mentioned?*"[2] In the preceding pages the reader has the entire catalogue before him, and can answer Mr. Hallam's question for himself. I may, however, venture to remark of the Saint Riquier collection, that, with all its obvious deficiencies, the monk who had fairly mastered the stores which it offered, must have possessed no mean intellectual equipment for his battle of life, as it lay before him in that old ninth century.

Mr. Hallam's criticism on the St. Riquier Catalogue.

[1] *Histoire littéraire de la France avant le xii^e siècle*, iii. 236.
[2] Hallam, *Supplemental Notes*, 396.

CHAPTER V.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS.

Non era ancor molto lontan dall' orto,
Ch' ei comincio a far sentir la terra
Della sua gran virtude alcun conforto;
Chè per tal donna giovinetto in guerra
Del padre corse, a cui, com' alla morte,
La porta del piacer nessun dissera;
E dinanzi alla sua spiritat corte,
Et coram patre le si fece unito;
Poscia di dì' in dì' l' amò più forte.
. . . . . .
Ma perch' iò non procedo troppo chiuso,
Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti
Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.

DANTE, *Del Paradiso*, Canto Decimoprimo.

A silly man, in simple weeds forworn,
And soil'd with dust of the long dried way;
His sandals were with toilsome travel torn,
And face all tann'd with scorching sunny ray,
As he had travell'd many a summer's day,
Through boiling sands of Arabie and Inde;
And in his hand a Jacob's staff to stay
His weary limbs upon, and eke behind
His scrip did hang, in which his needments he did bind.

SPENSER, *The Faerie Queen*, Book i. Canto 6.

LIKE their great Founder, the early Franciscans "wedded Poverty," and for a time their communities were characterized by an almost pilgrim-like simplicity of life. But long before the occurrence of those manifest departures from the primitive strictness of their rule, which created such a war of words, and threatened the very existence of their order, they gave indications of literary tastes, and of that tendency to amass books by which such tastes are commonly accompanied. Permis-

sion to own books occurs amongst the earliest of those relaxations of the rigid vow of poverty which were accorded by the Popes, and it was not long before both the Franciscan cord and the Dominican cowl became familiar sights to the manuscript-vendors. For the new monks, unlike their predecessors, and despite their mendicancy, preferred the purchase of books to their transcription; and they evinced such keenness in the quest, as to cause formal complaint to be made to the Pope,[1] that scarcely could other ecclesiastics purchase a profitable book either in Divinity or in Arts, in Medicine or in Law, "all books being bought by Friars, so that in every convent of Friars there is a large and noble Library." Very similar (save for its far manlier tone) is the testimony of the illustrious author of the *Philobiblon*, Richard of Bury, Bishop of Durham: "When we happened to turn aside to the towns and places where the mendicants had convents," he says, "we were not slack in visiting their . . . books; for there, amidst the deepest poverty, we found the most precious riches treasured up; there, in their wallets and baskets, we discovered not only the crumbs that fell from the master's table, . . . but indeed the shew-bread without leaven, the bread of angels . . . . These are the ants that lay up in harvest; the laborious bees that are continually fabricating cells of honey. . . . And that the truth may be honoured (saving the opinion of any man), although these may

Early development of literary tastes in the Franciscan communities.

Richard of Bury on the Friars mendicants and their love of books.

[1] In the famous oration of Richard Fitzralph (afterwards Archbishop of Armagh), entitled *Defensorium curatorum adversus eos qui privilegiatos se dicunt; habitum Avenione corum D. Papa* Innocentio IV... 5 Julii 1350. (Paris, 1633. 8vo.)

have lately entered the Lord's vineyard, at the eleventh hour, . . . they have nevertheless in that shortest hour trained more layers of the sacred books than all the rest of the vine-dressers, following the footsteps of Paul, who, being the last in vocation but the first in preaching, most widely spread the Gospel of Christ. Amongst these we had some of two of the orders, namely Preachers (Dominicans) and Minors (Franciscans), who were raised to the Pontifical state, who had stood at our elbows and been the guests of our family; men in every way distinguished as well by their morals as by their learning, and who had applied themselves with unwearied industry to the compilation, correction, explanation, and indexing, of various volumes. Indeed," . . . he adds, . . . "we must in justice extol the Preachers with an especial commendation, for we found them, above all other religious devotees, ungrudging of their most acceptable communications, and overflowing with a certain divine liberality; we experienced them not to be selfish hoarders, but meet professors of enlightened knowledge."[1]

Library of the London Franciscans, or 'Grey Friars', near Newgate,

It does not appear that any very early notices of Libraries, belonging either to Franciscan or to Dominican communities in England, are now extant. The most considerable Franciscan collection seems to have been that of the London monastery (on the site of the present Christ's Hospital, near Newgate street), for which the first stone of a new building was laid with

[1] *Philobiblon*, c. viii. I quote Mr. Inglis's translation, a few phrases excepted.

much solemnity by Sir Richard Whittington, Lord Mayor of London, on the 21st October, 1421. The building was covered in before the winter of 1422, and within three years was completely finished and furnished with books. It was a handsome room, one hundred and twenty-nine feet in length and thirty-one feet in breadth; was shelved and wainscotted throughout; having "twenty-eight desks and eight double settles." The entire cost, in the money of that day, was no less than £556, 10, 0, of which sum £400 was defrayed by Whittington, and the remainder by Thomas Winchelsy (probably the collector of various benefactions), a brother of the Order. It is also recorded, that after the completion of the new building one hundred marks were expended on the transcription of the works of Nicholas de Lira, to be chained in the Library.[1]

Library of the Oxford Franciscans.

The Oxford Franciscans had also a considerably Library, or rather (according to Anthony Wood) two separate collections in the same house; the one the Convent Library, the other the Library of the Schools. Robert Greathead, Bishop of Lincoln, who had always shown a special regard for the Grey Friars, and, above all, for one of their then most famous doctors, Adam de Marisco, bequeathed his books to this community at his death in 1253.[2] They were particularly diligent in collecting the

[1] Stow, *Survey*, i. (Book iii), 130 (Strype's edit.). Stevens' Additions to Dugdale, in the *Monasticon ut supra*, vi. 1520.

[2] ... Præ ceteris etiam familiarem habuit fratrem Adam de Marisco ..... ob cujus affectionem libros suos omnes conventui fratrum minorum Oxoniæ in testamento legavit."—Nic. Triveti *Annales* ... Recensuit T. Hog (*Eng. Hist. Soc.* 1845), p. 243.

works of writers of their own order, a complete assemblage of whom would undoubtedly look formidable for its extent, whatever its intrinsic merits. Wood echoes the old cry against the book-covetousness of the mendicants, adding something from his own observation. "The Friars of all orders," he says, "and chiefly the Franciscans, used so diligently to procure all monuments of literature from all parts, that wise men looked upon it as an injury to laymen, who therefore found a difficulty to get any books. Several books of Grostest and Bacon trêated of astronomy and mathematics, besides some relating to the Greek tongue, but these Friars, as I have found by many ancient manuscripts, bought many Hebrew books of the Jews, who were disturbed in England. In a word, they to their utmost power purchased whatsoever way any were to be had of singular learning."[1]

Library of the Dominicans.

Of the Libraries of English Dominicans there are but very meagre accounts. At Oxford they had a collection of considerable extent, but no catalogue of it has survived. In their pains to gather the works of writers of their own order, they vied with the Franciscans and the Carmelites, and they were probably not more critical or more severe in testing the pretensions of some doubtful authors to figure on their roll. The "occult sciences" —if they can rightly be so termed—had, it is said, greater charms for Dominicans than the toils of transcribing MSS. But, as we have seen, they were liberal buyers and not mean authors. A very eminent French

[1] Ant. à Wood, MSS. quoted in *Monasticon, ut supra*, pp. 1527-8.

historian and critic has, indeed, gone so far as to say that, from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries inclusive, literature was cultivated mainly by Dominican monks.[1]

Library of the Dominicans of St. John and St. Paul at Venice,

The choicest of the MSS. of the famous old monastery of St. John and St. Paul at Venice, were collected by Joachimo della Torre, a Friar of that house, and afterwards General of his Order (who died in 1500), and by Girolamo Vielmo, Bishop of Citta Nuova. Montfaucon visited this Library in 1698, in company with Apostolo Zeno, and he gives a list of the MSS. which especially attracted his attention. Of this list the following is a copy, with occasional abridgment; I quote from Henley's translation of 1725 (not having present access to the original):—

I. GREEK MSS.

St. Gregory Nazianzen's *Epistles*, and some of St. Basil's, in a volume of the twelfth century.

St. Thomas of Aquin's *Works* in Greek, of the fourteenth century.

The *History* of Thucydides, a vellum book of the eleventh century.

A silken manuscript of the fourteenth century in two volumes: Suidas' *Lexicon*...

One Thomas or Psaltes of Antioch, *Of the Son of God.*

Plutarch's *Lives*, beginning with *Demetrius*, a book of the twelfth century.

Libanius' *Orations*, of the fourteenth century.

George Cedrenus', *History*, ... of the year 1284, on silk paper ...

Aristides' *Orations*, on vellum, of the eleventh century.

A book of the fifteenth century of an anonymous author, *Of philo-*

[1] Daunou, in speaking of the great work of Quétif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*. "Father Quétif could not, indeed," says his biographer, "complete this book, but he wrote eight hundred notices, and these the most important, since they relate to the Dominican authors of the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, a period when literature was more cultivated in the monasteries then elsewhere, and principally in those of the Preaching Friars." Daunou, art. *Quétif*, in the *Biographie Universelle*, xxxvi, 407.

sophical causes and things. Ascribed to John Cornelius, son to George Epiphanes ...

Æsop's *Apophthegms,* of the fourteenth century.

A large Lexicon of the fourteenth century ....

Stephanus *de Ubibus,* of the fifteenth century.

Dionysius Halycarnasseus, of the fifteenth century ..... the work of Cæsar Strategus.

A volume of Appian, written by the same Cæsar Strategus.

Polybius, ... written by Strategus at Florence, which makes me apt to believe that Strategus was one of those Greeks brought to Florence by Laurence de Medicis to transcribe MSS.

Diodorus Siculus,
Pindar,
Dionysius Periegetes,
} by the same scribe.

II. LATIN MSS.

Guilelmus Pastrængicus *Of illustrious men.* He was master to Petrarch, and by him often mentioned with commendation.

A volume of the thirteenth century by an anonymous author, the title whereof is: *This Chronicle was compiled from the Chronicle of Pope* Damascius *(sic),* Jerome, Eusebius, *and* St. Isidorus, *and from the Chronicle of* Honorius Inclusus, *and from the Ecclesiastical and Scholastical Histories,* etc. [ending A.D. 1250.] ....

The translations of Athanasius' Book against the Gentiles, and concerning the Incarnation, by Ambrose Camaldulensis.

Martinus Polonus' *Chronicon* ..... A volume of the fifteenth century by John Columna, or Colonna, of the Order of Preachers, of famous men, to his own time, in alphabetic order,—a work no way contemptible and worthy to be published.[1]

This collection continued to be an object of curiosity until the dissolution of the monastery in 1789, when most of the MSS. found shelter in the Library of St. Mark. It doubtless owed much of its celebrity to the circumstance, that it was placed amidst ecclesiastical buildings of high antiquity and great magnificence. The Library itself was richly and singularly decorated,—with carvings in wood by Giacomo Piazzetto; with por-

[1] Montfaucon, *Diarium Italicum,* 37, 38.

[2] Blume, *Iter Italicum,* i. 228; iv. 178-179; Vogel, *Zusätze zu Blume, ubi supra,* ii. 29; Montfaucon, *ubi supra,* 39. Valery, *Voyages historiques,* etc. B. vi. c. 18.

raits of eminent Dominicans by De Rochis, Taleapetra, and Lancetta; and with rows of Caryatide-like statues of famous Churchmen on the one side; and of famous Heretics, on the other. Among the latter figured William de St. Amour and Erasmus, bound with chains and labelled with defamatory inscriptions.

Of the Libraries of the Continental disciples of St. Francis, I can give but very brief specimens. The first is from an undated catalogue of the collection belonging to those of Annaberg in Saxony. From its contents it would appear to be of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. In the year 1558 this convent was secularized, and its Library, or what remained of it, bestowed on the Public School of Annaberg, where it is still preserved.

Catalogue of the MSS. of the Library of the Franciscan Convent of Annaberg.

B. Thomæ, P. iii.
Nicolai de Lyra, P. v.
Thom. Aquinatis Considerationes de virtutibus et vitiis.
Tractatus de quatuor novissimis.
Gregorius in pastorali super Ezechielem.
Flores Bernhardi.
Horatii Epistolæ. *[Ending:* 1483 *Collectus a Magistro* Johanne Tinckelspiel, *Doctore sacrorum canonum ac poeta et oratore famosissimo Lips.]*
Tibullus [Anno dei 1483 in die Francisci M. Jo. Tinckelspiel .... *finiit hunc librum, quem ego* Ludovicus Goz. de Werde, *Art. Mgr. ab eodem propria in persona audivi et collegi Lips.*]
Virgilii Bucolica.
Ovidius de remedio amoris.
Fabulæ Æsopi Carm.
Ciceronis Orationes.
—— Rhetorica.
Liber Junii Juvenalis Aquinatis Satyrarum vel Satyricus, cum notis. [1461 .... *eo anno quo incole urbis Dominum* Andream Heiden de Thanzig *in monasterio sancti Francisci in sacristia interemerunt. Eodem etiam anno Consules civitatis ejusdem decollabantur. Eodem anno fere ejusdem urbis igne consumebatur.*]

Horatii Epistolæ.

Virgilii Bucolica.

Virgilii Georgica. [*Explicit in studio prævlare Universitatis Cra*— 1467. *pro quo Deus altissimus sit benedictus. Amen.*]

Ovidii Trist. L.

Homerus per Pindarum insignem oratorem de græco in latinum traductus.

Jhesuida Hieronymi de Vallibus, Paduani, ad Dom Petrum Donati Paduensem Præsulem dignissimum, opus poeticum clarissimum in Jesu Salvatoris passionem.

Ovidius de Vetula.

Liber de ludo scacorum, qui alias liber de officiis nobilium appellatur.

Determinatio Concilii Basileensis de conceptione B. Virginis in peccato originali, Francisci Maronis.

De anno Jubilæo.

Juvenes quid habent in se?

De passione et resurrectione Christi et Spiritu Sancto.

De tribus regibus gloriose colonie quiescentibus.

Oratio de conceptione intemerate Virginis Mariæ.

Sermo de Sancta Maria Magdalena.

Liber B. Augustini de disciplina Christiana.

Bernhardinus de conceptione B. Virginis.

Casus longi super quinque libros decretalium.

Registrum et auctoritates super decretales.

Summa quarti decretalium.

De arbore consanguinitatis.

Decisio consiliaris supra dubio producto de indulgentiis, edita per reverendum in Christo patrem et Dominum Fratrem Antonium de ordine Prædicatorum, Archiepiscopum Florentinum, Doctorem clarissimum.

Pœnitentiarius, quem compilat Magister Joannes dictus de Deo, 1472.

Libellus dans modum legendi abbreviaturas in utroque jure.

Tractatus de arbore consanguinitatis.

Repertorium in stylo latino vulgarium sermonum illuminatissimi Doctoris Jo. Tauleri ord. prædicatorum.

Liber Alberti M. Episcopi Ratisponensis, ord. Prædicatorum, de adhærendo Deo nudato intellectu et affectu, et ultima et suprema perfectione hominis in hac vita, quantum possibile est.

Concordantiæ Biblicæ, et juris canonici per ordinem.

Sermones per Lib. Judith.

De S. Apollonia, et aliis sanctis.

Sermones in diebus festis.

Libri Sermonem. *Teutsch.*

Sermones über die X Gebote. *Teutsch.*

Speculum conscientiæ. *Teutsch.*

Von der Messe.
De S. Christophoro. } *Teutsche verse.*
De S. Alexio.
Liber Missaticus. [At the end: *Explicit sub anno Domini* 1447, *Sabbato divisionis Apostolorum per manus* Johannis Paulli *Notarii Civitatis Misne.*] [1]

Library of the Franciscans of Oschatz.

Another small library of Saxon Franciscans,—that of the Friars Minors of Oschatz,—of which there is a MS. list or index in the Royal Archives of Dresden,[2] of the year 1541, presents a contrast to that of their brethren of Annaberg in the entire absence of the classic poets, and indeed of everything that does not come within the quadruple pale of Biblical, Patristic, Scholastical, or Juridical learning.

This index reads (verbatim) thus:—

Concordantie majores.
Textus Biblie.
Prima Pars Lire.
Secunda, tercia, quarta pars.
Postilla Hugonis.
Frater Jacobus.
Cassiodorus in Psalterium.
Postilla Hugonis super Psalterium.
Hugo super Proverbia Salmonis.
—— super libros Prophetarum.
—— alia pars super Prophetas.
Super Evang. Matthei.
—— Epistolas Pauli.
Paulus glosatus.
Glossa continua D. Tome.
Augustini prima pars.
—— 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. 8, 9, 10, 11.
Inventarium in Augustinum.
Testamentum codicum D. Thome.
Elucidarius Ecclesiasticorum.
Primus et secundus Thomas adamanti Origenes.
Opus origines.
Ambrosii prima, 2, 3 pars.
Athenasius in Epistolas Pauli.
Opera divi Cypriani.
Ultimum vol. divi Tome.
Testamentum Celicum.
—— glosatum.
Isidorus.
Modus legendi abbreviat.
Philhelmus.
Ultimum vol. Tome.
Testamentum divi Thome.
Berhardus.
Opera Anshelmi.

[1] Wilisch, *Nachricht der Bibliothek der Schulen der St. Annenberg*, 5; and *Arcana Biblioth. Annæberg*, 17-21; as quoted by Petzholdt, *ubi infra*.

[2] It is printed by Dr. Julius Petzholdt, in his *Urkündliche Nachrichten zur Geschichte der sächsischen Bibliotheken* (Dresden, 1855, 8vo), 24, from which I copy it.

Gersonis prima, 2, 3, 4 pars.
Alexander de Alès, 1, 2, 3, 4 pars.
Vocabularius Juris.
Liber divi Thome.
Joannes de Hisino super episcopali titulo.
Liber divi Thome.
Sextus Decretalium.
Summa Astaxani.
—— confessionum.
Summa angelica.
—— pisani.
Tabula Juris.
Liber Divi Thome.
Anthonini, 1. 2, 3 pars.
Liber divi Thome.
—— —— Tome.
Prima pars S. Tome.
Secunda Secunde S. Thome.

This catalogue of a Franciscan Library of almost the middle of the sixteenth century will, in most respects, but poorly compare with the preceding Benedictine catalogues of almost any date. If, indeed, we are to understand it as a list of the MS. portion only, some of its deficiencies *may* have been supplied in printed books.[1] But, without dwelling unduly on the characteristic iteration of the works of the great Angelic Doctor, the narrowness of the selection is sufficiently obvious. But it may be well to bear in mind a pregnant remark to be found in those *Guesses at Truth; by Two Brothers*, which have more both of depth and of solidity about them than the absolute conclusions of most men:—"When any one declaims against the Schoolmen, I would hold up the *Summa Theologiæ* of St. Thomas Aquinas, and desire him to read and to understand it, before he presumed to assert that there is nothing in the Schoolmen. This argument would knock him down as effectually as Johnson's folio knocked down the poor bookseller."[2]

[1] The title, as given by Petzholdt, leaves the point doubtful: *Index librorum in Cœnobio Franciscanorum Oschatziensi asservatorum, a.* 1541 *descriptus.* The Editor supplies not a word of comment.

[2] Hare, *Guesses at Truth*, ii. 64.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ECONOMY OF THE MONASTIC LIBRARIES.

"Meanwhile along the cloister's painted side
The monks (each bending low upon his book,
With head on hand reclined) their studies plied;
Forbid to parly, or in front to look,
Lengthways their regulated seats they took.
The strutting Prior gazed with pompous mien
And wakeful tongue, prepared with prompt rebuke,
If monk asleep in sheltering hood was seen,—
He, wary, often peeped beneath that russet screen.
Hard by, against the windows' adverse light,
Where desks were wont in length of row to stand,
The gown'd artificers inclined to write;
The pen of silver glisten'd in the hand;
Some on their fingers rhyming Latin scann'd;
Some textile gold from balls unwinding drew,
And on strain'd velvet stately portraits plann'd;
Here arms, there faces, shone in embryo view,
At last to glittering life the total figures grew."

FOSBROOKE, *British Monachism*, 529.

The Monastic Librarian a pluralist.

IN many of the monastic communities both the Library *(Armarium)* and its great feeder the writing-room *(Scriptorium)* were under the immediate charge of the "Precentor and Armarius." The very usual conjunction in one person of these offices of Leader of the Choir, and Keeper of the MSS., grew naturally enough out of the fact that at first the only books which had to be taken care of were breviaries and service-books. Just as easily, the task of superintending the transcription of MSS. was often entrusted to the same hands which already had the general charge of them. But the practice in this respect seems to have greatly varied in different communities.

In those *Antiquiores Consuetudines Cluniacensis Monasterii*, which, as we have seen, were collected by monk Ulric for the information of the Abbot of Hirschau, occurs a long chapter, *De Præcentore & Armario*,[1] which begins thus: "*Armarii nomen obtinuit eo quod in ejus manu solet esse Bibliotheca, quæ et in alio nominum Armarium appellatur.*[2] *Hæc est obedientia, quam ex more nullus meretur, nisi nutritus;*" but it is chiefly taken up with the business of the choir, and with sundry matters of minor discipline. For, in addition to his musical and literary duties, the poor *Armarius* seems to have been occasionally a sort of "Master of Ceremonies," and general superintendent of the daily conventual life; so that the appointment of an "*Armarius Junior*," or (as he is sometimes called) a "*Solatium Armarii*," must have been amply justified.

[1] Printed in D'Achery's *Spicilegium*, iv. 185-188.

[2] Comp. Du Cange, § *Armaria:* "3. ARMARIA. Bibliotheca. Vetus Interpres Juvenalis, Sat. iii. 219. *Armariam sive Bibliothecam.* S. Wilhelmi Constitut. Hirsaug. ii. 16. *Prior noviter electus post domnum Abbatem de omnibus rebus et causis, quæ ad Monasterium pertinent se intromittit, nisi de thesauro Ecclesiæ* et de Armaria, *quæ in potestate Abbatis consistunt.* ARMARIUM, Eadem notione Latini scriptores usurpant. Gloss. Saxon. Ælfrici: *Bibliotheca, vel Armarium vel Archivum, boochord; i. e.* librorum thesaurus. ..... Ita *Amaire* nostri usurparunt. Le Roman d'Alexandre, MS.:

Cele estoire trouvons escrite,
Que vous vueil raconter et ratraire,
En un des livres de l'*Amaire*,
Monseigneur S. Pere à Biauvés,
De la fu cist livres retrais."—

Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, i. 397 (Henschel, 1840). Of less frequent occurrence are the words *Libraria* and *Librarium*, *e. g.* Monachus Altiosod. Ann. 960: *Claustrum quoque Canonicorum crematum est*, Librariumque *et ornamenta ecclesiæ.* Will. Thorn. in Chron. c. 21, § 16: *D. Abbas .... instituit ut singulis* annis in *perpetuum in principio Quadragesimæ, die qua* Librarium *defertur in Capitulum, vivorum animæ commendentur, et absolvantur animæ defunctorum, per quos* Librarium *hujus Ecclesiæ fuerit aliqualiter emendatum.* Ibid. iv. 102.

In the strictly bibliothecal part of his functions, the *Armarius* had necessarily a wide discretion, especially as respects his methods of working. In the arrangement of the books, for instance, very much would depend on the accidents of locality; definite rules are therefore scarcely to be expected. In the *Consuetudines veteres* of the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris, there is, indeed, a direction that the books should not be too much crowded together,;[1] but, with this exception, a considerable collection of monastic statutes—minute as it is of their essence to be—might be examined without anything on this head being met with. As respects catalogues, however, many passages occur in the various codes, some of which will merit notice hereafter.

Duties of the Armarius, as Librarian.

The regulations respecting the issue and loan of books must needs have been stringent when every volume represented a formidable amount of labour; when many volumes could only be replaced by a special embassy to another monastery; and when some could not be replaced at all. But there is abundant evidence that, at least in the large and eminent monasteries, these rules were liberally construed on proper occasions. They fall obviously under two heads: the one relating to the delivery of books to the brethren of the monastery itself; the other to the loan of books to strangers.

Regulations concerning the issue of books in Monastic Libraries.

An express regulation concerning the use of the Lib-

[1] "In quo [*i. e.* in Armario] etiam diversi ordines seorsum ac seorsum distincti et convenienter coaptati esse debent, in quibus libri separatim ita collocari possint et distingui ab invicem, ne vel nimia compressio ipsis libris noceat, vel confusio aliquid specialiter in eis quærenti moram afferat vel impedimentum."—Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, iii. 262, App. (Vogel, *Einiges über Amt und Stellung des Armarius*, etc. *Serap.* iv. 40.)

rary by the monks occurs in the 48th chapter of the Rule of St. Benedict, and reads thus: *In diebus Quadragesimæ accipiant (fratres) omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca quos per ordinem ex integro legant. Qui codices in caput Quadragesimæ dandi sunt.* This regular annual delivery of books at Lent to every member of the community became the established practice of nearly all the Benedictine monasteries, and continued, with slight modifications, during almost the whole of the mediæval period.[1]

First, to the Monks of the House.

The precise day on which this annual partition was to be made, depended, at first, on the will of the Abbot or other Superior; but after the Cluniac and Cistercian reforms it was usually fixed by statute. Howsoever fixed, it then became the duty of the *Armarius* to spread out on a carpet in the Chapter-House the books assigned for circulation during the coming year. After mass the monks were assembled; the appropriate sections of the Rule and Constitutions were read; and the Armarius then proceeded to call over the names of the monks, each of whom had to answer to his name, and to return the book he had borrowed a year before. In certain communities it was the practice for the Abbot to put some question on the contents of each book so returned, with the view of ascertaining that it had been read carefully. If the answer was satisfactory, the borrower was then asked what other book he desired to have; if unsatisfactory, the book was re-delivered with an in-

[1] Vogel, *ut supra*, p. 43 (where many references are given to passages on this subject in the various Benedictine Constitutions). This Essay, like that writer's other papers on such subjects, is characterized by a most painstaking comparison of authorities.

BOOK II. Chapter VI. The Economy of the Monastic Libraries.

timation that on the next occasion a better result would be expected. The Armarius (or his assistant) kept a *brevis librorum* or register, an example of which may be seen in Herrgott's *Vetus disciplina monastica*.[1] In the Carthusian Houses the issue of two books at a time appears to have been permitted: *Adhuc etiam libros ad legendum accipit* (frater) *duos quibus omnem diligentiam curamque præbere jubetur ne fumo, ne pulvere, vel alio quoque sorde maculentur.*[2] How very far the cautions contained in this last named regulation were from being superfluous is curiously illustrated in the 17th chapter of *Philobiblon* under the heading: *Of handling books in a cleanly manner and keeping them in order.* But we must charitably hope that some of the grosser examples of the abuse of books, which so roused the good bishop's indignation, were but rarely seen in monasteries.

Secondly; of the Loan of books to Strangers.

As respects the loan of books to strangers, there is considerable variety in the regulations of different orders and communities. But the principle most usually adopted was that of lending on pledge. We read for example in the *Antiquæ Consuetudines Canonicorum Regul S. Victoris Parisiensis:—Nunquam Armarius libros præstare debet, nisi ab eo, cui præstat, vadimonium accipiat; ita ut si persona ignota fuerit, et æquivalens sit ipsum vadimonium et nomen illius, cui præstat et vadimonium, quod accipit, in brevi annotatum retineat. Majores autem et pretiosores libros sine licentia Abbatis præstare non debet.*[3]

Many regulations on this section of conventual econ-

[1] Pp. 119-120. (Vogel, *ut supra*, 51.)

[2] *Statuta antiqua ordinis Carthusianorum*, c. XVI. §. 9.

[3] Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, iii. App. 262.

omy occur in the Acts of General Chapters and Councils. Usually they tend to restrict the practice, or at all events to guard it from abuse, by the multiplication of conditions and forms; but sometimes, as at the Council of Rouen in 1214, they aim at the removal of subsisting impediments: e. g. *Interdicimus inter alia viris religiosis ne emittant juramenta de non commondandis libris indigentibus, cum commodare inter præcipua opera reputetur misericordiæ. Quocirca . . . . alii ad opus fratrum in domo retineantur, alii secundum providentiam abbatis, cum indemnitate domus indigentibus commodentur, &c.*[1]

Sometimes, when books were lent expressly for transcription, it was stipulated that a copy should accompany the borrowed MS. on its return. Thus, when St. Bernard's Secretary Nicholas had sent two volumes of his master's works to Peter of Celle, he wrote to him: "Make haste to copy these quickly, and send them to me; and, according to my bargain, cause a copy to be made for me. And both those which I have sent to you, and the copies, as I have said, return them to me, and take care that I do not lose a single tittle."[2] How extensively this "Commercium librorum" was carried on by monks may be readily seen, by way of examples, in the many letters on the subject which Pez has gathered from the annals (between the years 983 and 1001) of a single monastery,—that of Tegernsee, above mentioned,—and has printed in the sixth volume of his *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*; or, more compendiously still, by

[1] Bessin, *Concilia Rotomagensia,* 118, 119. (Vogel, *ubi supra.)*

[2] *Bibl. Cluniacensis,* lib. i., as quoted by Maitland, *The Dark Ages,* 440 (3d edit.).

the brief extracts from that volume, and from other collections, which Dr. Maitland has inserted in those Essays on "*The Dark Ages,*"[1] to which I am so much indebted already.

Labours of the Scriptorium.

From the work last named I take a very interesting illustration of the activity of the monastic scribes, in the eleventh century, as depicted by Othlonus, a monk of St. Emmeram's at Ratisbon, in his book *De ipsius tentationibus, varia fortuna, et scriptis.* After giving an account of his original compositions, and saying, "as the Lord commanded the dæmoniac in the Gospel to go to his own house, and shew how great things God had done for him," he proceeds:—

> "For the same reason, I think it proper to add an account of the great knowledge and capacity for writing which was given me by the Lord in my childhood. .... I began long before the usual time of learning, and without any order from the master to learn the art of writing. But in a furtive and unusual manner, and without any teacher, I attempted to learn that art; ..... and, after a short time, I began to write so well, and was so fond of it, that in the place where I learned, that is, in the monastery of Tegernsee, I wrote many books. And, being sent into Franconia while I was yet a boy, I worked so hard at writing that before I returned I had nearly lost my sight. *This I resolved to mention in the hope that I might excite some others to a similar love of labour;* and ... lead them to magnify the grace of God with me. ..... Then, after

[1] Maitland, *ut supra,* 502-504. Amongst the books mentioned in the Tegernsee correspondence are, the Tripartite History, a Horace, a Statius, a Persius, a Juvenal, a Boethius, a 'Librum plenariæ collationis,' and the 'Liber Invectivarum Tullii Ciecronis in Salustium.' In other letters, chiefly of the 11th and 12th centuries, cited in an earlier portion of Dr. Maitland's book, repeated mention will be found of the Holy Scriptures; sufficient, indeed, to convince those who may not have leisure to consult the sources for themselves, that the censures of monkish ignorance in this respect have often been far too indiscriminate and sweeping. The two chapters entitled "The Bible in the Dark Ages," will well repay perusal.

[2] Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta,* iv. 448; and Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus,* iii. p. x, (quoted by Maitland, *ut supra,* 417-419).

I came to be a monk in the monastery of St. Emmeram, I was soon induced by the request of some of them, again to occupy myself so much in writing that I seldom got any interval of rest, except on festivals, and at such times as work could not be performed. In the mean time there came more work upon me; for, as they saw that I was generally reading, or writing, or composing, they made me the schoolmaster. By all which things I was, through God's grace, so fully occupied, that I frequently could not allow my body the necessary rest. And when I had a mind to compose anything, I very commonly could not find time for it, except on holy days, or by night, being tied down by the business of teaching the boys, and the transcribing which I had been persuaded to undertake. Therefore, beside the books which I composed myself, which I wrote to give away for the edification of those who asked for them, and of others to whom I gave them unasked, I wrote nineteen missals,—ten for ... our own monastery, four for the brethren at Fulda, five for those in other places; three books of the Gospel, and two with the Epistles and Gospels, which are called Lectionaries; besides which I wrote four service books for matins. Afterwards, old age and infirmity of various kinds hindered me; especially the tedious interruption which lasted for a very long time through various anxieties, and the grief which was caused by the destruction of our monastery; but to him who is the author of all good, and who alone governs all things, and who has vouchsafed to give many things to me unworthy, be praise eternal, be honour everlasting.

"I think it right also to relate, as far as I am able to recollect, how many books I have given to different monasteries and friends; and first I would mention the monks at Fulda, because, as I worked a great deal in their monastery, writing many books, which I sent to our monastery, so in our's I wrote out some books which they had not; and, if I remember rightly, I sent them seven. To the monks of Hirschfeld, two books; and when I returned from those parts and came to Amerbach, I gave one to the Abbot of that place. Afterwards, being under obligation to Brother William, I gave him four books, among which was a very valuable Missal. To the Abbot of Lorsch, one book; to certain friends dwelling in Bohemia, four books; to a friend at Passau, one book; to the monastery of Tegernsee, two books; to the monastery of Pryel, near us, one volume, in which were three books. And I also gave one book, and various Epistles, to my sister's son, who was living there. To the monastery of Obermunster I gave three books, and to that of Niedermunster, one book. Moreover, to many others I gave or sent, at different times, sermons, proverbs, and edifying writings."

These labours of the industrious monk of Ratisbon, praiseworthy as they are, suffer eclipse when compared with those of a devout eleventh-century nun of Wessobrunn in Bavaria, named Diemudis, whose biography has also been quoted by Dr. Maitland from the *Thesaurus* of Pez:—

Books transcribed by Diemudis, a nun of Wessobrunn.

"Diemudis," writes the historian of Wessobrunn, "was formerly a most devout nun of this monastery. For our monastery was formerly double, or divided into two parts,—that is to say, of monks and of nuns. The place of the monks was where it now is; but that of the nuns where the parish church now stands. This virgin was most skilful in the art of writing. For though she is not known to have composed any work, yet she wrote with her own hand many volumes in a most beautiful and legible character, both for divine service and for the public library of the monastery, which are enumerated in a list written by herself in a certain 'Plenarius.' For in that list the following books pertaining to divine service are enumerated:—

1. A Missal with the Gradual and Sequences.
2. Another Missal, with Gradual and Sequences, *which was given to the Bishop of Treves.*
3. Another Missal with the Epistles, Gospels, Gradual, and Sequences.
4. Another Missal, with the Epistles and Gospels, for the whole year; and the Gradual and Sequences; and the entire service for baptism.
5. A Missal, with the Epistles and Gospels.
6. A Book of Offices.
7. Another Book of Offices, with the baptismal service, *which was given to the Bishop of Augsburg.*
8. A Book with the Gospels and Lessons.
9. A Book with the Gospels.
10. A Book with the Epistles.

These books she wrote, as I have said, for the use and ornament of divine service. With the following she adorned our Library, ... of which ... [some] have perished and are lost, either through the burning of the monastery (which is said to have happened twice), or by the negligence and sloth of subsequent monks.

11. A Bible, *in two volumes, which was given for the Estate in Pisinberck.*
12. A Bible, *in three volumes.*

13. The Morals of St. Gregory *(that is,* his Commentary on Job), *in six volumes (the first and third of which are lost).*
14. St. Gregory ad Regaredum (?)
15. St. Gregory on Ezechiel, *and some other things, in one volume.*
16. Sermons and Homilies of ancient doctors, *three volumes.*
17. Origen on the Old Testament.
18. Origen on the Canticles.
19. Augustine on the Psalms, *three volumes.*
20. Augustine on the Gospel, and on the first Epistle, of St. John, *two volumes (the first missing).*
21. Augustine's Epistles, *to the number of seventy-five.*
22. Augustine 'De verbis Domini;' 'De Sermone Domini in Monte;' 'De opere monachorum;' 'De agone Christiano;' 'De adorando;' 'De professione viduitatis;' 'De bono conjugali;' 'De virginitate.'
23. St. Jerome's Epistles, *to the number of one hundred and sixty-four.*
24. The Tripartite History of Cassiodorus.
25. Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.
26. Fifty Sermons of St. Augustine; The Life of St. Silvester; Jerome against Vigilantius, and 'De consolatione mortuorum;' The Life of St. Blaise; the Life of St. John the Almoner.
27. Paschasius on the Body and Blood of Christ; The Conflict of Lanfranc with Berengarius; The Martyrdom of St. Dionysius; The Life of St. Adrian, etc.
28. St. Jerome 'De Hebraicis Quæstionibus,' *and many other works (i. e.* tracts?) *by him and by other writers.*
29. St. Augustine's Confessions.
30. Canons.
31. The Gloss, alphabetically arranged. *(Glossa per A. B. C. composita.)*

These are the volumes written with her own hand by the aforesaid handmaid of God, Diemudis, to the praise of God, and of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, the patrons of this monastery." [1]

Of earnest labourers in the monastic writing-rooms, worthy to rank with Othlonus and Diemudis, it would not be difficult to draw up a long list. Here, however, these must suffice, by way of specimens of their class, and as indications of much devout and unobtrusive work, by which all succeeding generations have bene-

[1] Maitland, *ut supra,* 419-421, quoting Pez, *Diss. Isagog.* in Tom. i., *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus,* p. xx.

fited, and which, in the aggregate, must needs constitute no mean set-off, if I may so speak, in the account of monastic indolence and corruption. That such work, when it came to be performed rather as routine drudgery than as the labour of love, will often have been done ignorantly and carelessly, is certain enough. Two other things, however, are at least equally plain: the one, that early monastic writers had a deep sense of the responsibility which attended the transcriber's task, and took pains to impress it on those who should follow them; the other, that such inquirers into this subject as have most patiently and laboriously investigated mediæval literature, are uniformly the most charitable in their views of the shortcomings of the monkish scribes, and the most ready to acknowledge the largeness of that debt of gratitude, which their toils have imposed on us, who have entered into their labours.

Early monkish injunctions as to accuracy of transcription.

"I adjure you who shall transcribe this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious coming, who will come to judge the quick and the dead, that you compare what you transcribe, and diligently correct it by the copy from which you transcribe it, with this adjuration also, and insert it in your copy."[1] Such a caution as this is not unfrequently met with in books which were the staple of the monastic scriptorium, and injunctions of similar tendency repeatedly occur in the Constitutions of various communities.

The tasks of the copyists appear in the earlier ages of monasticism to have been usually carried on in com-

[1] *Preface to Ælfric's Homilies*, MS. Lands. 373 (quoted in Merryweather's *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, 22,.

pany; but some times singly, each scribe occupying his *scriptoriolum*, or little writing-cell, apart. Such a cell was perhaps not unlike that which is thus described by "Secretary Nicholas," towards the close of the twelfth century:—

> "Its door opens into the apartment of the Novices, where commonly a great number of persons distinguished by rank as well as by literature, put on the new man in newness of life .... On the right the cloister of the monks runs off, in which the more advanced part of the community walk ..... There, under the strictest discipline, they individually open the books of divine eloquence, not that they may winnow forth the treasures of knowledge, but that they may elicit love, compunction, and devotion. From the left projects the infirmary and place of exercise for the sick ..... And do not suppose that my little tenement is to be despised; for it is a place to be desired and pleasant to look upon, and comfortable for retirement. It is filled with most choice and divine books, at the delightful view of which I feel contempt for the vanity of this world, considering that "vanity of vanities, all is vanity." ... This place is assigned to me for reading, and writing, and composing, and meditating, and praying, and adoring the Lord of majesty."[1]

It seems that subsequently to the period to which this extract relates, the use of the separate cells for writing-purposes increased, probably because it was found difficult to enforce obedience in the congregation of scribes to that main point of monastic discipline,—silence. At a Chapter of the Cistercian Order, held in 1134, the rule enjoining the observance of silence, as strictly in the scriptorium as in the cloister, was expressly insisted on:—*In omnibus scriptoriis ubicunque ex consuetudine Monachi scribunt, silentium teneatur sicut in claustro.*[2]

[1] *Bibl. Clun., ut supra;* quoted by Maitland, 404, 405.

[2] Rainardus Abbas Cisterciensis, in *Constitut.* cap. ult., as quoted by Ducange, *Glossarium* etc. vi. 131.

BOOK II. Chapter VI. The Economy of the Monastic Libraries.

It is neither needful nor practicable here to enter minutely into the particular regulations of the monastic scriptoria. One or two of the more important passages may, however, be concisely indicated. Thus in the nineteenth chapter of the *Liber Ordinis S. Victoris Parisiensis*, as quoted by Ducange, from the original MS., we read:

Regulations of the Scriptoria.

Quicunque de fratribus intra claustrum scriptores sunt, quibus officium scribendi ab Abbate injunctum est, omnibus iis Armarius providere debet, quid scribant, et quæ ad scribendum necessaria sunt, præbere, nec quisquam eorum aliud scribere, quam ille præceperit. . . . . Loca etiam determinata ad ejusmodi opus seorsum a Conventu, tamen intra claustrum præparanda sunt, ubi sine perturbatione et strepitu Scriptores operi suo quietius intendere possint. Ibi autem sedentes et operantes, silentium diligenter servare debent, nec extra quoquam otiose vagari. Nemo ad eos intrare debet, excepto Abbate, et Priore, et Sub-priore, et Armario.[1] Again, in the ancient Constitutions of the Carthusians, c. 36: . . . . *Hoc autem esse debet specialiter opus tuum, . . . libris scribendis operam diligenter impendas. Hoc siquidem speciale esse debet opus Cartusiensium inclusorum;* and elsewhere, *Porro si ita providerit Prior, unum est, cui in operatione specialiter intendere debes, ut videlicet et scribere discas, si tamen addiscere potes, et si potes, et scis, ut scribas. Hoc quodammodo opus, opus immortale est: opus si dicere licet, non transiens, sed manens: opus itaque, ut sic dicamus, et non opus: opus denique, quod inter omnia alia opera magis decet viros religiosos literatos.*[2]

Alcuin's admonitory verses on the duties of the Scrip-

[1] Ducange, in voce *Scriptores, ut sup.*

[2] Ibid.

torium—or, more accurately perhaps, those older verses which he improved and has preserved for us,—have been often quoted, but may not unfitly close these brief notices of its economy:—

"Ad Musæum libros Scribentium."

Hic sedeant sacræ scribentes famina legis
Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata Patrum,
Hic interserere caveant sua frivola verbis,
Frivola nec propter erret et ipsa manus.

Correctosque sibi quærant studiose libellos,
Tramite quo recto penna volantis eat.
Per cola distinguant proprios, et commata sensus,
Et punctos ponant ordine quosque suo.

Ne vel falsa legat, taceat vel forte repente,
Ante pios fratres, lector in Ecclesia.
Est decus egregium sacrorum scribere libros,
Nec mercede sua scriptor et ipse caret.

Fodere quam vites, melius est scribere libros,
Ille suo ventri serviet, iste animæ,
Vel nova, vel vetera poterit proferre magister
Plurima, quisque legit dicta sacrata Patrum. [1]

Catalogues of Monastic Libraries.

In the economy of Libraries, whether ancient or modern, there is nothing more important than the character of their catalogues. A poor Library, with a good catalogue, will often be of more utility to the student than a rich Library with a bad or carelessly compiled one. We cannot expect that in the very infancy of bibliography monastic catalogues should be models. They were of course defective in plan, and not unfrequently bear the marks of carelessness in execution. Yet on some points they will contrast favourably with catalogues of not inconsiderable collections, printed at the cost of wealthy persons in the year 1856.

[1] Comp. Alcuini *Opera*, ii. 211, with Ducange, *ubi supra*.

BOOK II. Chapter VI. The Economy of the Monastic Libraries.

Of the monastic catalogues which have been printed in the preceding pages, most, it will be seen, are mere inventories, with no classification and with but little detail. Early instances may, however, be found both of tolerable method and of minute accuracy.

Perhaps the largest collection of early and especially of monastic lists of books, that has ever been made, is that in the Royal Library of Munich. It has accumulated by the absorption into that vast repository of so many conventual collections, and is said to number nearly 600 separate catalogues, including, as may well be imagined, specimens of almost all known varieties.[1]

Catalogue of the Abbey Library of Weihenstephan.

Amongst these is a catalogue of the Library of the Benedictine abbey of Weihenstephan, compiled in the 12th century, which begins thus: *Hæc est noticia librorum Catholicorum ecclesiæ S. Stephani*, inprimis *qui pertinent ad divinum servitium.* Then follow *alii libri a fratribus in capitolio et ad mensam et ad colla.—legendi*, all of which are theological, or devotional; these are followed by scientific, poetical, and historical books, indiscriminately. Here the only classification is that resulting from the different uses to which the books were applied under the monastic regulations.

Catalogue of the Library of St. Emmeram at Ratisbon.

In the catalogue of the Library of the monastery of St. Emmeram at Ratisbon, the arrangement is that of the desks or book-cases in which the volumes were placed. Of these there were thirty-two, thus appropriated:

Pulpitum.

I. II. *Librum textuum Bibliæ.*

[1] Schmeller, *Ueber Büchercataloge des XV. und früherer Jahrhunderte.* (*Serapeum*, ii. 243.)

Pulpitum.

III. IV. V. VI. *Diversi Expositores super Biblia.*

VII. VIII. IX. X. XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. *Doctores (antiquiores) secundum ordinem alphabeti, cum quibusdam libris suis.*

XVI. *Libri Historiarum.*

XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. *Libri divers. doct. (recentiorum).*

XXI. XXII. XXIII. *Libri Juris (canonici).*

XXIV. *Libri diversorum.*

XXV. *Libri Juris (civilis et canonici).*

XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. *Libri Artium.*

XXX. *Libri de diversa materia.*

XXXI. *Libri Omeliarum et Passionalia.*

XXXII. *Biblia in partibus.*[1]

Another catalogue of the same collection, apparently written about 1460, preserves the same general arrangement, with certain improvements in details. Forty years later comes a new arrangement introduced by Brother Dionysius Menger, whose catalogue classes the Library into (1) Vellum MSS.; (2) Paper MSS; (3) Printed Books. These classes are subdivided into the letters of the alphabet, and these again by figures, extending usually to 20 under each letter. Thus of the 420 Vellum MSS., the first (*Papias sive mater verborum in magno volumine et antiqua bona scriptura*) is marked A. 1.; and the last (*Tabula notabilis et magistralis in pergameno et affixa bitumine baculo et circumligatur fune canopeo et dicitur tabula Itaf, sive quatuor regiones quatuor elementorum habens in fronte imaginem monachi et medici depictam, &c.*) is marked X. 16. Similarly, the paper MSS. run from A. 1 to I. 3;

[1] Schmeller, *ut supra*, 262.

and the printed books, from A. 1 to N. 9. Of the latter, however, such as were added subsequently to the first compilation of the catalogue are without marks. But the whole number of these printed books is less than that of the Paper MSS., and those again are fewer than the MSS. on Vellum. This arrangement, and for the most part the usual chaining of the books to their desks, continued to subsist during some portion at least of the seventeenth century.[1]

Catalogues of the Tegernsee Library.

The Benedictines of Tegernsee were famous for their cultivation of letters during the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. In the 13th and 14th they underwent the usual partial eclipse, but emerged again in the 15th century under the rule, successively, of the Abbots Caspar and Conrad, which extended from 1426 to 1492. Of their Library there is preserved (at Munich, like the preceding specimens) a catalogue, beginning thus: *A. D.* 1483, *sub regimine . . Conradi quarti de Weilheim ven. Monasterii S. Quirini R. & M. in Tegrinsee ord. S. Benedicti Frising. diœc. abbatis dignissimi inventi ac recensiti sunt in bibliotheca nostra sequentes doctores egregii ac magistri reverendi cum suis libris, tractatibus atque aliis variis opusculis, sermonibus et doctrinis, cum quotis, (i. e.* the head-mark, or letter and number affixed on a strip of parchment to the cover of each book,) *eorundem ubi quærendi sunt, prout infra positi sunt cum eorum propriis nominibus secundam ordinem alphabeti.*

In addition to the author's name and to the title of the book catalogued, his rank, birth-place or dwelling-

[1] Schmeller, *ut supra*, 263, 264.

place, and often his date, are supplied. The Christian names, or other *prænomina*, are taken and appear of course according to the peculiar though very flexible orthography of the period. Thus 'Wilhelmus' and 'Wolfgangus' must be searched for under *Bilhelmus* and *Bolfgangus*. 'Horatius' under *Oratius*. Cicero appears as *Tullius*. The B. Virgin Mary figures as the author, not only of the *Magnificat*, but of an *Epistola ad S. Ignatium*.

The following may serve as a brief example of the entries in this catalogue:—

FRANCISCI ds. Florencia PETRARCHÆ heremitæ et poetæ laureati Liber de vita solitaria. E. 53.

—— Secretum de contemptu mundi per modum dialogi cum S. Augustino C. 29. E. 53.

—— Epistola ad solitarium quemdam de laude vitæ ejusdem, et Epistola ipsius solitarii responsalis ad eundem de dispositione vitæ suæ. E. 15.

—— Epistola exhortatorio ad germanum ejus Cartusianum. G. 58. 3.

(In the margin and in a later hand:)

Habemus opera ejus in pressura.

* * * *

FRIDERICI III *Imperatoris, Ducis Austriæ* Scripta metra aliqua ad quendam Papam et e contra metra responsalia ejusdem Papæ ad eundem. N. 19. 2°.

* * * *

PETRI ABELARDI *Philosophi* Liber egregius de Sic et non. K. 10. Liber cujus titulus Scito te ipsum. X. 1. *Magister Abelardus Parisiensis floruit tempore S. Benedicti abbatis. Hic in Hæresim cadens ab Innocentio condemnatur. Pretium Redemptionis evacuavit. Capitula in libris ejus reprehensibilia S. Benedictus annotavit in Epistola quam scripsit ad Innocentium Papam secundum ut videtur.* [1]

* * * *

A MS. note in this catalogue, dated 1494, records the addition of 635 volumes to the Library during the ten years, from 1484 to 1493, inclusive; and states the

[1] Schmeller, *ut supra*, 269-270.

then total number of volumes at 1738. These additions would necessarily be, for the most part, printed books. In the original catalogue no difference appears to have been made between MS. volumes and printed volumes, but a similar note to that which occurs in the extract —'*Habemus . . . in pressura*'—is often met with. A succeeding librarian placed on the last leaf of his predecessor's catalogue the cautionary advertisement: "Pro *Lucretio* lege Rabanum, pro *Virgilio* Sedulium, pro *Ovidio* Alanum, pro *Propertio* Lactantium, pro *Statio* Aratorem, pro *Catullo* Prosperum, pro *Tibullo* Juvencum, pro *Horatio* Prudentium, pro *Martiali Epigrammata* Scintillæ et Hermannum Buschium, pro *Lucano* Galtherum, pro *Juvenale* Baptistum Mantuanum," &c. But the writer of the admonition has left sufficient evidence that for his own part he had thought it worth while to acquire a very respectable familiarity with those Latin classics, which are the subject of his caution.

Catalogue of the Library of Rievaux Abbey.

Of English Monastic Catalogues several specimens have been already selected. It may, however, not be without utility to add another English list which is more extensive and more minute than most of those formerly quoted. I mean that Rievaux Abbey Catalogue, which is preserved at Jesus College, Cambridge. It has been already printed by Mr. Halliwell in the *Reliqua Antiqua* (a miscellany which is less known than it deserves to be, for the curiosity of some portion of its contents). I here print the Rievaux Catalogue from a transcript which I owe to the kindness of a friend.

CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF THE MONASTERY OF RIEVAUX.

Written in the XIVth Century, and transcribed from a MS. in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge, N. B. 17.

Hi sunt libri sancte Marie Rievall'.

A. Codex Justiniani.
Decreta Graciani.
Johannes super decreta.
Haymo super epistolas Pauli.

B. Augustinus de civitate Dei, *in uno volumine.*
—— super Johannem, *in uno volumine.*
—— super Psalterium, *in quinque voluminibus.*
—— de decem preceptis, de gratia et libero arbitrio, et epistola Prosperi ad Augustinum, et epistola Hylarii ad Augustinum, et Augustinus de predestinatione sanctorum, de bono perseverantie, et Augustinus super Genesim contra Manicheos, *in uno volumine.*
—— de sermone Domini in monte, et de natura et gratia, et epistola ejusdem ad Valentinum, *in uno volumine.*
—— de quantitate anime, et Ambrosius de bono mortis, et de fuga seculi et de viduis, *in uno volumine.*
—— de perfectione justicie, de correptione et gratia, et Dominus vobiscum, *in uno volumine.*
—— de caritate, et retractationes ejusdem, *in uno volumine.*
—— de duabus animabus, de disciplina Christianorum, de decem cordis, regula ejusdem de vita clericorum, de nuptiis et concupiscentia, et Augustinus contra Julianum, et contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum, et de sancta virginitate, *in uno volumine.* —
—— ad Simplicianum contra Pelagium, *in uno volumine et alia.* —

C. —— contra Faustum, *in uno volumine.*
—— de trinitate, *in uno volumine.*
—— de confessionibus, *in uno volumine.*
—— de verbis Domini, *in uno volumine.*
—— super Genesim ad litteram, et versus Damasippe, *in uno volumine.*

Epistole Augustini, et Augustinus contra interrogationes Pelagii heretici, *in uno volumine.*

Augustinus de penitentia, et unde malum, et de libero arbitrio, et contra quinque hereses, et de bono conjugali, et pars quedam de perfectione justicie, et Hugo de archa Noe, *in uno volumine.*

Augustinus de baptismo parvulorum, et ad Marcellinum, et de unico baptismo, de spiritu et littera, et ad Paulinum, et Yponosticon, et contra Pelagianos, et de moribus ecclesie, et contra epistolam Manichei, et Augustinus de cura per mortem agenda, *in uno volumine.* —

—— de doctrina christiana, *in uno volumine.* —

—— contra mendacium, et ad Renatum de origine anime contra libros Vincentii, et ad Petrum contra libros ejusdem Vincentii, et ad Vincentium Victorem, et contra perfidiam Arrianorum, et contra adversarios legis et prophetarum, et liber bestiarum, et epistolæ Anselmi, *in uno volumine.* —

—— de consensu Evangelistarum, et duo sermones ejusdem de jure jurando, *in uno volumine.* —

Soliloquia Augustini. —

Augustinus contra achademicos, et de ordine monachorum. —

D. Bernardus super cantica canticorum, *in uno volumine.*

Libri Bernardi, expositio scilicet super evangelium, Missus est angelus Gabriel, et de gradibus humilitatis et superbie, et de distincta varietate monastice discipline, et de gratia et libero arbitrio diligendo Dominum, et exhortatio ejusdem ad milites templi, et libellus ejusdem ad Eugenium Papam, *in uno volumine.* —

Sermones Bernardi per anni circulum, *in uno volumine.* —

Item Bernardus de gratia et libero arbitrio, et liber ejusdem ad Ascelinum cardinalem de diligendo Dominum, et versus Hildeberti de missa, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Bernardus de diligendo Dominum, et sentencia ejus de trinitate, et de presciencia, de sacramento altaris, de quibusdam sacramentis fidei, *in uno volumine.* —

Epistole Bernardi, *in uno volumine.*

Anselmus, Cur Deus homo, de conceptu virginali, de monte humilitatis, de reparatione humane redemptionis, expositio evangelii, Intravit Jesus in quoddam castro, et vita ejusdem, et Wimundus do corpore Domini contra Berengarium, *in uno volumine.* —

Libri Anselmi de incarnatione verbi, Monologion, Prosologion ejusdem, et contra ejusdem libri secundum et tertium et quartum capita oppositio cujusdam et responsio illius, epistola ad Walerannum episcopum, tractatus illius de veritate, tractatus illius de libero arbitrio, de casu diaboli, de concordia prescientie et predestinatione et gratie cum libero arbitrio, de similitudinibus, de grammatico, *in uno volumine.* —

Ailredus de spirituali amicitia, et de institutione inclusarum, *in uno volumine.* —

Liber sermonum illius qui sic incipit, Petis a me, etc., *in uno volumine.* —
Ailredus de oneribus Ysaie, *in uno volumine.* —
—— de vita sancti Edwardi, de generositate et moribus et morte Regis David, de vita sancti Niniani episcopi, de miraculis Haugustaldensis ecclesie, *in uno volumine.* —
Epistole Ailredi, *in uno volumine.* —
Ailredus de anima, *in uno volumine.* —
Speculum caritatis. —
Epistole Romanorum pontificum, *in uno volumine.* —
—— Cypriani, *in uno volumine.* —
Alredus de fasciculo frondium. —

E. Origenes super vetus testamentum, *in duobus voluminibus.* —
Rabanus super Matheum, *in uno volumine.* —
Haimo super epistolas Pauli, *in uno volumine.* —
Josephus de antiquitate, *in uno volumine.* —
—— de Judaico bello, et Ailredus de generositate regis David, *in uno volumine.* —
Sentencie magistri Petri Lumbardi, *in uno volumine.* —

F. Moralia beati Gregorii Pape in Job, *in quinque voluminibus.*
Gregorius super Ezechielem, *in uno volumine.* —
Liber pastoralis, et liber de tribus generibus homicidii, et liber de conflictu viciorum et virtutum, *in uno volumine.* —
—— dialogorum beati Gregorii, *in uno volumine.* —
—— quadraginta omeliarum, *in uno volumine.* —
Prima pars registri, et Augustinus de vera religione, et Marsias, *in uno volumine.* —
Secunda pars registri, et liber de scientia dictandi, *in uno volumine.* —
De summa trinitate, et fide catholica. —
Robertus super Apocalipsim, *in uno volumine.* —
Liber sermonum, et quedam excerpta de libris Justiniani, et bestiarium, *in uno volumine.* —

G. Ambrosius super Lucam, *in uno volumine.* —
—— super Beati immaculati, *in uno volumine.* —
—— de officiis et de sacramentis, *in uno volumine.* —
Epistole Ambrosii, *in uno volumine.* —
Ambrosius de virginibus, et de Nabuthe, et sermo ejus de jejunio, et libellus Ricardi Prioris de Benjamin et fratribus ejus, de quibusdam partibus mundi, de septem mirabilibus Rome, de quinque plagis Anglie, *in uno volumine.* —
—— de bono mortis, de fuga seculi, de viduis, Exameron ejusdem, de penitentia, et Cassiodorus de virtutibus anime, *in uno volumine.* —

Catalogue of the Rievaux Library.

Prima pars Ysidori ethimologiarum et expositio libri Donati grammatici et quedam derivationes per alphabetum inchoantes, et regule versificandi, *in uno volumine.* —

Secunda pars Ysidori ethimologiarum ét Ysidorus de quibusdam propriis nominibus veteris ac novi testamenti et eorum significationibus, et libellus Ysidori qui Synonima appellatur, *in uno volumine.* —

Johannes Crisostomus super psalmum quinquagintesimum, de muliere Chananea, de reparatione lapsi, Augustinus super mulierem fortem, et vita duorum presbiterorum, Augustinus de duodecim abusivis, et miraculum de corpore et sanguine Domini, et Beda super Tobiam, et Ysidorus de summo bono et diversis virtutibus, *in uno volumine.* —

Liber Beati Gregorii Nazianzeni, *in uno volumine.* —

Paralipomenon glosatum, et quedam expositiuncule super epistolas Pauli, et sermones Babionis, *in uno volumine.* —

Laurentius de consolatione amicitie, et quedam decreta patrum, et ysagoge Johannicii, *in uno volumine.* —

Epistole Senece, *in uno volumine.* —

Sermones Mauricii, qui sic incipiunt, Festum super festum, *in uno volumine.* —

Viginti octo sermones sancti Bernardi super cantica canticorum, *in uno volumine.* —

H. Hugo de sacramentis, *in duobus voluminibus.* —

—— de contemptu mundi, soliloquium ejusdem de arra anime, item, de virginitate sancte Marie, solutio ejusdem cur non fiat conjugium inter eundem sexum, et didascalion ejusdem, *in uno volumine.* —

Tractatus Hugonis, et miracula de corpore et sanguine Domini, *in uno volumine.* —

Hugo super Ecclesiasten, et liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum Gennadii, et eulogium magistri Johannis de Cornubia, *in uno volumine.* —

Pannormia Yvonis Carnotensis episcopi, *in uno volumine.*

Item Pannormia Yvonis, et epistole Dindimi et Alexandri, et epistola domini Baldwini abbatis de Forda, et sermo de sancto Willelmo, et salubrius admonitio ejusdam sapientis quomodo Thome et sancto de Deo et de anima rudibus et minus peritis cante loquendum sit, *in uno volumine.*

Sentencie Hugonis. —

Epistole Yvonis, et epistole Hildeberti episcopi Cenomannensis, *in uno volumine.* —

Hugo super Hierarchiam, *in uno volumine.* —

Robertus super Matheum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— super Leviticum, sermo magistri Huberti Pullani de om-

nibus Christiane vite necessariis, libellus Ricardi Prioris de Benjamin et fratribus ejus, Regula sancti Basilii, *in uno volumine.* —

Epistole Mauricii, *in uno volumine.*

Libri Mauricii, scilicet, Specula monastice religionis, et apologia ejusdem, et itinerarium pacis, et rithmus ejusdem, et de translatione corporis sancti Cuthberti, *in uno volumine.* —

Lapidarium, et quidam sermones et sentencie et compilaciones, *in uno volumine.* —

I. Beda super Lucam, *in uno volumine.*

—— super Marcum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— de tabernaculo, *in uno volumine.* —

—— de ystoria Anglorum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— de temporibus, cum quibusdam cronicis ejus, *in uno volumine.*

—— de triginta questionibus, et super Esdram, *in uno volumine.* —

—— super Samuelem, *in uno volumine.* —

—— super epistolas canonicas, et super cantica canticorum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— de vita Sancti Cuthberti, et Cuthbertus de transitu Sancti Bede, *in uno volumine.* —

Libri de littera Anglica duo. —

K. Hystoria ecclesiastica, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Egesippi, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Henrici, *in uno volumine.* —

—— de Jerusalem, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Britonum, *in uno volumine.* —

Itinerarium Clementis, *in uno volumine.* —

Sermones Magistri Gallfridi Babionis, et expositio in Johel prophetam et in Naum prophetam, *in uno volumine.* —

Orosius de ormesta mundi, historia Daretis de bello Trojano, et versus Petri Abailardi ad filium, et cronica de Anglia, *in uno volumine.* —

Libri Aldelmi, quedam nomina et verba de libro capitulorum, Hugo de Folieto de claustro materiali, item, de claustro anime, invectio Solomonis, *in uno volumine.* —

Expositio evangelii, Dixit Symon Petrus ad Jesum, sermo de labore Sanctorum et mercede, sermo de novem mensibus conceptionis et octo diebus circumcisionis Christi, sermo de sancto Pascha, collectiones sententiarum et meditacionum, tractatus super quedam capitula de cantico canticorum, manipulus rerum et verborum, *in uno volumine.* — super cantica canticorum, Ambrosius super cantica canticorum, expositio super Prisciani octo constructiones, expositio super Apocalipsim, item, expositio super cantica

canticorum, glose Boecii, et expositio brevis super quosdam psalmos, *in uno volumine.* —

Johannes super decreta Gratiani, *in uno volumine.* —

Corpus canonum, *in uno volumine.* —

Matheus glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Actus apostolorum glosati, *in uno volumine.* —

Boecius de Trinitate, liber Catonis, passio Sancti Laurentii, proverbia de libris poetarum, vita Sancte Marie Egiptie, Hildebertus de edificio anime, item versus ejusdem, quidem hymni, Odo de viribus herbarum, Marbodeus de generibus lapidum, passio Sancti Mauricii, vita Taisidis et alii versus, cosmographia Bernardi Silvestris, passio Sancti Thome, et alii versus et dictamina, *in uno volumine.* —

Versarium de libris Ethnicorum, passio sancti Laurencii, argorismus, *in uno volumine.* —

L. Vitas patrum, vita Sancti Guthlaci, liber qui dicitur Formula vite honeste, *in uno volumine.* —

Vita Sancti Godrici heremite, *in uno volumine.* —

Johannes Heremita in decem collationes, *in uno volumine.* —

Libri quatuordecim collationum, *in uno volumine.* —

Prosperus de vita activa et contemplatione, et diadema monachorum, *in uno volumine.* —

Liber Odonis, *in uno volumine.* —

Expositiuncula super vetus et novum testamentum, et quedam gesta in ecclesia pro passione Domini, Augustinus super psalmos, et alie compilationes, et regula splendescit, *in uno volumine.* —

Liber Heraclidis episcopi qui dicitur Paradisus, et persecutio Affricane provincie, *in uno volumine.* —

Sentencie Magistri Walteri que sic incipiunt, Ferculum sibi fecit salvatio, *in uno volumine.*

—— que sic incipiunt, Dum medium silentium, *in uno volumine.* —

Regula Johannis Cassiani, *in uno volumine.* —

Psalterium glosatum domini Ailredi abbatis, *in uno volumine.* —

—— —— —— Ernaldi abbatis, *in uno volumine.* —

—— magistri Walteri glosatum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Huroldi glosatum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Radulfi Barun glosatum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Symonis de Sigillo glosatum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— parvum de probatorio glosatum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Gaufridi Dinant non glosatum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Fulconis non glosatum, *in uno volumine.*

—— Wilelmi de Rotelando non glosatum, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Jeronimi, quod fuit Willelmi de Berking', *in uno volum.* —

M. Liber Justiniani de legibus, *in uno volumine.* —
—— medicinalis qui appellatur Antidotarium, *in uno volumine.* —
Ysagoge Johannicii, *in uno volumine.* —
Priscianus magnus, *in uno volumine.* —
—— de constructionibus, *in uno volumine.* —
Bernardus de duodecim gradibus humilitatis, sermones et sentencie utilissime, apologeticum Sancti Bernardi, interpretationes Hebraicorum nominum, *in uno volumine.* —
Sermones Sancti Bernardi qui sic incipiunt, Sancti per fidem, et alie quedam sentencie, *in uno volumine.* —
Expositio super Naum prophetam et super Joel, sentencie et sermones et epistole plurimorum perutiles, Laurentius de creatione et operibus Domini, *in uno volumine.* —
Congestio diversarum sentenciarum diversis sancte catholice ecclesie causis congruentium, et excerpta quedam de registro Gregorii ornate dicta, *in uno volumine.* —
Sinonima Ciceronis, quedam de compoto, regule versificandi, *in uno volumine.* —
Rhetorica, *in uno volumine.* —
Boecius de consolacione, *in uno volumine.* —
Ysagoge Porphirii in cathegorias Aristotelis, et alii libri dialectici, *in uno volumine.* —
Liber de miraculis Sancte Marie, *in uno volumine.* —

N. Liber omeliarium in hyeme, *in uno volumine.* —
—— omeliarium in estate, *in uno volumine.* —
Passionale mensis Octobris, *in uno volumine.* —
—— mensis Novembris et Decembris, *in uno volumine.* —
—— Januarii, *in uno volumine.*
Vita Sancti Silvestri et aliorum sanctorum, *in uno volumine.* —
—— Sancti Ambrosii et aliorum sanctorum, *in uno volumine.* —
Omelie in Quadragesima, *in uno volumine.* —
Psalterium tripartitum, *in uno volumine.* —
Jeronimus super duodecim prophetas, *in duobus voluminibus.* —
—— super Jeremiam et super Danielem, *in uno volumine.* —
—— de Hebraicis questionibus, de mansionibus filiorum Israel, de distantiis locorum, de Hebraicorum nominum interpretatione, de questionibus libri Regum, de Paralipomenone, de decem temptacionibus, de sex civitatibus fugitivorum, de cantico Debbore, de lamentacionibus Jeremie, de edificio Prudentii, Hugo de Folieto de claustro anime, Jer' Gennad', Ysidorus de illustribus viris, Cassiodorus de institutionibus divinarum litterarum, Ailredus de standardo, de mappa, *in uno volumine.* [1] —

[1] This is now in the Library of York Cathedral, according to Mr. Halliwell (in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ, ut supra).*

Bernardus super cantica canticorum, Jeremias glosatus, item, opuscula Bernardi, et epistole et sententie plurimorum, Barbarismus glosatus, epistole Senece et Pauli, *in uno volumine.* —

Sermones Petri Manducatoris, de ortu Sancti Cuthberti, passio Sancti Thome archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, miraculum de ymagine Sancte Marie, vita S. Olavi, *in uno volumine.* —

Quedam gesta Salvatoris, sermo Roberti Pulani, regula de quibusdam adverbiis et questio de quadam constructione, Jeronimus contra Jovinianum de locis misticis, Beda de arte metrica et de scematibus, Hugo de institutione noviciorum, epistola Patellici abbatis ad episcopum suum et rescriptum episcopi, *in uno volumine.*

Vita sancti Jeronimi et epistole ejusdem, *in uno volumine.* —

Sentencie magistri Roberti Melodinensis. —

Sermones abbatis Werri, *in duobus voluminibus.* —

Epistole Sydonii, *in uno volumine.* —

Libri glossati: —

P. Genesis, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Exodus, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Ysaias, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, Ysaias, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Job, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, Job, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Duodecim prophete, glosati, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, duodecim prophete, glosati, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, duodecim prophete, glosati, *in uno volumine.* —

Sex prophete, glosati, *in uno volumine.* —

Tobias et Judith, glosati, et liber Hester et Apocalipsis, *in uno volumine.* —

Cantica canticorum et epistole canonice, glosate, *in uno volumine.* —

Matheus, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Marcus, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, Marcus, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Lucas, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, Lucas, glosatus, *in uno volumine.*

Item, Lucas, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Johannes, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, Johannes, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, Johannes, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Epistole canonice, glosate, *in uno volumine.* —

—— Pauli, glosate, *in uno voluuine.* —

Item, epistole Pauli, glosate, *in uno volumine.* —

Apocalypsis, glosatus, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, Apocalypsis et cantica canticorum glosati, *in uno volumine.* —

Q. Liber usuum, *in duobus voluminibus.* —

Glosule super psalterium, G. Pore, *in uno volumine.* —

Quedam evangelia breviter exposita, exhortatio Sancti Bernardi ad Eugenium papam, sententie patrum de viciis et virtutibus, et phisica, *in uno volumine.* —

Orationarium quod sic incipit, Domine Jesu Christe fili Dei VIVI, Bernardus de cantus proprietate, hore de Sancta Maria, institutio capituli, expositio super quasdam preces, *in uno volumine.* —

Item, Orationarium quod sic incipit, Domine Jesu Christe qui in hoc mundum, *in uno volumine.* —

Sententie que incipiunt, Ne velis tibi, et Prudentius, *in uno volumine.* —

Quedam hominum et verborum expositio et epistolas Pauli, et versus de Christo, et de Sacramentis fidei quorundam patrum sermones, *in uno volumine.* —

Enchiridion, et versus cujusdem de morte Roberti Bloet, episcopi Lincolniensis, et difficiliores partes veteris ac novi testamenti, *in uno volumine.* —

Quedam commenta philosophie, quedam sententie Pauli et Ysaie, glosate, flores quorundam evangeliorum, aurea gemma, epistola Carnotensis episcopi mirifice utilitatis, liber Sancti Patricii, collatio Trinitatis, Sanctus Augustinus a se ipse ad se ipsum, excerptiones Pannormie Yvonis, soliloquium Mauricii, quorundum verborum interpretationes, *in uno volumine.* —

Psalterium cum dimidio versibus, et quedam orationes per rithmum, *in uno volumine.* —

Libellus qui appellatur Ymago mundi, et alie sentencie, *in uno volumine.* —

Liber medicinalis qui fuit Hugonis de Beverlaio, *in uno volumine.* —

Rievaux Abbey, it will be seen, possessed a collection which was both valuable and varied. The catalogue bears upon its face evidences of labour and carefulness, and with it these cursory illustrations of the economy of the old Monastic Libraries may not unfitly conclude.

CHAPTER VII.

DECLINE OF LEARNING IN THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES.

It was a chosen plot of fertile land,
Amongst wide waves set, like a little nest,
As if it had by nature's cunning hand,
Been choicely picked out from all the rest,
And laid forth for ensample of the best:
No dainty flower or herb that grows on ground,
No arboret with painted blossoms drest,
And smelling sweet, but there it might be found
To bud out fair, and her sweet smell throw all around.
No tree whose branches did not bravely spring;
No branch whereon a fine bird did not sit;
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing.
No song but did contain a lovely dit.
Trees, branches, birds, and songs, were framed fit
For to allure frail mind to careless ease.
Careless the man soon woxe, and his weak wit
Was overcome of thing that did him please:
So pleased, did his (earnest) purpose fair appease.

SPENSER, *The Faerie Queene*, Book ii. Canto 6.

No wonder though the people grew profane,
When Churchman's lives gave laymen leave to fall;
And did their former humbleness disdain,
The shirt of hair turned coat of costly pall;
The holy Ephod made a cloak for gain;
What done with cunning was canonicall;
And blind promotion shunn'd that dang'rous rode
Which the old Prophets diligently trode.

DRAYTON, *The Baron's Wars*, Canto iv, 53.

BOOK II. Chapter VII. Decline of learning in the English Monasteries.

IT is not only in the more obvious sense of the enervating tendencies of too much prosperity and too uncontrolled power, that the decline of English monachism is bound up with its marvellous growth. When monasteries were rapidly founded, widely extended, and

lavishly endowed, they could only be filled by lowering the standard (so to say) of admissible qualification. The temptations became more and more powerful; the training which alone (humanly speaking) made it possible that they might be successfully resisted, became less and less careful. In the vigorous words of Bishop Aungerville (addressed to the Friars of his day, but, in one sense or other, far more widely applicable,) it was said: "You draw boys into your religion with hooks of apples, as the people commonly report, whom having professed, you do not instruct in doctrines by compulsion and fear as their age requires, but maintain them to go upon beggarly excursions, and suffer them to consume the time in which they might learn, in catching at the favours of their friends, to the offence of their parents, the danger of the boys, and the detriment of the Order. And thus, without doubt, it happens that unwilling boys, in no way compelled to learn, when grown up presume to teach, being altogether worthless and ignorant. A small error in the beginning becomes a very great one in the end; for thus also a certain and generally burthensome multitude of laymen grows up in your promiscuous flock, who, however, thrust themselves into the office of preaching, the more impudently, the less they understand what they talk about, in contempt of the word of the Lord and to the ruin of souls. Verily you plough with the ox and the ass, contrary to the law, when you commit the culture of the Lord's field to the learned and unlearned without distinction."[1] The good Bishop, in another portion of his treatise,

[1] *Philobiblon* (Inglis' translation, pp. 40, 41).

BOOK II. Chapter VII. Decline of learning in the English Monasteries.

says, in similar strain, "There used to be an anxious and reverential devotion in the culture of books, . . . and the clergy delighted in communing with them as their whole wealth; for many wrote them out with their own hands in the intervals of the canonical hours, and gave up the time appointed for bodily rest to the fabrication of volumes; those sacred treasuries of whose labours, filled with cherubic letters, are at this day resplendent in most monasteries, to give the knowledge of salvation to students, and a delectable light to the paths of the laity . . . . . But now (we say it with sorrow), base Thersites handles the arms of Achilles; the choicest trappings are thrown away upon lazy asses; blinking night-birds lord it in the nests of eagles, and the silly kite sits on the perch of the hawk. Liber Bacchus is respected, and passes daily and nightly into the belly; Liber Codex is rejected . . . . out of reach . . . . . Flocks and fleeces, crops and barns, gardens and olive-yards, drink and cups, are now the lessons and studies of monks; except of some chosen few, in whom not the image but a slight vestige of their forefathers remains.[1] These earnest reproofs were written in 1344; little more than a century after the awakening trumpet-notes of Francis of Assisi had been sounded in the ears of all men and especially of monks, with results so memorable.

Alternation of Corruption and Reform, the salient feature of Monastic History.

In truth, the whole history of monachism—like the history of so much else in which there is a large admixture of the human with the divine—is a perpetual see-saw of fall and recovery; of corruption and reform. In its early days, the cloister was often the sole refuge of

[1] *Philobiblon*, c. v; *ut supra*, pp. 33, 34.

thoughtful and godly men from the tyranny of power, unrestrained by law, and of crime, unchecked by fear. For a time, almost every man who was neither monk nor serf, was a wild beast, differing from other wild beasts less by being twolegged, than by possessing greater cunning and a fiercer cruelty. In that solitude, the worship of God led men to ponder on the providence of God, and on the mysteries of the world within, as well as on the horrors of the world without. The earnest prayer, 'Lord what will thou have *me* to do?' led of necessity not alone to penitence but to aspiration. The god-fearing man learnt that when he had been enabled to bring himself under subjection to the divine law, he had but passed the threshold of his duty. He became conscious of faculties and powers, by the devout culture and exercise of which he might become the instrument of extending that subjection far and wide. In process of time, monks of this stamp fitted themselves for governing, and by the working of that great providential law which, sooner or later, infallibly places the tools in the hand that has the skill to use them, the monk took his place in the council chamber,—at the seat of justice,—even at the head of armies,—he did his work there, and did it well.

But the hard tasks brought splendid rewards. Gradually, the self-denial of the training gave way to the self-indulgence of the triumph. Monkish austerity was replaced by courtly luxury; Christian humility by worldly pride. The man who had learnt the art of governing kingdoms, had lost the grace by which he had been enabled to govern himself. And meanwhile not a few

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of the crimes and vices which monks of one generation had fought against in the world, the monks of another generation had sheltered and fostered in the cloister. At length that devotion to study, that elaborate cultivation of the powers and faculties of the inner man, which had once made the wearers of cowls more than equal to the wearers of crowns, came to be matters of greater regard beyond the walls of monasteries than within them. As Erasmus expressed it,—on the eve of the Reformation,—"Heretofore the heart of learning was amongst such as professed religion; now while they, for the most part, give themselves up, *ventri luxui pecuniæque*, the love of learning is gone from them to secular princes, the court, and the nobility."

Erasmus on the decline of Monastic learning.

The famous controversy of John Reuchlin with the Dominicans of Cologne, affords a striking illustration of this statement. Reuchlin, like so many others who were eminent in the revival of learning, owed much of his education to monks. Of the masters whose instructions he has most frequently and gratefully recorded, one was a Carthusian, another a Mathurin. With the Dominicans of Germany he had an official connection (as their proctor,) during the greater part of his life. Even at his death he bequeathed his Library to a monastery. But some of the best years of this layman's life were spent in the effort to prevent monks from burning books because they were in Hebrew. The monks of Cologne were afraid that the currency of Jewish literature would obstruct the free course of Christianity, and by way of warding off this evil they proposed to deprive the Jews of all their books, except the Bible, and to commit

Controversy between Reuchlin and the Dominicans of Cologne on the books of the Jews.

them to the flames. This proposition came from one of those Mendicant Orders which a century before had won renown for their zeal in collecting Hebrew books for their own Libraries.

It is, however, but bare justice to the Dominicans to remember that whatever their ultimate folly in the conduct of this absurd controversy, they were led into it at first by a pardonable eagerness to proselytize Jews into Christians, and by putting too much confidence in a very bad specimen of such a proselyte, whom they had the misfortune to make at the outset. It were much to be wished that similar mistakes had never been made since, without the compensation of any such addition to the stores of satirical literature as was afforded by the immortal *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum.*

Two other facts must in fairness be borne in mind:—The one, that the edict of August 1509, for the burning of Jewish books, on which the whole matter primarily hinged, was an imperial, not an ecclesiastical edict. The other, that in the bosom of the Dominican Order itself, only fifteen years before the outbreak of this controversy, a new congregation had been formed, at the instance of Savonarola, in the statutes of which express provision was made for the cultivation of the Hebrew and Chaldaic tongues. But in order to this Dominican reform the zealous Florentine had to obtain the sanction of an Alexander VI. Obtain it he did, but it launched him upon a path very different from the Roman path, and led him eventually to the martyr's stake. And in this fact we have an indication of one of the sources of no small part of the grosser corruption of

Savonarola's proposed Chair of Hebrew and Chaldee.

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the monastic orders. The papal supremacy instead of being the means of reformation was the great obstacle to reformation. Its visitatorial powers instead of being used for the encouragement of good, and the repression of bad monks, were made the instruments of extortion and of crime of all kinds.

Even in better times, the remoteness of the superintending authority from many of the bodies over which it was to be exercised, became a very fruitful source of mischief. In England this was especially the case, on account of the number of alien priories whose immediate government, as well as ultimate visitation, lay in foreign hands. All the Clugniac houses, for example, were entirely under foreign jurisdiction, and not withstanding many attempts at partial reform, remained so until 1457. The Præmonstratensian houses, again, remained still longer under the rule of the Abbot of Premontré.[1] The English Parliament had, indeed, as early as 1307, restrained the monks from carrying money out of the kingdom (by what the Act[2] describes as *diversa tallagia census et impositiones insolitas graves et importabiles*), but the evil, as to jurisdiction and visitation, remained without remedy until 1512; or almost until evil and remedy were to be swept away together, in that sharp and supreme "visitation" which we have now to glance at.

Remoteness from the Monasteries of the Visitorial power.

Statutum de Asportatis religiosorum. 35 Edw. I.

[1] Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (by Nasmyth), pref. ix.

[2] *Statutes at large* (Tomline's edit.), i. 175.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES, AND DISPERSION OF THEIR LIBRARIES.

Lytel had lordes a do, to give lond fro here aires
To Religious that han no reuthe, thauh hyt ryne in here auters
In places wher thei p'sons be, by themselfe at ese.
Of the pȣre han they no pyte, that his here poure Charite
Ye leten yow alle as lordes, youre lond lyth so brode
Ac yut shal come a kyng, and confesse yow alle
And bete yow, as the Byble telleth, for brekyng of yonre reule,
And amend yow Monkes, Moniales, and Chanons,
And putte you to youre penaunce, *ad pristinum statum ire.*[1]

LANGLAND, *Visio Will' de Piers Plouhman*, (A.D. 1362.)
Passus vi. (Whitaker's edit. of 1813, p. 84.)

He was, to wit, a stout and sturdy thief,
Wont to rob churches of their ornaments,
And poor men's boxes of their due relief
Which given was to them for good intents.
The holy saints of their rich vestiments
He did disrobe, when all men careless slept;
And spoil'd the priests of their habiliments.

. . . . . .

Most wretched wight, whom nothing might suffice,
Whose greedy lust did lack in greatest store;
Whose need had end, but no end covetise;
Whose wealth was want, whose plenty made him poor,
Who had enough, yet wished ever more. —

SPENSER, *The Faerie Queen*, Book i. Cant. 3, 4.

THE first Act for the dissolution of the monasteries is entitled, *An Act that all Religious Houses under the yearly*

[1] There are but very few words in this passage which to any reader will create difficulty, but for the sake of that word or two the following paraphrase may be added:

Little had Lords to do, to give land from their heirs
To monks that have no ruth, though it rain upon altars
In places where they parsons be, by themselves at ease—
Of the poor they have no pity; that is their poor Charity.
You all live like Lords, your land lieth so broad.
But yet shall come a king, and confess you all,
And beat you, as the Bible telleth, for breaking of your Rule, etc.

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revenue of £200 shall be dissolved and given to the King and his heirs. Its preamble runs thus: "For as much as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed commonly *in such little and small Abbeys, Priories, and other Religious Houses of Monks, Canons, and Nuns,* where the congregation of such religious persons is under *the number of twelve persons* .... to the high displeasure of Almighty God, ... so that without such small houses be utterly suppressed, *and the religious persons therein be committed to great and honourable Monasteries* of Religion in this Realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously, ... there shall else be no redress or reformation in that behalf"; and then, after the further statement, that there are *divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein (thanks be to God,) Religion is right well kept and observed*"; proceeds to give the King all such religious houses as have not in lands or other hereditaments "above the clear yearly value of £200, and to enact "that also his Highness shall have to him and to his heirs all and singular such monasteries ... which at any time within one year next before the making of this Act hath been given and granted to his Majesty by any Abbot, Prior, Abbess, or Prioress, under their convent seals." It also provides that all persons shall enjoy such abbey lands or interests therein as the King may have granted them.[1]

Terms of the Statute of the first Dissolution, 1535.

The second Act of dissolution is entitled: "*An Act for the dissolution of all Monasteries and Abbeys,*" and it commences thus: "Whereas divers and sundry Abbots,

Second dissolution of Monasteries, 1539.

[1] *Statutes at large* (Raithby's edit.), 27°. Hen. VIII, c. 28; ii. 134.
[2] Ibid. 31°. Hen. VIII, c. 13; ii. 145-149.

Priors, Abbesses, Prioresses, and other ecclasiastical governours and governesses of divers Monasteries, Abbies, Priories, Nunneries, Colleges, Hospitals, Houses of Friars, and other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places within .... England and Wales, of their own free and voluntary minds, good wills and assents, without constraint, coaction, or compulsion of any manner of person or persons .... have severally given, granted and ... confirmed all their said monasteries, abbies, ... manors, lordships, ... rights and franchises .... to our said Sovereign Lord, ... Be it therefore enacted," &c. There is here not a word of the "vicious, carnal and abominable living" alleged (and doubtless, to a great extent, truly alleged) against the smaller houses; nor of that "right well keeping and observing of religion" in "the great and solemn monasteries of the realm" for which (unquestionably with not less of truth and reason,) homage is rendered to the Almighty, in the Act passed four years earlier.

That the language of neither Statute can be adduced as, of itself, proving anything whatever, is but too obvious. The latter of them asserts in direct and unmistakeable terms a falsehood which must have been known to be such by every official person, and by every member of Parliament who had taken part either in directing or in carrying out the Visitation of the Monasteries, or who had even resided in the near neighbourhood of any of those religious houses which are alleged to have been yielded to the King, by "*the free and voluntary minds, good wills, and assents*" of their respective superiors. The former statute enacts in one

section that all "fraudulent assurances" made by the superiors of Religious Houses within one year next preceding the passing of the Act shall be void; and, in another section, that all monasteries or monastic possessions given to His Majesty by any Abbot or Prior, within the same period, shall be confirmed ... "to the glory of Almighty God," &c. Plainer justification of that pregnant "*Sic volo*" which Sir William Dugdale placed on the frontispiece of the *Monasticon* could scarcely be imagined than is offered by the mere juxtaposition of these two enacting clauses of one and the same Act of Parliament.

In this nineteenth century of our's it ought to be quite superfluous to premise that a condemnation of the base means employed for the dissolution of the monasteries, and of the fraudulent appropriation of their possessions, after the dissolution, is perfectly consistent with honest reprobation of the gross abuses which prevailed in very many of them, and with clear conviction that the necessity for their suppression was close at hand. For their conversion (in great measure) to purposes of private aggrandizement no necessity could ever have arisen. There is, however, evidence enough that plain as is the distinction here indicated, it is oftener overlooked than borne in mind.

Necessity of suppression a quite different question from that of secularization.

That the famous "Black Book of the Monasteries" should have perished, as it seems to have done, is as much to be regretted by those who believe that, along with many lamentable truths, it must have contained a large admixture of corrupt falsehoods, as by those who are boldly confident that even the multifarious corre-

spondence of the very miscellaneous agents, both high and low, who were employed in the work, "contain *nothing* which is untrue," and that "the worst crimes laid to the charge of the monks are but too fully verified by the long chain of historical evidence reaching without interruption from the twelfth century to the sixteenth."[1]

But, although the report of these Commissioners has disappeared, the instructions to them are still extant, and are worthy of attention. They will, at least, be illustrative of the spirit in which the task was undertaken, and on points respecting which they say nothing, their silence may sometimes be more eloquent than words.

Nature of the Instruction to the Royal Commissioners.

These instructions were drawn up in the form of questions—eighty-six in number—which may be grouped under three main heads:—(1) *Foundation, possessions, revenues, and number of monks in each community.* (2) *Employment of the revenues, and condition of the monastic benefices and buildings.* (3) *Observance of Rule and discipline, and celebration of Divine Worship*[2] Not in one of the eighty-six questions will be found the slightest indication of interest in the inquiry, whether or not learning was in any way cultivated in the monasteries. Careful research is directed towards the state of "the bedding," and the number of the "utensils" (Quest. 50) but not the smallest curiosity is displayed respecting the number of the

[1] Wright, *Three Chapters of Letters relating to the suppression of Monasteries. Edited from the Originals in the British Museum* (Camd. Soc. 1843), pref.

[2] *Articuli regiæ inquisitionis, in monasticam vitam agentes, exponendi,* etc. Cott. MS. *Cleop. E.* 4, f. 13. Printed in Burnet's *Collection of Records,* etc. i. 207-217.

books, or the literateness or illiterateness of the fraternity; questions which were not, indeed, in and for themselves, of chief importance, but which were closely bound up with that most vital question of all,—in what spirit and with what aims the work of Anglican reformation was to be achieved. Dread of the stigma of "sacrilege" might have become the bulwark of superstition, but the instincts which made the struggle with superstition a lucrative one were not therefore the less ignoble.

Nor is there any allusion to the literary aspect of the monastic system even in those "*General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highness' behalf, in all Monasteries and other houses of whatsoever order or religion they be*," which are animated with lofty conceptions of the substance of true religion,[1] expressed in language which sometimes rises into grandeur. Had the spirit of those lofty precepts been the ruling principle of the visitors and of their masters, the Reformation would have been none the less triumphant, and the Marian reaction—or, at all events, the worst excesses of it—would have been impossible. As it was, the errors of the Reformers, and of those who wore their garb, became the germ of the persecution, in which so many of them perished.

Another point, then, which must not be altogether overlooked, is the personal character of those to whom

[1] *E. G.* .... "True religion is not contained in apparel, manner of going, shaven heads, and such other marks; nor in fasting, up-rising in the night; singing, and such other kind of ceremonies; but in cleanness of mind, pureness of living, Christ's faith not feigned, and brotherly charity, and true honouring of God in spirit and verity. And those abovesaid things were instituted and begun that they, being first exercised in these, might in process of time ascend to those as by certain steps, ... to the chief point and end of religion." Ibid. f. 21; Burnet, p. 221.

this weighty task of visitation was entrusted. I can, however, but glance at it. Dr. John London, who must here serve as a sample, was one of the busiest and most vehement of them all. Archbishop Parker describes him as "a filthy Prebendary." Strype has collected evidence respecting him, which appears to be conclusive as to his complete possession of all the qualities that make up an unscrupulous agent. He was, at one time, as fierce a persecutor of the Reformers, as, at another, of the monks. He had been already the malicious assailant of Frith. He was afterwards the tool of Gardiner; and attempted to be the murderer, by false accusation, of Cranmer. At Oxford he was detected in gross immoralities; at Windsor he suffered the punishment of a convicted perjurer. Some of his crimes were long antecedent to his employment as a "Visitor" of the Monasteries.[1] Nor was Thomas Cromwell a man likely to be ignorant of the character and capabilities of one to whom he gave no small share of his confidence. Even the correspondence between them tells to a careful reader its own tale, although it repeatedly reserves for personal disclosure "certen other thinges ... necessary about my besynes," which could not be trusted to paper.

Personal Character of the Commissioners employed.

As respects Cromwell himself, we have in the correspondence preserved among the Cotton MSS. (Cleop. E. iv.) and elsewhere, proofs of the direct offer and the actual payment of bribes on many occasions during these proceedings. In one instance Sir Thomas Audley writes to him:..."If ye can or may opteyn this sute for the traunslation of these two howses (Seynt Johns in Colchester

[1] Comp. *Life of Cranmer*, pp. 109-117 (edit. of 1691).

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and Seynt Osyes) your lordship shal have for your favour therin £200, besechyng you to travayle therin, and to advertise me, as sone as yé shal se tyme, of the towardness or untowardnes therof."[1] Again, John Beaumont writes to him "I have caused xx$^{li.}$ to be delyvered unto my ffelowe Thomas Avery, to the use of your good lordeschype, humbly besyching your lordshyppe's ffavour and goodnes that as shall stand with the Kyngs plesure, I may other purchase or have in fferm the demenez of Grace dewe Abbey" &c.[2] It would be easy to multiply proofs of equal cogency with these, if more were needed.

The Commissioners' method of procedure.

The mode of procedure was in perfect keeping with the false pretexts, the vile agents, and the scarcely veiled bribes which characterized this "Visitation." Secret examination of tenants, servants, and neighbours "one by one"; the seizure of accounts, monies, plate, and jewels, whilst the inquiry was yet pending, and very often before it had been begun; and the systematic temptation of abbots, priors, and individual monks, by appeals to the basest appetites and most cowardly instincts of fallen humanity, are means which were so habitually used, that in much of the correspondence there is scarcely an attempt even to varnish them over.

The appropriation of the spoil was often as reckless and profligate as the methods of acquiring it had been

[1] *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, i. 581-582 (edit. of 1822).

[2] *Letters relating to the suppression of Monasteries*, cxxii. p. 247.

[3] *Ibid.* cxxv. p. 252.

unscrupulous. The examples set by the "visitors" and commissioners were of course followed; (they could not be improved upon), to the best of their ability, by the rabble of the neighbouring towns. Glance, for instance, at the proceedings at Reading as narrated by Dr. London himself:—"As soon as I hadde taken the Fryer's surrendre, the multytude of the poverty of the town resortyd thedyr, and all thinge that mygt be hadde they stole away, in so myche that they had convayd the very clapers of the bellys."[1] On some occasions the royal commissioners took the precaution to have a strong body of workmen at hand, and carried on the work of devastation so rapidly and effectually as to leave little behind them save brick and stone. The metal and the timber they sold as they went on.

Misappropriation of the spoil.

By the dissolution of the smaller monasteries alone, a clear revenue, according to Fuller, "of thirty thousand pounds, per annum, was advanced to the Crown, beside ten thousand pounds in plate and moveables; though the King enjoyed it but a short time, as passing it away by grant, sale, and exchange to his subjects. This was done by the politic counsel of Lord Cromwell, not hoping that these small morsels to so many mouths should satisfy their hunger, but only intending to give them a taste of the sweetness of abbey-lands;"

[1] London to Cromwell *(Letters,* ut supra, 223). He supports the application of the town people to have the Church of the Grey Friars for a Town Hall, by adding: "The wallys besyd the coyne stonys be butt chalk and flynt, and the coveryng butt tile. And if it please the Kinges grace to bestow that howse upon any of hys servantes, he *(i. e.* any such servant) *may spare the body of the Churche,* wiche standith next the strete very well, and yet have rowme sufficient for a great man."

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and, afterwards, in speaking of the second and greater dissolution, he adds, "Indeed, King Henry, beside his own disposition to munificence, was doubly concerned to be bountiful herein. First, in honour; for, seeing the Parliament with one breath had blown so much profit unto him .... it was fitting that some, especially the principal advancers of the business, should, with Ruth, 'glean amongst the sheaves.' Secondly, in policy; to make many and great men sensible of the profit of this dissolution, and so, engaged to defend it. Wherefore as he took the greater flowers to garnish his own crown; so he bestowed the lesser buds to beautify his noblemen's coronets. But, beside these, he passed abbey-lands, in a fourfold nature, to persons of meaner quality."[1]

Reckless squandering of the Abbey Lands, etc.

This fourfold disposal of the monastic lands and revenues, Fuller proceeds to explain as being (1) by free gift; (2) by play or gambling; (3) by exchange; (4) by sale "at such bargains, wherein rich meadow was sold for barren heath; great oaks for fuel; and farms for revenue, passed for cottages in reputation." Of all these methods he cites particular examples; amongst others, that of a Champernoun of Devonshire, who, being at court, and observing several of his acquaintance waiting at a door by which the King was shortly to pass, and having tried in vain to induce them to tell him their errand, waited with them, kneeling when they knelt, and returning thanks for the grant of an unknown petition, which had previously been placed in Henry's hands, (being assured, says Fuller, "by an implicit faith that Courtiers would beg nothing hurtful to themselves");

[1] Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, edit. by Nicholls, ii. 211-250.

and thus gaining by dumb wit—in spite of the efforts of his unwilling companions to shake off his claim—the Priory of St. Germans in Cornwall "for his partage," which by him or his heirs, was sold to the Eliots. Thus, moralizes our historian, "a dumb beggar met with a blind giver, the one as little knowing what he asked, as the other what he granted." As to the manner in which the "sales" were effected there is extant, "*An information made to Queen Elizabeth of the severall abuses and fraudes done unto the State generall and Crowne by the corruption of such as have bine imployed by Her Father uphon the suppression of the Abbeyes*," *&c.*[1] to which the reader who desires to pursue the subject, may be referred.

Dispersion and waste of the Monastic Libraries.

Under such auspices, it can scarcely be matter of surprise that the monastic libraries were wantonly plundered and dispersed. To whatever extent these collections may have suffered dilapidation and loss when they had the misfortune to belong to unfaithful and ignorant communities, there is entire concurrence of testimony as to their great aggregate value even at the time of the dissolution. Ardent Reformers agree with sturdy Romanists in lamenting the gross neglect which suffered them, for the most part, to perish.

John Bale, for example,—a man of whom it has been truly said that he was 'sufficiently averse from the least shadow of popery,'—addressing himself to King Edward VI, in 1549, writes thus: "But this is highly to be lamented of all them that hath a natural love to their country, either yet to learned antiquity, which is

[1] Printed in Weever, *Ancients Funerall Monuments*, 124-127.

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a most singular beauty to the same, that in turning over of the superstitious monasteries so little respect was had to their Libraries, for the safeguard of those noble and precious monuments .... Avarice was the other dispatcher which hath made an end both of our Libraries and books .... to the no small decay of the commonwealth. A great number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those Library-books, some ... to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small number but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of the foreign nations. Yea, the universities of this realm are not all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is that belly which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural country. I know a merchantman which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble Libraries for forty shillings' price: a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied in the stead of grey paper by the space of more than these ten years; and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred of all men which love their nation as they should do..... Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame and rebuke than to have it noised abroad that we are despisers of learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness,—that neither the Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments as we have

Bale's testimony to the devastation of the Libraries.

seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities, unless they be stayed in time."[1] ....

Fuller quotes a portion of this lamentation of the reforming Bishop, and illustrates in his quaint way some of the methods by which this destruction was wrought. "As brokers in Long Lane," he says, "when they buy an old suit buy the linings together with the outside; so it was conceived meet that such as purchased the buildings of monasteries should in the same grant have the Libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a ledger-book or terrier by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged unto them, they cared not to preserve any other monuments. The covers of books, with curious brass bosses and clasps, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetousness. And so, many excellent authors, stripped out of their cases, were left naked to be buried or thrown away. ..... What soul can be so frozen, as not to melt into anger hereat? What heart, having the least spark of ingenuity, is not hot at this indignity offered to literature? I deny not but that in this heap of books there was much rubbish; legions of lying legends, good for nothing but fuel; .... volumes full fraught with superstition, which, notwithstanding, might be useful to learned men; except any will deny apothecaries the

Fuller's testimony on the same subject.

[1] Preface of J. Bale (afterwards Bishop of Ossory) to *The laboryouse Journey and serche of Johan Leylande for Englandes antiquitees geven of hym as a newe yeares gyfte to kynge Henry the viii.*

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privilege of keeping poison in their shops, when they can make antidotes of them. But, beside these, what beautiful Bibles, rare Fathers, subtile Schoolmen, useful Historians—ancient, middle, modern; what painful Comments were here amongst them! What monuments of mathematics all massacred together; seeing every book with a cross was condemned for Popish; with circles for conjuring. Yea, I may say that then holy divinity was profaned, Physic hurt, and a trespass, yea a riot, committed on Law itself. And, more particularly, the History of former times then and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day, and, without hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave."[1]

Mission of John Leland.

That the losses thus deplored would have been more extensive still, but for the famous mission of John Leland, is very certain. To what extent he was able to rescue the fruits of monkish industry from utter destruction can never, indeed, be accurately known. Forgetting that it is not given to man to know what a day may bring forth, he seems to have deferred the safe-placing of his acquisitions, or of the greater part of them, until a 'to-morrow' which he was never to see. And, as if pursued by a fatality, the accumulations which protracted disease prevented him from making adequate use of in his life time, were in great measure dispersed after his death. But in two at least of the great collections which laid the foundation of the British Museum, as well as in the Bodleian, many precious volumes,

Fate of Leland's Collections.

[1] *Church History of Britain*, ut supra, ii. 247-249.

saved by Leland from amidst the monastic ruins, are yet preserved, as we shall see more fully hereafter.

Although Leland's commission as "King's Antiquary" dates from 25 Henry VIII (1533–4) and is therefore anterior by two years to the first dissolution there is no satisfactory evidence that it had for its direct object the preservation of the monastic archives, or that Leland had even visited any considerable number of monasteries before their suppression. In that "*New Year's Gift to K. Henry* VIII" which was written in 1546, and has been already referred to, he speaks of his travels as having been made "by the space of these six years past," so that, if we are to understand that expression literally, they could scarcely have commenced before 1539 or 1540. The notices of Libraries scattered through the *Collectanea* shew in almost every instance that they were written subsequently to the suppression; and even in the case of the great and not very remote monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, it is evident, from the recommendatory letter printed by Hearne, that his visit occurred after the community had ceased to exist. There is, therefore, but slender ground for ascribing to the King, on the strength of his commission to Leland, any very praiseworthy solicitude for the interests of learning. Nor, indeed, is there a scintilla of evidence which would justify the belief that Henry was inclined to make any sacrifice, or to impose on himself any restraint, for such a purpose. If he could have won laudation as a preserver of learning with the same ease wherewith he obtained fame as an author; namely, by affixing to the Libraries which other men had saved, 'The King's Deed,'

as he had already affixed to writings which other men had composed, 'The King's Book,' no doubt it would have given him gratification. But timely and effective interference of this kind was incompatible with the lavish generosity of a "blind giver," and would also have plainly implied the falsehood of some of the accusations by means of which the monks were dragged down. The genial impulsiveness and the good fellowship of Henry made him popular,[1] as such qualities always will do; nor is their possession by an unscrupulous voluptuary a thing to marvel at. There were other men of the same sort in high places at that time and there have been plenty of them since. But those qualities will serve little towards the white-washing of his character in our histories, even if backed by the commendations of the statute book, and artistically grouped by the eminent abilities of so sterling a writer as Mr. Froude.

The havoc which the flatterers of Henry VIII had so zealously begun, the crafty politicians who pulled the strings of that royal puppet by whom he was succeeded, very fitly carried on. On the 25th February, 1550, a King's letter was sent from the Council Board authorizing certain commissioners "to cull out all superstitious books, as missals, legends, and such like, and to deliver the garniture of the books, being either gold or silver, to Sir Anthony Aucher."[2] This was to be done at the King's own Library in Westminster, whither some frag-

[1] "*King Harry loved a Man*" was much in the people's mouths after he had long been food for worms. Of his "bonhomie" there are curious illustrations in the letters of Erasmus.

[2] Council Book, as quoted by Collier, *ubi infra*.

ments of the monastic Libraries had been carried by Leland. In the same year the Oxford Libraries were "purged of a great part of the Fathers and Schoolmen; and to shew that the discretion of some people was much of the same size with their justice, and what an antipathy they had to the memory of learned men, great heaps of these books were set on fire in the market place. This execution, . . . some young members, bigoted to ignorance, called 'Scotus's funeral.'[1]

Thus fell the famous old English monasteries; leaving, in the eyes and thoughts of many of us, nothing behind them save dull chronicles, tottering ruins, and vague memories. By more patient inquirers, however, it will always be borne in mind, that amidst those ruins good and great men fought a gallant and life-long fight against their worst enemies and ours; that true Captains of Men lived and died there, who after many a hard struggle won enduring victories against brutish violence, emasculating ignorance, and decorous mammon-worship.

There yet remain in England a few of those noble abbey-towers whence the passer-by may still hear sweet chimes and solemn dirges, and may call to memory that on the selfsame spot bells tolled to prayer a thousand years ago. Under the shade of those towers, schools were formed, industry was taught by example, the holy rites and happy festivals of the Christian Church were celebrated,—not, indeed, without much of human frailty

[1] Wood, *Hist. et Antiq. Universitatis Oxoniæ*, i. 271, 272. Collier, *Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain*, v. 417, 418.

and human folly, but yet with that blessing from above, which can turn even the foolishness of men to the glory of God. From the battlements of those towers peaceful monks gazed on many a bloody fight, in which kings were dethroned and dynasties were changed; but from the adjacent church the same voice of petition and of praise rose at the same hours of day and night, century after century. Nor will the reflection be an useless one, which on such a spot may well cross the mind, almost with the force of a revelation, that even for us nineteenth-century men, what was there quietly thought, and unassumingly but earnestly done, by obscure and much contemned priests, is of more momentous concern, and has far more to do with everything that makes it life to live, than all the great inventions,—the steam engines, and weaving-looms, and reaping machines, and great gold discoveries,—which have ever been applauded by the shouts of assembled thousands.

CHAPTER IX.

ROYAL, NOBLE, AND PLEBEIAN COLLECTORS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

Diu est quod, et parentum cura, et meapte diligentia, libris insuevi. Hæc me voluptas jam inde a puritiæ cepit; hæc illecebra mecum parilibus adolevit annis: nam et ita a patre institutus eram, ut, si ad diversa declinarem studia, esset animæ dispendium et famæ periculum. Quocirca memor sententiæ 'Cupias quodcunque necesse est,' extorsi juventuti meæ ut libenter vellem quod non velle honeste non possem. Et multis quidem literis impendi operam, sed aliis aliam. Logicam enim, quæ armat eloquium, solo libavi auditu: physicam, quæ medetur valitudini corporum, aliquanto pressius concepi: jam vero ethicæ partes medullitus rimatus, illius majestati assurgo, quod per se studentibus pateat, et animos ad bene vivendum componat: historiam præcipue, quæ, jocunda quadam gestorum notitia, mores condiens ad bona sequenda, vel mala cavenda, legentes exemplis irritat. ....

WILL. MALMESBURIENSIS, *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Prologus in librum ii).

FOR several centuries a few bequests of books in wills, a few brief entries of them in inventories, and some scanty allusions in monkish Chronicles, comprise all, or very nearly all, the trustworthy sources of information respecting the Libraries of individual collectors. Until we reach almost the close of the mediæval period, anything that deserves to be called the catalogue of a private Library is rare indeed. Some such lists, however, have survived, together with fragments and traditions of many more.

In the Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris we have a curious account of a fifth-century collector in the person

of Tonantius Ferreolus, (in whom some hypothetical historians have claimed to discover the stem of the second race of French Kings), who formed a Library in his castle of Prusiana, between Nismes and Clermont. Sidonius goes the length of comparing it to "the most famous of the public museums of Rome or of Alexandria." It was divided, he says, into three departments, the first of which was expressly intended for the use of the ladies of the family, to meet whose devout tastes the books were chiefly works of piety, so conveniently arranged that, although these ladies had at command as many as they could wish for, all were within reach as they sat in their chairs. The second class was especially intended for the men; comprised works of literature rather than of devotion, and such (adds the sainted poet, very ungallantly[1]) as were altogether of a higher range. But, as if in compensation for this depreciatory allusion to the literary tastes of the fair sex, we find him proceed to describe a third department, destined for the common use of both sexes, in which occur the works of such authors as Augustine, and Origen, as well as those of Varro, Prudentius, and Horace. We learn, finally, that the books thus collected were not for show, but for use; that it was the habitual practice to spend a part of every morning in reading, and to discuss the books so read at dinner; statements which, if we are to put implicit faith in them, would tend to shew that the table-talk of a country-house in the fifth cen-

[1] So, at least, he is quoted by the literary historians of France from whom I borrow these passages of Sidonius *(Histoire littéraire de la France*, ii. 41), with whom I have otherwise no acquaintance.

tury might perhaps not greatly suffer, if it were brought into comparison with that of many country-houses (and town-houses too,) in the nineteenth; of which it certainly cannot be said, that the gaiety is "always mingled with learning."

Library of Consentius.

Sidonius also mentions as a notable collection of books formed at nearly the same period, that which belonged to Publius Consentius at his villa called Octaviana, not far from Narbonne. This, he says, was brought together by the successive care of father, son, and grandson, all of whom were eminent for their cultivation of letters. The collection he describes as being both choice and numerous.[1] But in reading his accounts of these early Libraries and of their possessors, the thought will suggest itself that there is one fault, at all events, of which this author can never be accused,—that of "damning with *faint* praise."

Library of Florus of Lyons.

Florus, priest of the Church of Lyons in the ninth century, is commemorated by his biographer as having been fortunate enough to form a Library containing none but "select, accurate, and well-written books," whence he equipped himself for his controversy with Scotus concerning the writings of St. Augustine.[2] But of this period no collection is recorded that is worthy to be compared with that which was brought together by Everard, Count of Friuli, who died A. D. 874. This Library was bequeathed by its owner to a monastery of which he had been the founder, and from a catalogue yet preserved, the learned authors of the *Histoire littéraire*

Library of Evo rard, Count of Friuli.

[1] *Hist. litt. de la France*, ii. 41.

[2] *Ibid.* v. 239.

de la France inform us, that in addition to the usual liturgical and devotional books—such as missals, gospels, lectionaires, antiphonaries, and the like, some of which were written in letters of gold, and most of which were adorned with ornaments of gold, silver or ivory,—it contained several books of Holy Scripture, Psalters, Commentaries on the Old and New Testament, collections of Canons, several works of the Latin Fathers, and especially of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Fulgentius, and St. Isidorus of Seville; and also a translation of St. Ephraem.[1] There were also books of ethics, of ecclesiastical history, of civil history, of geography, of medicine, and at least one treatise on the military art. Amongst the books which the French historians mention specifically are *Liber bestiarum*, the *Cosmography* of the philosopher Ethicus, the *Physiognomy* of the physician Loxus, the *Ordinal of Princes* (perhaps the same as the work elsewhere entitled *Ordinal of the Palace)*, and a work described simply as 'Smaragdus,' which they take to be the *Postilla on the Epistles and Gospels of the year.*

Library of Charles the Bald.

At precisely the same period Charles the Bald, King of France, distinguished himself as a collector. To his appreciation of beautiful manuscripts, as well as to his worthy selection of the books on which he lavished adornment, many precious copies of the Bible, and several prayer-books, of almost unequalled beauty, yet testify. His collection was sufficiently numerous—so far as that term can be applied to any Library of that age—to induce him to direct by an ordinance which he

[1] *Hist. litt. de la France*, v. 447.

promulgated on the eve of his last journey into Italy, that it should be divided into three parts: the first, for his son and successor; the second, for the Abbey of St. Denis; the third for the Abbey of Compiegne.[1]

Library of Pope Sylvester II (10th Century).

Towards the close of the tenth century, Gerbert of Rheims (afterwards Pope Sylvester II.) appears to have eclipsed all his contemporaries for zeal and wide-spread research in the amassing of books. He is said to have collected the works of Cicero, of Cæsar, of Pliny, of Suetonius, of Statius, of Eugraphius, of Manilius, of Victorinus the rhetorician, of a certain Gaulish physician called Demosthenes, of Claudianus the dialectician, and of many other authors, some of whom have long since been forgotten. His exertions to procure books extended to Spain, whence he brought treatises on arithmetic, on astrology, and on other subjects.[2]

And of Adso Abbot of Moutier-en-Der.

His friend Adso (or Asso), Abbot of Moutier-en-Der, possessed similar tastes, collected for his friends as well as for himself, and became, so to speak, the literary correspondent general of his epoch.

To a period but little later than that of these eminent

[1] The ultimate fate of portions of the library of Charles the Bald affords an illustration of the remark in the first chapter of this volume as to the strange adventures of books. One very splendid Book of Hours was in the Swiss Abbey of Frauenmunster, from the pillage of which it was saved by a German Bishop, by whose care it was printed at Ingoldstadt in 1583. The famous 'Bible of St. Denis' remained in that monastery until 1595, when it was transferred to the Royal Library. President de Thou had it magnificiently bound at the (involuntary) expense of the Jesuits, after their expulsion from the College of Clermont. A century afterwards the villain Aymon cut fifteen leaves from it with a penknife; two of these were soon recovered. But the other thirteen are among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

[2] *Hist. litt. de la France*, vi. 25, 536, etc.

BOOK II. Chapter IX. Royal, Noble and Plebeian Collectors in the Middle Ages.

churchmen, belongs a collector, of a different profession but of like spirit,—William III, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers. This Prince succeeded his father in the government of his hereditary states in 990; displayed eminent qualities both as statesman and as soldier; refused the crown of Italy (offered to him on the death of the Emperor Henry II.); and finally, following the example of his father and of so many other princes of that age, retired to a monastery, where he died in the year 1030. Of his marked taste for the collection and study of books a contemporary chronicle thus testifies:—*Fuit dux iste a pueritia doctus literis, et satis notitiam scripturarum habuit;* librorum copiam in palatio suo servavit; *et si forte a frequentia causarum et tumultu vacaret, lectioni per seipsum operam dabat longioribus noctibus elucubrans in libris, donec somno vinceretur.*[1]

Library of William III (called *The Great*), Duke of Aquitaine.

Passing over several collections of which but slight traces remain—many of them, too, very monotonous in their character—that of Richard Chandos, Bishop of Chichester, who died in 1253, deserves a word of notice. We know it only by the will in which he bequeaths the following books:—"To the Friars Minors of Chichester my *Psalter* glosed; to the Friars Minors at Lewes the *Gospels of St. Luke and St. John*; to the Friars Minors of Winchester, those of *St. Matthew and St. Mark*; to the Friars Preachers at Arundel, the *Book of Sentences*; to those of Canterbury, *Hosea*, *glosed*; to the Friars Minors of the same city, *Isaiah*, *glosed*; to the Friars Preachers

Bequests of books by Rich. Chandos, Bp. Chichester, A.D. 1253.

[1] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules*, x. 155; *Art de vérifier les dates* (edit. of 1818), iii. 137; Hallam, *Supplemental Notes*, 396.

of London, the Books of *Job*, *Acts* and *Revelation*, with the *Canonical Epistles*, in one volume; to the Friars Minors of London, the *Epistles of St. Paul, glosed*, and to those of Winchester *The twelve Apostles, glosed;* to the Friars Preachers of Winchester, *Summarium*; to William de Selsey, my Bible, with a rough cover of skin; to Fulinus, a monk, the *books of Damascene*, with some others; to William, a monk of Colchester, a small book of *St. Anselm*, &c.[1]

Library of Rd de Gravesend, Bp. of London (13th Century).

Of the Library of another prelate of the thirteenth century, Richard de Gravesend, Bishop of London, a minute catalogue exists amongst the archives of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and has recently been privately printed by Dean Milman. In this instance the price of each book is affixed to its entry; the total number of volumes being a hundred, and their aggregate value, £116 14*s*. 6*d*., equal according to Dr. Milman's estimate, to about £1760 of our present English money. Of Bibles and parts of Bibles there are twenty-one volumes, valued at nineteen pounds and five shillings. The total number of volumes of a theological sort, Bibles included, is seventy-one. On the Canon and Civil Law, there are twenty-two volumes; on Ecclesiastical History four volumes; and on what we may, perhaps, class under

[1] Nicolas, *Testamente Vetusta*, 761-762; and note xxxix. Sir Harris Nicolas, with less than his usual acumen, has appended this remark: "The bequests of portions of the Bible translated into Latin, with a paraphrase or glosa in the early part of the 13th century proves how few even of the larger monastery were provided with them." But that accomplished and estimable antiquarian and jurist would have smiled at any learned brother who had ventured to argue that the bequest of an estate to a man, "proved" that he had no land before.

'Sciences and Arts' an equal number,—the entries of which run thus:

Tractatus fr'is Derth'i de proprietatibus rerum.
Libellus instructionum.
Liber Avicennæ.
Liber naturalis.

The two last-named works are respectively the highest priced and lowest priced items in the list—for books consisting of a single volume only—the *Liber Avicennæ* being valued at five pounds, and the *Liber naturalis* at three shillings. A Bible, in thirteen volumes, is valued at ten pounds, and a "little Bible" at one pound.[1] At this time the price of wheat was four shillings a quarter, and that of oats two shillings and six pence. It may be added that the total valuation of the property of the deceased bishop, scheduled in this document, amounts to about three thousand pounds.

Bequests of the 'Lady of Clare' to Clare Hall.

In the year 1355, Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Clare, —the foundress of Clare Hall at Cambridge—bequeathed to her foundation "*deux bons antiphoners chescun ove un grayel* (Graduale) *en mesme le volum, l bone legende, l bone messale, bien note, l autre messale coverte de blank quir, l bone bible coverte de noir quir, l hugucion (? Hugh de Vorœillis on the Decretals,) l legende sanctorum, l poire de decretales, l livre des questions, et xxii quaires d'un livre appella, De causa Dei contra Pelagianos.*

From the middle of the fourteenth century may be dated the first beginning of the Imperial Library of France. Similarly to that of others of the great Libraries

[1] *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society* (Privately printed, 1856).

of modern Europe, its origin is to be sought in small mediæval collections, which belong in strictness to this section of our subject; but the narrative will have more continuity and clearness, if the tracing of the separate sources be usually deferred until we can follow out in its fulness the stream into which they have conjointly flowed. Like other rules, however, this one will have its exceptions for special cause.

Library, chiefly of Romances, bequeathed by Guy, Earl of Warwick to Bordesley Abbey (14th Century).

A more important collection of this century than any yet mentioned, was that which was formed by Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1315, bequeathing it to Bordesley Abbey in Worcestershire, where he had, as it seems, already placed it by way of deposit in his life time. The bequest recites with great particularity all the volumes of which this very curious collection was composed[1]:—

"*A tus iceux qe ceste lettre verront ou orrount. Guy de Beauchamp, Comte de Warr., Saluz en Deu. Nous avoir bayle e en lagarde le Abbé e le Covent de Bordesleye, lesse a demorer a touz jours touz les Romaunces de souz nomes; ceo est assaveyr,—*

Un volum, qe est apele Tresor.
Un volum, en le quel est le premer levere de Lancelot, e un volum del romaunce de Aygnes.
Un sauter de Romaunce.

[1] The document from which this extract is taken is amongst the Lambeth MSS.—No. 557, fol. 18 b.—and was first printed in Todd's *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, p. 161. The MS. itself is said to be a transcript by Archbishop Sancrofft from Ashmole's Register of the Earl of Aylesbury's Evidences', f. 110. Not having present access to Dr. Todd's book, I copy it from the reprint in the "*Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, by F. S. Merryweather", 193, 194. There is no allusion to this gift in the account of Bordesley in the Monasticon.

Un volum des Evangelies, e de vies des Seins.
Un volum qe p'le des quatres principals Gestes de Charles, e de dooun, e de Meyace e de Girard de Vienne et de Emery de Nerbonne.
Un volum del Romaunce Emmonde de Ageland, e deu Roy Charles dooun de Nountoyle.
E le Romounce de Gwyoun de Nountoyl.
E un volum del Romounce Josep ab Arimathie e deu Seint Grael.
E un volum, que parle coment Adam fust enieste hors de paradys, e le Genesie.
E un volum en lequel sount contenuz touns des Romaunces ceo est assaveir, Vitas patrum au comencement; e pus un Comte de Anteypt; e la vision Seint Pol; et pus les Vies des XII Seins.
E le Romaunce de Willame de Loungespe.
E Autorites des seins humes.
E le Mirour de Alma.
Un volum en le quel sount countenuz la Vie seint Pere e Seint Pol, e des autres liv.
E un volum qe est appele l' Apocalips.
E un livere de Phisik et de Surgie.
Un volum del Romaunce de Gwy e de la Reygne tut enterement.
Un volum del Romaunce de Troies.
Un volum del Romaunce de Willame de Orenges et de Tebaud de Arabie.
Un volum del Romaunce de Amase e de Idoine.
Un volum del Romaunce Girard de Vienne.
Un volum del Romaunce deu Brut, e del Roy Constentine.
Un volum del enseignemt Aristotle enveiez au Roy Alisaundre.
Un volum de la mort ly Roy Arthur, e de Mordret.
Un volum en lequel sount contenuz les Enfounces Nostre Seygneur, coment il feust mene en Egipt.
E la vie Seint Edw'd.
E la visioun Seint Pol.
La Vengeaunce n're Seygneur par Vespasien e Titus, e la Vie Seint Nicolas, qe fust nez en Patras.
E la Vie Seint Eustace.
E la Vie Seint Cudlac.
E la Passioun n're Seygneur.
E la Meditacioun Seint Bernard de N're Dame Seint Marie, e del Passioun sour deuz fiz Jesu Creist N're Seign'r.
E la Vie Seint Eufrasie.
E la Vie Seint Radegunde.
E la Vie Seint Juliane.
Un volum en lequel est aprise de Enfants et lumiere a Lays.
Un volum del Romaunce d' Alisoundre, ove peintures.
Un petit rouge livere, en lequel sount contenuz mons divers choses.

Un volum del Romaunces des Mareschans, e de Ferebrus, e de Alisaundre.

Les queus livres nous grauntons pur nos heyss e pur nos assignes qil demorront en la dit Abbeye.

But all other early collectors are outshone by Bishop Richard d'Aungerville, or Richard of Bury, whose *Philobiblon* I have already, and repeatedly, quoted, chiefly for its allusions to monastic Libraries. Its main interest for us, however, lies far less in what it tells of other collections, than in what it tells of his own; of his aims in gathering it, of the opportunities which facilitated its formation; and of the liberal sympathy with poorer students which dictated its ultimate disposition.

Library of Richard d'Aungerville, Bp. of Durham and Lord High Chancellor of England.

As the name by which he is best known indicates, Richard d'Aungerville was born at or near Bury St. Edmunds. At an early age he became an orphan, and was educated by a maternal uncle, of the noble family of Willoughby. He was sent to Oxford, and of his pursuits and enjoyments there, he has left a vivid and charming picture:—

. . . . "From an early age, led by we know not what happy accident we attached ourselves with present solicitude to the society of masters, scholars, and professors of various arts, whom perspicacity of wit and celebrity of learning had rendered most conspicuous; encouraged by whose consolatory conversation we were most deliciously nourished, sometimes with explanatory investigation of arguments, at others with recitations of treatises on the progress of physics, and of the Catholic doctors, as it were with multiplied and successive dishes

[1] *Philobiblion*, c. viii.

of learning. Such were the comrades we chose in our boyhood; such we entertained as the inmates of our chambers, such were the companions of our journies, the messmates of our board and our associates in all our fortunes." The results of these youthful studies pointed him out as a suitable tutor for Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward III, whose affection and confidence he won and retained.[1] His first reward was the treasurership of Gascony. On the accession of his pupil to the throne, he received prebendal stalls in London, Hereford and Chichester, and, in quick succession, the civil offices of Cofferer, Treasurer of the Wardrobe, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1333, he was raised to the see of Durham, and in the following year he received the Great Seal.

During his tenure of these high and varied offices, the good bishop was repeatedly sent on foreign embassies—once, at least, to Avignon; thrice to Paris; and afterwards to Antwerp and to other cities. Before the Pope he appeared with even more than usual magnificence, being attended by twenty clerks and thirty-six esquires, sumptuously attired. With Paris he had a long and intimate acquaintance, and thither, above all places in the world, he loved to return. There he found, after escaping at intervals "from the inextricable labyrinths of public business, an opening for a little while to breathe a milder atmosphere," and he almost runs riot

[1] Edward thus wrote of him to the Pope, on his accession ... Eo quod nostro assidue lateri assistendo, novimus ipsum virum in consiliis providum, conversationis et vitæ munditia decorum, literarum scientia præditum, et in agendis quibuslibet circumspectum."—Royal Missive, quoted by Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors*, § R. de Bury. i, 222.

in its delightful reminiscences. "O blessed God of Gods in Sion!" he exclaims, "what a rush of the flood of pleasure rejoiced our heart as often as we visited Paris the paradise of the world! There we longed to remain, where on account of the greatness of our love the days ever appeared to us to be few. There are delightful libraries, in cells redolent of aromatics; there, flourishing greenhouses of all sorts of volumes; there, academic meads trembling with the earthquake of Athenian Peripatetics, pacing up and down; there, the promontories of Parnassus, and the porticos of the Stoicks..... There, in very deed, with an open treasury and untied purse strings we scattered money with a light heart, and redeemed inestimable books with dirt and dust. Every buyer is apt to boast of his great bargains; but ..... we will add a most compendious way by which a great multitude of books, as well old as new, came into our hands. Never, indeed, having disdained the poverty of religious devotees, assumed for Christ, we never held them in abhorrence, but admitted them from all parts of the world into the kind embraces of our compassion; ..... to these, under all circumstances, we became a refuge; to these we never closed the bosom of our favour. Wherefore, we deserved to have ... as well their personal as their mental labours, who going about by sea and land, surveying the whole compass of the earth, and also inquiring into the general studies of the universities of the various provinces, were anxious to administer to our wants, under a most certain hope of reward ..... Besides all the opportunities already touched upon, we easily acquired the notice of the sta-

Bishop d'Aungerville's account of his methods of gathering books.

tioners and booksellers, not only within the provinces of our native soil, but of those dispersed over the kingdoms of France, Germany and Italy, by the prevailing power of money; no distance whatever impeded, no fury of the sea deterred them; nor was cash wanting for their expenses when they sent or brought us the wished for books; for they knew to a certainty that their hopes .... were secure with us. ..... Moreover, there was always about us, in our halls, no small assemblage of antiquaries, scribes, bookbinders, correctors, illuminators, and generally of all such persons as were qualified to labour advantageously in the service of books."[1]

The Bishop attacked for his devotion to books.

By dint of enthusiasm so ardent, and of means so varied, the Bishop of Durham amassed what, in that day, must have deserved to be called a noble collection of books. The keenness of his quest made him, he tells us, very obnoxious to contemporary criticism. Some of his traducers accused him of idle curiosity; some of ostentatious vanity; for Prelates, it seems, were as attentively watched in those remote days as in these. By one class of critics, exception was taken to his bibliomania, as if it necessarily diverted him from his duties; by another class, the pleasures of literature were thought to be of dangerous affinity with the pleasures of sin. But these animadversions caused him (he says) no more discomposure than would the barking of a lap-dog, "being contented with the testimony of Him, to whom alone it belongs to search the reins and heart."[2]

Even by the greatest of his foreign contemporaries—

[1] *Philobiblion*, c. viii.
[2] Ibid. c. xviii.

Petrarch, with whom his Papal mission had made him acquainted,—he seems to have been a little misunderstood. The passage in which Petrarch mentions him, is noteworthy on several accounts, and is to this effect:—

His acquaintance with Petrarch.

"I had much conversation ... with Richard, formerly the Chancellor of the King of England, a man of ardent mind and not ignorant of letters. Having been born and educated in Britain, and from his youth unusually curious after subjects little known, he seemed to me to be peculiarly fit to elucidate questions of this sort [such, namely, as the true meaning of the term 'Isle of Thule,' and other like antiquarian speculations]. *But whether he was ashamed to confess his ignorance to me, as many now are who are not aware how much credit it does their modesty*, (since no one is bound to know all things) *to own frankly their ignorance of what they do not know;* or whether, —which I will not suspect, that he envied me the knowledge of the subject; or whether he expressed his real feelings; he answered that he would certainly satisfy me, but not until he returned to his books in his own country, of which no man had a more abundant supply. He was then, when I fell into his acquaintance, at the apostolical seat, negociating the affairs of his master. It was at that juncture when those first seeds of war were growing between his sovereign and the King of France, which have since produced such a bloody harvest, of which the sickles have not yet been laid aside, nor the barns closed. But after my promiser went away,—whether he found nothing, or became distracted by the heavy duties of his episcopal office newly imposed,—yet he never satisfied my wishes, although often urged

by my letters, otherwise than by an obstinate silence. So Thule never became more known to me for my British friendship....."[1]

But the best claim to honourable memory of the author of the *Philobiblon*, lies in the generous uses to which he put the collection he had gathered with so much pains and love. His own account of this gift, its motives and condition, is as follows:—"We have, for a long time, held a rooted purpose...to found in perpetual alms, and enrich with the necessary gifts, a certain Hall in the revered University of Oxford, the first nurse of all the liberal arts; and further to enrich the same ... with deposits of our books, so that they may be made common as to use and study, not only to the scholars of the said Hall, but through them to all the students of the aforesaid University for ever. ..... Five of the scholars dwelling in the aforesaid Hall are to be appointed by the Master, ... to whom the custody of the books is to be deputed. Of which five, three shall be competent to lend any books for inspection and use only; but for copying and transcribing we will not allow any book to pass without the walls of the house. Therefore, when any scholar, whether secular or re-

Foundation of Durham College and its Library.

[1] *Epistolæ famil.* (Ven. 1492), l. iii, 34. Obviously as the Bishop's silence about 'Thule' is explicable (on the same grounds as the reticence of Canning's Knifegrinder), Mr. Sharon Turner—from whom I borrow this extract—endorses the poet's complaint with the following very infelicitous reflection: "A statesman with a taste for literature or the arts is a confessed phenomenon. Mæcenas would lose his proverbial fame if it were not so; and Petrarch's acquaintance with the busy world ought to have diminished his surprise, if not his satire. More congenial minds, however, existed in England," etc.—*History of England during the Middle Ages*, viii, 255, Mr. Turner was acquainted with *Philobiblon*, but did not know that Richard of Bury was its author.

ligious, whom we have deemed qualified for the present favour, shall demand the loan of a book. the keepers must carefully consider whether they have a duplicate of that book; and if so, they may lend it to him, taking a security which in their opinion shall exceed in value the book delivered; and they shall immediately make a written memorandum both of the security and of the book lent. ..., But if the keepers shall find that there is no duplicate of the book demanded, they shall not lend such book to any one whomsoever, unless he be of the company of scholars of the said Hall, except .. for inspection within the walls of the foresaid Hall, but not to be carried beyond them. But to every scholar whatever of the aforesaid Hall, any book may be available by loan. ..... And the aforesaid keepers must render an account every year to the master of the house, and two of his scholars to be selected by him; .... and every person to whom any book has been lent shall exhibit the book once in the year to the keepers, and if he wishes it he shall see his security."[1]

As will be seen hereafter—when we reach the history of the Oxford Libraries—the collection thus given to Durham College, and for several generations, known as "d'Aungerville's Library," was entirely destroyed in the days of Edward VI. But it doubtless did good service in its time, Bishop Richard, like so many other men of princely tastes and splendid hospitalities, fell into occasional monetary embarrassment, and on one occasion had to pledge to the Lord Neville of Raby, for £100, a set of church-vestments "of red velvet, em-

[1] *Philobiblon*, c. xviii, xix.

broidered with gold, and pearls, and imagery."[1] He died at Bishop's Auckland on the 14th April 1345, and was buried in his own cathedral, fourteen days afterwards.

No English collector of this age can be placed side by side with Richard of Bury. Nor can his true peer be found until we reach a much later period. But here it may not be without utility to glance, for a moment, at some collectors of a very humble order, and of whom, in that capacity, nothing is known beyond their little legacies of books to relations or friends. The character of the volumes thus bequeathed, and the conditions of bequest, will sometimes curiously illustrate the literature and the manners of the epoch.

Notices of smaller collections of the 14th century, occurring in wills, etc.

Thus, for example, in the year 1370, we find mention in the inventory of a chaplain of Bury St. Edmunds, Adam de Stanton by name, of four volumes, only one of which is theological. The first is *Portiforium;* then *Un lib. de lege* (perhaps *(Bracton* or *Fleta);* then a volume of *Statutes,* and finally a *lib. de Romances* (perhaps *Sir Tristrem* or *Mort d'Arthur).*[2] In 1392, John Percyhay, of Swinton, in the country of York, bequeaths these five books, (1) Works of Peter of Blois *(Petrus Blesensis);* (2) *Trivet;* (3) *Brute Chronicle;* (4) *Par Decretalium;*(5) *Portifore*; and, in the same year, John de Clifford, Treasurer of the Church of York, bequeaths his "Civil Law books to any son of his brother who may choose to enter in that study, under an engagement that he will not alie-

[1] Campbell, *ut supra,* 230.

[2] *Wills and Inventories from the Register of the Commissary of Bury* (Camden Society), 1.

nate them, but allow them to descend to persons of his blood."[1] Four years later, Walter de Bragge, Canon of York, bequeaths a '*Bible* bound in red leather; *Piers Ploughman;* a 'book of Tracts;' a book '*De expositione Evangeliorum,* vocatum *Unum ex quatuor;*' *Brito; Speculum Prælatorum*; a *Psalter*, glossed; *Catholicon*; *Summa Summarum; Commune alloquium;* and *Par Decretalium.*[2]

Requests of books in 13th and 14th centuries.

Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, by her will, dated 9th August 1399, bequeathed the following books:—"To my son, Humphrey, ... a *Chronicle of France,* in French, with two clasps in silver, enamelled with the arms of the Duke of Burgoyne; also a book of Giles, *De regimine principum;* a book of vices and virtues; and another in verse *(un autre rimeie)* of the *History of the Knight of the Swan (Histoire de chivaler a cigne)*, all in French; also a *Psalter* well and richly illumined, with the clasps of gold enamelled with white swans, and the arms of my Lord and father enamelled on the clasps, and other bars of gold on the tissues in manner of mullets, which Psalter was left me to remain to my heirs and from heir to heir; ..... and to my daughter, Anne (afterwards Countess of Stafford), a book well illumined, with the *Legenda aurea* in French; .... to my daughter, Johanna, a book with the *Psalter*, *Primer*, and other devotions, with two clasps of gold enamelled with my arms (which book I have often used), with my blessing;.,.., To my daughter Isabel (a Minoress),.. a French *Bible*, in two volumes, with two gold clasps, enamelled with the arms of France; Item, a book of *Decretals* in

[1] Hunter, *Notes of Wills in the Registers of York (Memoirs read at the York meeting of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain)*, 11, 12. [2] Ibid.

BOOK II. Chapter IX. Royal, Noble, and Plebeian Collectors in the Middle Ages.

French; also a book of *Meistre Histoires*, a book *de Vitis Patrum;* and the *Pastorelz* of St. Gregory. Item, a *Psalter*, glosez; *autre livre novel du Psautier, gloses de la primer .... et sount les dites livres de François.*"[1]

These notices of minor English collectors of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, may conclude with John de Newton, who, in 1418, became a liberal benefactor to the Church of York (of which he had long been Treasurer), by bequeathing to the Chapter, '*in subsidium et relevamen librariæ faciendæ*', a considerable number of volumes; including Bibles, both entire and in portions, biblical commentaries and concordances, works of St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Bernard, St. John Chrysostom, St. Thomas Aquinas; of Alcuin, of John Hoveden, of Richard Hampole, of Walter Hilton, of William Rymington, of Alfred of Beverley, of William of Malmesbury *(De pontificibus),* and of Holcot; Beda *De Gestis Anglorum*, and Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortunæ.* Amongst those which the testator gave to St. Peter's College, Cambridge, occur, in addition to many patristic and other books of a theological cast, works of Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Macrobius. Vegetius, Boethius, Cassiodorus, Egidius, and Alanus.[2]

Books bequeathed by John de Newton, Treasurer of York, in 1418.

If we turn to Italy, we find amongst its earliest collectors some of its most illustrious authors. The first and the last recorded incidents of the life of Petrarch strikingly indicate his passion for books. He has himself described

Italian collectors of the 14th century—Petrarch.

[1] Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta,* 148, 149.

[2] Hunter, *ut supra,* 15.

how rudely his youthful delight in the classic orators and poets was disturbed by his father's angry committal of his little library to the flames, from which he was but just able to rescue, (half burned,) Virgil and Cicero. And probably scarcely one of his forty biographers has omitted to record that he died, with his head resting on the book he had been reading. Nor is it without interest to remember that the mighty poet, who had (as we have seen) given friendly greeting to the protocollector of England, went to Paris to congratulate, on his liberation from English captivity, that King John who himself set the first germ of the National Library of France, and was the father of the three most eminent collectors of their age (Charles V, of France; John, Duke of Berry; and Philip the Bold, of Burgundy). Petrarch aspired, too, to be the founder of a public Library at Venice, although the neglect of Venetian functionaries permitted that fame to rest on Cardinal Bessarion, a hundred years later.

Fate of the books presented by Petrarch to Venice.

Petrarch's gift was made in 1532. He stipulated that the books should neither be separated nor sold, and intended to bequeath the remainder of his Library to St. Mark.[1] But the gift fell into oblivion and the intention was not realized. Petrarch's books are widely scattered, and but very few of them are now to be seen in the *Marciana*. These appear to have been entirely lost sight

[1] "Il tenore della pollizza e questa: Desidera Francesco Petrarca de haver herede il B. Marco Evangelista si cosi piacerà à Christo ed a lui, di non so quanti libretti i quali egli possiede al presente, ó che fórsè possederá in futuro, etc. *Petrarcha redivivus*, 70 (Edit. of 1650). Then follows a list of the principal MSS. discovered but it is too imperfect to give any satisfactory idea of the poet's collection.

of, from the donor's day until 1635, when Tomasini, in the course of his researches for the work which he was then writing,—*Petrarcha redivivus, Laura comite*,—found a clue which led to their discovery in some dust-choked chamber, near to the famous bronze horses. When these unfortunate MSS. were thus found, some had been petrified into fossils; others were ready to crumble in the hands of the discoverers.

The Library of Charles V of France.

The Library of Charles V of France had its full share of the usual calamities, except that a very complete and descriptive catalogue of it has survived, in the form of several inventories, two of which relate exclusively to books, and were made in the years 1373 and 1411; the first by Gilles Mallet, their keeper; the second by his heirs, immediately after his death. The others are general accounts of the king's jewels and other chattels, made at various times by the officers of his wardrobe. These lists shew that Charles V had been singularly successful as a collector; and to those who are like-minded will justify the epithet attached to his name.

He had, indeed, inherited some books from his predecessor, John, but they were few in number and of no remarkable value. Charles, while yet young, had distinguished himself by his love of books, and by the delight he took in their illumination and other adornment. His courtiers soon discovered that fine books were an excellent passport to royal favour, and the liberality with which he rewarded those who administered at once to his personal tastes, and to the progress of learning, ensured the rapid growth of his Library. In 1373

—eight years before his death—he had amassed 910 volumes; had handsomely lodged them in one of the Towers of the Louvre, under the care of Mallet (who may be termed the first of the Royal Librarians of France); and had caused a detailed catalogue of them to be prepared. It contains Bibles, Psalters, Missals, Lives of the Saints, a few of the works of the Fathers of the Church, many Treatises on Astrology and Chiromancy, several books on Politics and Jurisprudence, and several on Medicine, including translations of various Arabic works into Latin or French; but the strength of the collection lay in its abundance of historical works,—as history then ran—and of romances, both in verse and prose. At Charles' death, in 1381, some of the books catalogued had been lent, by his order, and a few had been given away. His successor, Charles VI, we are told, took less care of the Library than his father had done. The period was too stormy to be very favourable to the collection of books, yet we find the number of volumes, in 1411, was eleven hundred; of which, however, two hundred were lent, or otherwise absent. When a third inventory was made, in 1423 (shortly after the death of Charles VI), the number had decreased to 850; and most of these were soon dispersed during the wars and tumults which distracted the commencement of the new reign. Some were taken by the Regent Duke of Bedford to England; others were scattered in various parts of the kingdom. Charles VII appears personally to have contented himself with the few "presentation copies," which were offered him by the authors and translators of his time;

Dispersion of the Library of King Charles V.

so that it was not till the reign of his too famous successor, Lewis XI, that any vigourous effort was made for the refoundation of the Royal Library.

To give even the briefest epitome of the catalogue of this remarkable collection of the fourteenth century would occupy more space than can here be afforded to it. But it may be mentioned that amongst the historical and legendary authors occur Adenes *(Gestes du Roi Pepin; Cléomadès; Meliachin; Enfances d'Ogier le Danois)*; Aimons de Varines *(Florimont)*; Berchoire *(a translation of Livy)*; Chretien de Troyes *(Gligès; Perceval le Gallois)*; Colonna *(Les faix de Troie, en françois)*; Dares and Dictys; Gautier de Coinci *(Vies des Pères Eremites)*; Gervase of Tilbury (a translation of the singular medley known as the *Otia Imperialia)*; Giacomo da Varaggio, Archbishop of Genoa (Jean de Vignay's translation of the *Legenda aurea)*; Joinville *(Vie de St. Louis)*; Jean de Meun *(Roman de la Rose)*; Peter Lombard *(Historia Ecclesiastica)*; Raoul de Houdanc *(Voies d'Enfer*, and *Merangis)*; Turpin *(Gestes de Charlemagne)*; Vincent de Beauvais (Jean de Vignay's translation of the *Speculum historiale)*; with anonymous translations of Sallust and Suetonius, and of St. Jerome's *Lives of the Hermits.* Of classic authors, in addition to the historians already mentioned,[1] occur Plato, Lucan, Ovid, and Seneca.

The warlike English contemporary of Charles the Wise could shew both a better ordered kingdom and a fuller treasury than those of his neighbour, but could by no

[1] *Inventoire ou Catalogue des livres de l'ancienne Bibliothèque du Louvre; précédé de la Dissertation de* Boivin le jeune *sur la même Bibliothèque;* avec des notes (by Van Praet), *passim.* (Paris, 1836, 8vo.)

means compete with him in the wealth of literature. Yet the commencement of an English royal Library may be dimly perceived, as early as the days of Edward I, who possessed a few books, which are entered in his Wardrobe Accounts in the usual pell-mell fashion, amidst entries of jewels and plate. Most of them, it will be seen, are service books. The entire list will not detain the reader long. It runs thus:—

Books mentioned in the Wardrobe Accounts of King Edward I.

Unus liber qui vocatur *Textus*, in uno casso de corio super quem magnates jurare solebant.
Unus liber qui incipit *Prologus in cronica.*
Unus liber de Romauntz qui incipit *Cristiens sevoet entremettre.*
Unus liber qui incipit *Paladi rutili.*
[Then follow eight Wardrobe books, after which—]
Unus liber qui incipit *Ut de mundo sit utilis.*
Unus liber qui incipit *Sanctissimo et reverendissimo in Christo Patri.*
Unus liber qui vocatur *Summa Tancredi*, qui incipit *Assid' post.*
Unus liber de cantu organi qui incipit *Viderunt.*
Unus liber de cantu organi qui incipit *Alta.*
Duo libri qui vocantur *Texti* cum platis et imaginibus argenti.
Unus liber qui est legenda in capella regis.[1]

Even a hundred and eighty years later, when the printing-press had long been at work on the continent, and when enterprising merchants were actively importing other foreign commodities, King Edward IV, as far as we can now discover, could boast of but very few books of any kind. Such traces as are to be found of the Royal Library must still be sought in the Wardrobe Accounts (20 Edward IV, 1480), where we find entries of the delivery of certain quantities of silk and velvet "for the coveryng and garnyshing vi of the bookes of our saide souverain Lorde the Kinges, that is to say

Library of Edward IV (1480.)

[1] *Liber quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ Anno Reg. Edw. I.* 28vo. (1299-1300).

oon of *The Holy Trinity,* oon of *Titus Livjus,* oon of *The Gouvernal of Kings and Princes,* a *Bible,* a *Bible Historialle,* and the vi called *Frossard.*[1] Whatever has survived of this old Library of the Kings of England, is now amongst the treasures of the British Museum, in connexion with which its subsequent history will claim notice hereafter.

Passing over, of necessity, many collectors of the Middle Age epoch, whose Libraries would well deserve attention, were that the only period we had to treat of, we come, towards its close, to three illustrious princes, who stand out saliently from the rest of their contemporaries, in this character as well as in others,—Lorenzo de' Medici; Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary; and Frederick, Duke of Urbino.

Cosmo de Medici as an importer of Greek books.

It is well known that for more than half a century before the actual fall of Constantinople, the dread of the impending event drove many Greeks distinguished for learning into exile in various parts of Europe. Italy,

[1] The *Government of Kings and Princes* was probably a translation of Ægidius Romanus *De regimine principum;* ..... Of '*Froissard*', perhaps the most beautifully illuminated copy in existence is in Harl. Coll. 4379, 4380. Several copies of *Le Bible Historiaux* are among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, marked 19 D ii-v, and 15 D iii. One of them has the following paragraph written in it: '*Cest livre fust pris ove le Roy de France a la bataille de Peyters, et le bon Counte de Saresbir, William Mountagu, la achata pur cent mars et le dona a sa compaigne Elizabeth le bone countesse qe Dieux assoile. Et est continus le Bible, entre ove fixt et glose le mestre des Histoire et Incidentes: tout en meśme le volume, la quele la dite countesse assigna a ses executours de le vendre pur xl livres.*' A MS. entitled *Titus Livius, des Fais des Romans, translate par Pierre Bertheure, avec peintures* is in the British Museum, Royal MS. 15 D vi. Two MSS. entitled *La Forteresse du Foy,* are among the Royal MSS."—Nicolas, *Privy purse expenses of Elizabeth of York and Wardrobe Accounts of Edward* IV (1830), pp. 152, 28.

especially, received many of these accomplished strangers and gave them noble welcome. Foremost in the exercise of an hospitality which was splendidly recompensed, were the Medicean princes. Cosmo himself had set the example. As Gibbon expresses it he "ennobled his credit into fame; his riches were dedicated to the service of mankind; he corresponded at once with Cairo and with London, and a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books were often imported in the same vessel." [1] Boccaccio, Coluccio Salutati (Chancellor of Florence), Lodovico Marsilio, and Niccolo Nicoli, were all zealous in the pursuit of books. Boccaccio and Marsilio bequeathed their respective collections to the Augustinian Monastery at Florence. Part of them still survives in the Laurentian Library. Niccolo (at his death in 1436) bequeathed his Library to public use, but his debts were considerable, and it was only by the interposition of Cosmo that the bequest could be carried out. With peculiar infelicity, the collection of Coluccio, who in his lifetime had circulated a treatise in which he urged the establishment of Public Libraries, was sold after his death by his children. Thus, when Lorenzo began the systematic formation of the noble Library which bears his name, he had before him not only the precedents set by his father and grandfather, but also the examples of many other illustrious Florentine citizens.[2] How zealously he pursued the task we see both in its living

Library of Lorenzo.

[1] Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 66.

[2] Bandini, *Lettera sopra i principi e progressi della Biblioteca Laurenziana* (Fir. 1773); Roscoe, *Life of Lorenzo*, i. 51 seqq. (Edition of 1800); Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vi. 98.

results, and in the correspondance of his contemporaries. His messengers, says Leoniceno, writing to Politiano, "are dispersed to every part of the earth, for the purpose of collecting books on every science. .... I well remember his glorious expression, which you repeated to me, that he wished the diligence of Pico and of yourself would afford him such opportunities of purchasing books, that his fortune proving insufficient he might pledge even his furniture to possess them."[1] And he was as liberal in affording access to his treasures as in acquiring them. Both Corvinus and Frederick of Urbino, were permitted to keep transcribers fully employed in the Library of Lorenzo. The former is said (by Matthias Belius, the historian of Hungary) to have maintained there and elsewhere thirty copyists.

Library of M. Corvinus, King of Hungary.

The splendour of the Corvinian Library is yet proverbial. The king was as little sparing in the decoration of his books as in their purchase. Writing, illumination, binding, were all as choice and splendid as wealth could procure. At his death, in 1490, the collection is said to have amounted to nearly 50,000 volumes—almost all of them MSS. It is probable that under his indolent and incompetent successor Vladislaus it was soon exposed to loss and dilapidation. Thirty-seven years afterwards, at all events, it was pillaged and almost destroyed by the Turks, who tore off the precious metals and gems which ornamented the books, and then gave the Library, with the rest of the palace, to the flames.

Some books, however, escaped—and amongst them are MSS. still of rare beauty—for the adornment of

[1] Politiani, *Epistolæ*, ii. 7; quoted by Roscoe, *ut supra*, ii. 77.

modern Libraries. To be able to shew a Corvinian book is a triumph even to collections rich in treasures. Some of those at Vienna—sadly despoiled of their original splendour in most cases—were discovered by Busbequius in a neglected tower at Buda itself, sixty years after the siege. Others were purchased, partly from the heirs of Sambucus. The Corvinian MSS. in other Libraries have been acquired, piece-meal, under various circumstances. The following table will shew what these rescued books are, and where they may be seen. Perhaps, also, it may afford a not uninteresting illustration of the singularly wide dispersion which sometimes awaits the prized treasures of an enthusiastic collector, even within a comparatively brief period from their acquisition. In its preparation I am greatly indebted to Vogel's *Verzeichniss Corvinischer Handschriften*, published in 1849.[1]

Catalogue of Corvinian MSS. in public Libraries.

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
(I) BIBLICAL MSS.:—			
1. Biblia Vulgata, cum prologis S. Hieronymi.	Fol. On vellum. 476 leaves.	ERLANGEN: University Library.	Irmischer, *Beschreibung der Manuscripte, welche sich auf der Universitätsbibliothek zu Erlangen befinden*, i. 233.
2. Evangelia Latina [with St. Jerome's Prolegomena and the Canons of Eusebius].	4to. On vellum. In letters of gold.	BRUSSELS: Roy. Library.	Santander, *Mémoire historique sur la Bibl. dite de Bourgogne*, 39.

[1] *Serapeum*, x. 373-385.

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
3. Evangelia IV. *Gr.*	4to. 300 leaves.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Lambecius, *Commentaria*, §. 9.
4. —— —— ——	4to. ..... On vellum.	OFEN: University Library.	Harless, *Introductio ad historiam linguæ Græcæ*, Supp. ii. 97.
5. —— —— ——	16o. 303 leaves.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Ditto.
6. Psalmorum Liber.	.....	WOLFENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *De bibliotheca Eudens.* 108.
(II) THEOLOGY:—			
7. ALTIVIDUS de immortalitate animæ liber.	Fol. On vell. 52 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library:	Denis, *Codd. Theol. Bibl. Pal.*, ii. 2. (585.)
8. AMBROSII Episc. Mediol. de virginitate libri iv.	Fol. On vell. 224 leaves. 15th century.	FLORENCE: Laurentian Library.	Bandini, *Cat. Codd. MSS. Lat. Bibl. Laur.*, i. 142.
9. AMBROSII de officiis liber.	Fol. On vell. 122 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Denis, *ut supra*, i. (201.)
10. ANASTASIUS de vita Christiana.	.....	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Tiraboschi, *Storia della lett. Ital.*, vii. 205.
11. ANDREAS super Apocalypsim.	.....	Ditto.	Ditto.
12. APPIANI Historia romana, interpr. Publ. Candido.	Fol. On vell. 316 leaves. Written at Florence, 1489.	FLORENCE: Laurentian Library.	Bandini, *ut supra*, ii. 846.
13. ARISTOTELIS De arte Rhetorica libri iii.	Fol. On vell.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Nessel, *Breviarium Commentar. Lambecianorum*, p. iv. (29.)
14. —— Politicorum libri viii; ...transl. a L. Aretino.	4to. On vell.	MAROS VASARHELY: Teleki Library.	Kovats, in the *Jenaische Litteratur Zeitung*, 1809, 389.

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
15. ARISTOTELIS Politic libri viii.	4to. On vell.	VIENNA: Imp. Library.	Lambecius, *Commentaria*, ii. 714.
16. ASCONII Pediani Enarrationes in Ciceronis Orationes.	4to. On vell. 80 leaves.	Ditto.	Endlicher, *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Palat. Vindob.*, i. (26.)
17. ATHANASII Commentar. in Epistolam I. S. Pauli, Trad. a Christ. de Persona.	Fol. On vell. 346 leaves.	Ditto.	Denis, *ut supra*, i. (194.)
18. —— contra Apollinarem de salutari Epiphan. Christi lib. [With other Tracts.]	Fol. On vell. 66 leaves.	Ditto.	*Ibid.* ii. (262.)
19. AUGUSTINI de civitate Dei libri xxii.	4to. On vell. 371 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	*Ibid.* i. (222.)
20. —— Epistolæ.	Fol. On vell. 380 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	*Ibid.* i. (228.)
21. —— Quæstiones super Genesin. [With other Tracts.]	Fol. On vell. 300 leaves. 1489.	FLORENCE: Laurentian Library.	Bandini, *ut supra*, i. (Plut. xii. cod. 10.)
22. —— Sermones de verbis Dei.	Fol. On vell.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Lambecius, *ut supra*, ii. 948.
23. BASILII de divinitate Filii.	4to. On vell. 156 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	Denis, *ut supra*, ii. (265.)
24. —— Homiliæ in Hexameron.	Fol. On vell. 42 leaves.	Ditto.	*Ibid*, ii. (263.)
25. BERNARDI Clarevallens. libri de consideratione. [With other Tracts.]	4to. On vell. 71 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	*Ibid.* ii. (421.)
26. BESSARION de ea parte Evangelii ubi scribitur *Si eum volo manere, quid a te?*—	On vellum . .	GOTTWEIH: Convent Library.	Chmel, *D. Geschichtsforscher*, ii. xxxvii.

Library of Mathias Corvinus.

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
27. Jo. CHRYSOSTOMUS de dignitate sacerdotali.	Fol. On vell. 66 leaves. 16th century.	GOTTWEIH: Convent Library.	Denis, i. (211.)
28. —— Homiliæ.	. . . . .	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Tiraboschi, *ubi supra.*
29. —— —— ——	Fol. On v. 331. Apparently of the 11th cent.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Lambecius, *ut supra,* iii. (123.)
30. CYPRIANI Epistolæ quædam.	4to. On vell. 58 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	Denis, *ut supra,* ii. (276.)
31. CYRILLI Tractatus Apologeticus.	Fol. On vell. 72 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Denis, *ut supra,* ii. (687.)
32. DIONYSII Areopag. Opera. *Lat.*	. . . . .	BESANÇON: Town Libr.	Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta,* ii. 1194.
33. EUSEBIUS in cantica.	. . . . .	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Tiraboschi, *ubi supra.*
34. GREGORII Naz. Sermones apologetici ix.	4to. On vell.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Lambecius, *ut supra,* ii. 948.
35. HIERONYMI Commentar. in Ezechielem.	Fol. On vell. 333 leaves.	Ditto.	Denis, *ut supra,* i. (245.)
36. —— Breviarium in Psalmos Davidis.	Fol. On vell. 370 leaves. 1488.	PARIS: Imperial Library.	*Catalogue des livres du Duc de la Vallière,* i. (444.)
37. —— Commentar. super Matthæum. [With other Tracts.]	Fol. On vell. 238 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Denis, *ut supra,* i. (247.)
38. ISIDORI Expositio historiæ sacræ legis.	Fol. On vell. 1490.	FLORENCE: Laurentian Library.	Bandini, *ut supra,* i. 696.
39. NICOLAUS ex Mirabilibus de Præscientia et prædestinatione.	Fol. On vell. 25 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Denis, *ut supra,* ii. (589.)
40. NILUS super Trinitate.	. . . . .	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Tiraboschi, *ubi supr.*

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
41. THOMÆ Aquinatis Catena aurea.	Fol. On vell. 205 leaves. 1468.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Denis, *ubi supra*, i. (108.)
42. Antiphonarium.	Fol. On vell. 201 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	*Ibid.* iii. (827.)
43. Breviarium.	. . . . .	ROME: Vatican Library.	Seroux d'Agincourt, *Hist. de l'art.* ii, 83.
44. Cathena super Trinitate.	. . . . .	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Tiraboschi. *ubi supra.*
45. Missale Romanum.	. . . . .	WOLFENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *ut supra*, 10.
46. —— —— ——	On vell. 1485.	BRUSSELS: Roy. Library.	*Mémoires de l'Acad. de Bruxelles*, iv. 493, seqq.
47. Ordo Missalis.	. . . . .	WOLEENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *ut supra*, 110.
(III) GREEK AND ROMAN CLASSICS, AND COMMENTATORS THEREON:—			
48. APPIANI Historia Romana; interpr. P. CANDIDO.	Fol. On vell. 315 leaves. 1489.	FLORENCE: Laurentian Library.	Bandini, *ut supra*, ii, 846.
49. ARISTOTELIS de arte rhetorica libri iii.	Fol. On vell.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Nessel, *ut supra*, p. iv. (29.)
50. —— Politicorum libri viii; ... translati a LEON. ARETINO.	4to. On vell.	MAROS VASARHELY: Teleki Library.	Kovats, *ubi supra.*
51. —— —— ——	Ditto.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Lambecius, *ut supra*, ii. 714.
52. ASCONII Pediani Enarrationes in CICERONIS Orationes.	4to. On vell. 80 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	Endlicher, *ubi supra*, i. (26.)

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
53. CATULLUS; TIBULLUS; PROPERTIUS.	. . . . .	WOLFENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *ubi supra.*
54. —— —— ——	On vellum. 171 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imp. Libr. [Amongst the books of P. Eugene.]	Endlicher, *ubi supra,* (107.)
55. CICERONIS Epistolarum Familiarum libri xvi.	4to. On vell. 258 leaves. 15th century.	DRESDEN: Royal Libr.	Ebert, *Geschichte der kön. Bibliothek zu Dresden,* 267.
56. —— Orationes.	Fol. On vell. 316 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Endlicher, *ut supra,* (16.)
57. Auli GELLII Noctes Atticæ.	. . . . .	WOLFENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *ubi supra.*
58. LIVII Historiarum Romanorum Decas I.	Fol. On vell. 230 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Endlicher, *ut supra,* (96.)
59. Acc. PLAUTI Opera.	Fol. On vell. 297 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	*Ibid.* (3.)
60. PLUTARCHI Vitæ parallelæ.	Fol. On vell. 178 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	Kollar, *ut supra,* i. (86.)
61. —— —— ——	Fol. On vell.	Ditto.	Lambecius, ii. 843.
62. —— Liber de dictis Regum, *etc.*	On vellum. 43 leaves. 15th century.	LEIPSIC: Town Libr.	Naumann, *Catalogus Bibl. Lips.,* (xii) 6.
63. PORPHYRII Oratio de vita PLATONIS et dispositione libr. ejus. [With other Tracts.]	. . . . .	AUGSBURG: Town Libr.	Reiser, *Cat. Codd. Gr. Bib. Aug.* 73.
64. PRISCIANI Syclii Interpretat. in THEOPHRASTUM de sensu. [With other Tracts.]	. . . . .	WOLFENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *ubi supra.*

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
65. PROCLI Commentarius in PLATONIS Alcibiadem.	. . . . .	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Tiraboschi, *ubi supr.*
66. C. PTOLOMÆI Magni Compositionis libri a G. TRAPEZUNTIO traducti.	Fol. On vell.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Schier, *Dissertatio de Bild. Budensi*, 72.
67. QUINTILIANI Institutionum Oratoriarum, libri xii.	Fol. On vell. 278 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	Endlicher, *ut supra.* (245.)
68. Pap. STATII Sylvarum libri v.	4to. On vell. 56 leaves. 15th century.	Ditto.	*Ibid.* (252.)
69. C. SUETONII Tranq. De Cæsaribus liber, etc.	On vell. 1477.	BERLIN: Royal Libr.	Oelrichs, *Entwurf einer Gesch. der Kön. Bibl. z. Berlin*, 118.
70. TACITI Annalium, libri xi-xvi; et Historiarum, libri i-v.	Fol. On vell. 36 leaves.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Orelli, *Præfatio ad Tacit.*, xvii.
71. TACITUS. [Fragments.] . . . . . In Paris? This MS. was used by Oberlin for the Leipsic Edition of 1801, and was then the property of Gen. Dorsner. Gley, art. *Corvin; Biog. Univ.* x. 26.			
72. VIRGILII Georgicon, libri iv. Æneidos, libri xii.	Fol. On vell. 252 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Endlicher, *ut supra.* (122.)
73. XENOPHONTIS Κυρου παιδεια.	Fol. On vell. 59 leaves. 13th century.	ERLANGEN: University Library.	Irmischer, *Beschreibung*, etc., *ut supra*, i. 217.
74. —— —— ——	Fol. On vell. 268 leaves. 12th century?	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Kollar, *Supp.*, i. (90.)
(IV) HISTORY and POLITICS:—			
75. AGATHIOS de Bello Gothico.	. . . . .	BERLIN: Roy. Library.	*Archiv . . . für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, viii. 824, 5.
76. BIR MAHUMED BEN BIR ACHMED CHALI. De moribus hominum et principum præcipue instituendis. *Pers.*	4to. 130 leaves. [Hirsching does not describe it further.]	NEUSTADT: Church Libr.	Hirsching, *Beschreibung sehenswürdiger Bibliotheken*, ii. 459.

MSS. extant from the Library of Matth. Corvinus.

Library of Matth. Corvinus.

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
77. Aur. BRANDOLINI Lippi de comparatione reipublicæ et regni, libri iii.	On vellum.	FLORENCE: Laurentian Library.	Bandini, *ut supra*, iii. 132.
78. Alex. CORTESII Laudes bellicæ M. Corvini versibus descriptæ.	. . . . .	WOLFENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *ubi supra.*
79. MARCELLINI Com. Illyr. Chronicon. [With other Tracts.]	4to. On vell. 73 leaves.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Endlicher, *ut supra.* (409.)
80. NICEPHORI Callisti Xanthopuli Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, libri xviii priores.	Fol. On vell. 498 leaves.	Ditto.	Nessel, *ut supra*, v. cod. 8.
81. Mich. GLYCÆ Historia.	. . . . .	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Tiraboschi, *ubi supr.*
82. Jo. ZONARÆ Chronographia.	Fol. On vell. 478 leaves.	VIENNA: Imp. Library.	Kollar, *ut supra*, i. (102.)
83. Liber Decretorum S. Stephani Reg. Hung.	Fol. On vell.	Ditto.	. . . . .
(V) SCIENCES and ARTS:—			
84. Ant. AVERULINI de Architectura libri xxv; ... ab A. Bonfinio Latine redditi.	Fol. On vell.	VENICE: St. Mark's Library.	Morelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscriptæ Græca et Lat.* i. 405-419.
85. Mappæ Nauticæ, etc.	Ditto.	WOLFENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *ubi supra.*
86. P. SANTINI Tractatus de re militari. [With other Tracts.]	. . . . .	PARIS: Imperial Library.	Gley, art. *Corvin, ubi supra.*
87. Jo. TOLHOPF Stellarium de motibus et stellarum fix. secundum Copernici hyp.	. . . . .	WOLFENBUTTEL: Ducal Library.	Pflugk, *ut supra.*

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
88. Rob. VALTURII de re militari, libri xii.	Fol. On vell.	DRESDEN: Royal. Libr.	Goeze, *Merkwürdigkeiten der Dresdner Bibl.*, i. 41.
89. Jo. de Bosco Regimen . . . pro conservanda sanitate . . .	. . . . .	ERLANGEN: University Library?	Von Murr, *Memorabilia*, iii. 160.
(VI) POLYGRAPHY and MISCELLANIES:–			
90. Marsilii FICINI Epistolarum . . . libri ii.	. . . . .	WOLFENBUTTEL: Duc. Libr	Pflugk, *ubi supra.*
—— —— libri iii.	. . . . .	Ditto.	*Ibid.*
91. Barth. FONTII Opera.	Fol. On vell. 15th century.	Ditto.	*Ibid.*
92. GENEALOGIA Deorum *etc.* [With other Tracts.]	Fol. On vell. 35 leaves. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Endlicher, *ut supra.* (397.)
93. Bapt. GUARINI Libellus de ordine docendi ac studendi.	. . . . .	JENA: University Library.	Struve, *Introductio in notitiam rei liter.*, 376.
94. JAMBLICHUS de philosophia Pythagorica, libri iv.	. . . . .	VIENNA: Library of the Servites.	*Allgem. literar. Anzeiger*, 1797, No. 8.
95. JANI Pannonii Poemata Miscellanea.	4to. On paper. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Lambecius, *ut supra*, ii., 948.
96. LIBELLUS de Corvinianæ domus initiis, etc.	. . . . .	VENICE: St. Mark's Library.	Budik, in *Wiener Jahrb.*, lxxxviii., Anzb. 34.
97. MARTIANI Minei Felicis Capellæ de Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii, libri ii., etc.	Fol. On vell. 15th century.	Ditto.	Morelli, *ut supra*, i. 325, seqq.
98. MARTIUS Galeottus de vulgo incognitis, libri ii.	On paper. 15th century.	VIENNA: Imperial Library.	Lambacher, *Bibl. Ant. Vindob. civica*, 169.
99. —— de homine, libri ii, etc.	. . . . .	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Budik, *ut supra*, 53.

Title of the MS.	Description of the MS.	Where preserved.	By whom and where described.
100. NALDI Naldii Epistola de laudibus Augustæ Biblioth., etc.	. . . . .	THORN: Gymnasial Library.	Jænichen, *De meritis Matth. Corvini in rem litterariam*, 7,8.
101. Mich. PSELLI Dioptra, etc.	. . . . .	FERRARA: Ducal Libr.	Tiraboschi, *ubi supr.*
102. —— Epistolæ.	. . . . .	Ditto.	*Ibid.*

Thus, it will be seen, Vienna possesses no less than forty-three Corvinian MSS., Wolfenbuttel claims twelve, and Ferrara eleven. It has been repeatedly said that Bilibold Pirchheimer, of Nuremberg, whose Library was purchased by Thomas, Earl of Arundel, in 1636, and the MS. portion of which is now in the British Museum, obtained a considerable number of books from the great Buda Library; but not a single MS. in that collection can be satisfactorily traced to such an origin.

Library of Frederick Duke of Urbino.

Whether it be true or not that even Corvinus was outstripped (as the admirable biographer of the Dukes of Urbino, Mr. Dennistoun, inclined to believe) by his great contemporary, Duke Frederick of Urbino, it is abundantly manifest that the Library of the latter was a very superb one. His life was of much longer duration, than that of the King of Hungary, and his fortunes far more prosperous. His MSS. occupied a hall, forty-five feet by twenty-two, and twenty-three feet high, with windows, as Baldi describes them, "set high against the northern sky, admitting a subdued and steady light which invited to study,[1] ....." the character and object of the place

[1] Baldi, *Vita e fatti di Fedeuigo, Duca di Urbino*, as quoted by Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino*, i. 156.

being fittingly set forth in a series of rude hexameters inscribed on the cornices:—

'Sint tibi divitiæ; sint aurea vasa, talenta
Plurima, servorum turbæ, gemmæque nitentes;
Sint vestes variæ, pretiosa monilia, torques;
Id totum hæc longe superat præclara supellex.
Sint licet aurati niveo de marmore postes,
Et variis placeant penetralia picta figuris;
Sint quoque Trojanis circumdata mœnia pannis,
Et miro fragrent viridaria culta decore.
Extra intusque domus regali fulgida luxu,
Res equidem multæ; sed BIBLIOTHECA parata est,
Jussa loqui, facunda nimis, vel jussa tacere,
Et prodesse potens, et delectare legentem.
Tempora lapsa docet, venturaque plurima pandit,
Explicat et cunctos cœli terræque labores.'

Of this Library we are fortunate enough to have an account by its first Librarian, Vespasiano, which is preserved amongst the Urbino MSS. of the Vatican. "To Duke Frederick alone," says Vespasiano, "was given the enterprise to carry out what no one for above a thousand years past had done, by establishing a Library superior to any formed during all that period. In no respect did he look to expense: whenever he learned the existence of any desirable book in Italy or abroad, he sent for it, without heeding the cost. It is now above fourteen years since he began to make this collection, and he has ever since maintained at Urbino, Florence, and elsewhere, thirty-four transcribers, and has resorted to every means requisite for amassing a famous and excellent Library,—which it now is. He has, in the first place, all the Latin poets, with their best commentaries; also the entire works of Cicero, with all the orators and grammarians in that language. In History, he commissioned every known work of that or the Greek

Vespasiano's account of the books in the Urbino Library.

BOOK II. Chapter IX. Royal, Noble, and Plebeian Collectors in the Middle Ages.

tongue. In Moral and Natural Philosophy no author of these languages is wanting, In the faculty of Theology he has been most profuse, having—beside the four Doctors of the Church,—St. Bernard, Tertullian, Hilary, Remigius, Hugh of St. Victor, Isidore, Anselm, Rabanus, Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Basil, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen, John of Damascus, Eusebius, Origen, Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, Alexander ab Alexandro, Duns Scotus, ... with all the modern Doctors. There are, further, all the best civilians; with the lectures of Bartolomeo Capretti. He had the Bible, that best of books, with the .. most beautiful illustrations, bound in brocade of gold, and lavishly ornamented with silver; and he made it to be thus gorgeously adorned as the chief of all literature, and it has no equal in our time. There are also all the Commentaries on the Bible in Greek and Latin, including Niccolo de Lira; .. all the treatises on astrology, geometry, arithmetic, architecture, and military tactics, and a very curious volume with every ancient and modern military engine; also all books on painting, sculpture, and music; the standard writers on civil law; the *Speculum Innocentiæ;* the writings of Averröes, on logic, ethics, and physics. ..... There are all the works of Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, Colluccio, Leonardo of Arezzo, Fra Ambrogio, Gianozzo Manetti, Guarino, Panhormita, Francesco Filelfo, Perotto, Campano, Mafeo Vegio, Niccolo Secondino, Pontano, Bartolomeo Fazii, Gasparino, Paolo Vergaio, Giovanni Argiropolo, Francesco Barbaro, Leonardo Giustiniani, Donato Acciajuolo, Alamanno Remicini, Christofero da Prato, Poggio, Giovanni Tartellio, Francesco of Arezzo, and

Library of Frederick Duke of Urbino.

Lorenzo Valla. It was his object to obtain every book in all branches of learning, ancient and modern, original or translated. He had also of Greek classics, with Commentaries,—Aristotle, Plato, Homer, Sophocles, Pindar, Menander, Plutarch, Ptolemy, Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Demosthenes, Æschines, Plotinus, Theophrastus, Hippocrates, Galen, and Xenophon; the New Testament, St. Basil, and other Fathers, in Greek; with the Book of Paradise, Lives of the Egyptian Saints, Lives of Balaam and Jehosaphat; .... as well as every other attainable writer in that language. It was the same as to Hebrew books, beginning with the Bible, and including Philosophy, Medicine, and other faculties, with every known commentary; and there was a remarkable Polyglot Psalter in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

Library of Frederick Duke of Urbino.

"On all this," continues Vespasiano, "the Duke spent upwards of 30,000 ducats;[1] and he made it a rule that every book should be bound in crimson, ornamented with silver, from the Bible already described, down to modern authors. It is thus a truly rich display to see all these books so adorned; all being manuscripts, on vellum, with illuminations, and each a complete copy, — perfections not found in any other library. Indeed, shortly before he went to the siege of Ferrara (1482), I compared the catalogue with lists of other libraries which he had procured, such as those of the Vatican, Florence, St. Mark, Pavia, down to that of the University of Oxford in England, and found that all but his own had deficiencies and duplicates."[2]

[1] Mr. Dennistoun estimates this sum in the currency of that day as equivalent to at least £72,000 in present English Money.

[2] Vespasiano, *Commentario dei gesti e fatti e detti di Federigo, duca di*

Regulations of the Urbino Library, in the time of Duke Guidobaldo I.

Vespasiano has not himself recorded the Regulations established by Duke Frederick for the government of the Library thus enriched, but in the *Ordine e Offizzi della Corte di Urbino,* in force in the time of his successor, Guidobaldo, we have them stated thus:—"The Librarian should be learned, of good presence, temper, and manners; correct and ready of speech. He must get from the Wardrobe an inventory of the books, and keep them arranged, aud easily accessible, whether Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or others, maintaining also the rooms in good condition. He must preserve the books from damp and vermin, as well as from the hands of trifling, ignorant, dirty, and tasteless persons. To those of authority and learning he ought himself to exhibit them, with all facility, courteously explaining their beauty and remarkable characteristics, the handwriting and miniatures; *but observant that such*" [persons, namely, 'of authority and learning'] "*abstract no leaves.* When ignorant or merely curious persons wish to see them, a glance is sufficient, if it be not some one of considerable influence. When any book or other requisite is needed, he must take care that it be promptly provided. He must let no book be taken away but by the Duke's orders, and. if lent, must get a written receipt, and see to its being returned. When a number of visitors come in, he must be especially watchful that none be stolen." [1]

The Urbino Library has happily escaped that almost total destruction which befell the collection of the illus-

Urbino (Spicelegium Romanum, i. 94), as translated by Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino,* i. 156-158.

[1] Dennistoun, *ut supra,* i. 159.

trious King of Hungary. Yet it has suffered many losses, and its value has been further lessened by division. Its manuscripts are still conspicuous amongst the treasures of the Vatican; but they are far less accessible to students than they were in the romantic seat of the old Urbinian Dukes. The printed books are scattered; some being at Castel Durante,—others in the Library of the 'Sapienza' at Rome,—others again still remaining at Urbino.

Library of the Dukes of Burgundy at Dijon.

Of those remains of the famous Libraries of the Dukes of Burgundy which became to some extent the basis of the present *Bibliothèque de Bourgogne,* at Brussels, mention will be made hereafter. But of *one* of those Libraries—that preserved at Dijon, in the tower called *Tour de la librairie*—a word or two may here be said. Several inventories of it are still extant, the latest of which was made by order of Lewis XI. of France, in 1477, very soon after the death of Charles the Bold. It was characteristically mediæval in its chief contents, and most of the books were very sumptuously adorned. Philip the Good had taken great pains in its formation, and his fiery son, short and warlike as was his reign, continued to augment it, more especially with such historical works as he could obtain. Lewis XI., in the fulness of his joy at the death of Duke Charles, gave the Dijon palace, and all its contents, to George de la Tremouille, Lord of Craon, on making him governor of Burgundy. The books passed quickly into the possession of Guy de Rochefort, first president of the Burgundian Parliament, in whose family they remained for

BOOK II. Chapter IX. Royal, Noble, and Plebeian Collectors in the Middle Ages.

nearly a century and a half. Eventually they were sold by auction, and some of them found their way into the Royal Library at Paris.[1]

Libraries of Antoine de Chourses, and of Jean Dumas.

To the bibliographical tastes and the scholarly research of the Duke of Aumale, we owe some interesting particulars of two small Libraries of the fifteenth century, of which nothing was previously known. Both of them were remarkable for the beauty of the books of which they were composed. The larger of the two belonged to Antoine de Chourses, Seigneur de Maigne, who died in or about the year 1487, and to Katharine de Coëtivy his wife. The other was the property of Jean Dumas, Seigneur de l'Isle, who died in 1495. Both were ultimately acquired, in bulk, for the Chantilly collection of the Condé Bourbons, which the Duke of Aumale has inherited.

Of the forty-one books of the De Chourses collection, which now forms part of that of the Duke of Aumale, one only is printed. The remaining forty, with one exception, are vellum MSS., and most of them are finely illuminated. Amongst the Biblical and Theological books are the *Scholastic History* of Peter Comestor, with its French translation *(Bible historiale)* by Guinart des Moulins; the *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard; that favourite mediæval compendium, *La Somme le Roy*, with other hortatory and liturgical works. In ethical Philosophy, we find Aristotle, Boethius, and Christine

[1] La Serna Santander, *Mémoire historique sur la bibliothèque dite de Bourgogne*, 25-31; Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant la Bibliothèque des Ducs de Bourgogne au XV^e Siècle*, 85-101.

of Pisa. In History, Livy, Josephus, portions of Froissart, and some Chronicles. In Poetry, the *Roman de la Rose*, and the *Carmen paschale* of Sedulius. In Law, the *Decretals* and *Institutes*. There were also French versions, of Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum et fœminarum illustrium libri ix*, and of Vegetius' *Epitome of the Art of War*. Many of these MSS. appear to have been written and illuminated expressly for De Chourses. Of the small collection of Jean Dumas, chivalric Romances form the staple. Especially noticeable is a beautiful MS. of Sir Tristram ... *translactee de Latin en François par noble hôme Messire Luces, Chevalier, Seigneur du Chastel de Gaad prés de Sallebières en Angleterre.*[1]

We must now turn from the collectors and Libraries of the Middle Ages, and of the "Revival of Letters," to those which have a connection still more direct with the chief existing Libraries of Europe.

[1] *Notes sur deux petites Bibliothèques Français du XV^e siècle.* Par S. A. R. le Duc d'Aumale (Philobiblon *Miscellanies*, 1856). The books of the De Chourses collection are doubtless, to a great extent, the staple of the private libraries of that age. It would, therefore, be rash to raise inferences on the mere recurrence of the same books in the descriptions of other Libraries. Yet in a passage of Naudé's *Avis* so many of the works here mentioned, occur (in very similar condition) as may render it worth while to put the description of the collection acquired by the Condé family, side by side with that which Naudé had seen offered for sale. In speaking of certain "weak considerations," which enhanced this price of books in that day, as in our own,—for instance "antiquity, figures, painting, binding," etc.—he proceeds: Such as were the *Froissart*, which certain merchants would have sold not long since at 300 crowns; the *Bocace of Unfortunate Nobles*, estimated at 100; the *Missal* and *Bible* of Guinart, the *Hours*, which, they were wont to say, were inestimable, ... the *Titus Livius* and other historians, etc.

BOOK III.

THE MODERN LIBRARIES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

.... OUR ANCESTORS wrought in a magnanimous spirit of rivalry with Nature, or in kindly fellowship with her .... When they planted, they chose out her trees of longest life,—the Oak, the Chesnut, the Yew, the Elm,—trees which it does us good to behold, while we muse on the many generations of our Forefathers whose eyes have reposed within the same leafy bays ....

You that assert that you owe nothing to Posterity, ... are ignorant of your greatest earthly benefactor. Posterity has cast her shadow before, and you are at this moment reposing beneath it. Whatever good, whatever pleasure, whatever comfort, you possess, you owe mainly to Posterity. The heroic deeds that were done by men of former times, the great works that were wrought, the great fabrics that were raised by them, their mounds and embankments against the powers of evil, their drains to carry off mischief, the wide plains they redeemed from the overflowings of barbarism, the countless fields they enclosed and husbanded for good to grow and thrive in;—for whom was all this achieved but for Posterity? .... Except for Posterity, except for the vital magnetic consciousness that while men perish man survives, the only principle of prudent conduct must have been: '*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.*'

(HARE, *Guesses at Truth*, ii. 13.)

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE FORMATION AND GROWTH OF THE SEVERAL COLLECTIONS WHICH EVENTUALLY BECAME THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

> Bibliothecas quidem celeberrimas et copiosas viri multi olim docti et opulenti instituerant. Sed quoto cuique ad hos thesauros patebat aditus? Ecquis auro vel argento color, nisi usu splendeat? Ecquod in lucernis sepulchralibus beneficium? Quò congesta tot et inevoluta disciplinarum volumina, scriniis inclusa, nisi in discentium manus veniant? Præterea unius, ubi unica quædam alicujus Authoris reconduntur Exemplaria, Bibliothecæ, si quo interierit casu, unde resarcietur damnum?
>
> MAITTAIRE, *Annales Typographici*, i, 2.

§. 1. THE OLD COLLECTION OF THE ENGLISH KINGS.

THE original groundwork of the now magnificent National Library of Britain comprised four several collections, which are usually thus designated: (1) *Royal;* (2) *Cottonian;* (3) *Harleian;* (4) *Sloanian.* These, collectively, were the nucleus around which, in the course of a century, other and in some points of view, even more valuable, libraries were successively brought together, to form an aggregate that at length may challenge comparison with the oldest and most fortunate of the great libraries of the world. Some outline, therefore, of the individual history of these primary collections lies at the threshold of this section of our subject.

(1) Old Royal Library.

Of those slight traces of the early progress of the *Royal* Library which occur, here and there, in the "Wardrobe-Accounts" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some mention has been made already. Scanty as these allusions are, we feel the want even of their like, for the first half of the succeeding century. The chief incident which bears on the history of the Royal Library during the reign of Henry VII. is the acquisition of that noble series of vellum copies of the works printed at Paris by Antoine Vérard, which is still one of the choicest treasures of the Museum collection of printed books. Bacon tells us that this monarch was wont to read "most books that were of any worth in the French tongue," and he certainly gratified his tastes in this respect with princely splendour. Under Henry VIII. the greater portion of the Royal Library appears to have been removed to Greenwich, and to have contained at the date of the removal three hundred and twenty-nine volumes.[1] Another and smaller section—not, however, consisting exclusively of what we now call Records and State Papers, but containing, along with these, many theological treatises—was kept in the Treasury,[2] and there continued until a very recent period. In the *Privy Purse Expenses* of Henry VIII. occur very few disbursements for books, but there are several entries which relate to the bringing of books (lent, it would seem, from monastic and other collections, to the king's palace, at the time when

[1] *The seconde parte of the Inventorye of our late Sovran Lord* etc. MS. in Brit. Mus., printed in the *Retrospective Review*, second series, i. 334.

[2] Palgrave, The *Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury*, etc. LXXXV.

the divorce from Queen Katherine was in contemplation.[1] How comparatively small was this king's expenditure on his library will appear strikingly enough, if with the £10,801 8*s* 9*d*. disbursed for jewellery (exclusive of plate), during the three years, 1530—1532, we contrast the £124 16*s*. 3*d*., which includes not only every payment during that period for books and bookbinding, but an indefinite sum that was paid to the "taylor and skynner for certeyn stuff and workmanship for my ladye Anne (Bullen)," the entry of which the expenditor chose to mix up with — "As also to a prynter for div's boks for the king's grace."[2]

Book-Expenditure of King Henry VIII.

During the short reign of Edward VI. somewhat greater attention was paid to the increase of the collection, chiefly through the instrumentality of Sir John Cheke (whose researches after monastic books have been spoken of before), and of Roger Ascham, who, at Cheke's instance, was made King's Librarian. Martin Bucer's books and papers were purchased, after his decease, apparently by a sort of joint-stock investment, in which the King, Archbishop Cranmer, and the Duchess of Somerset, were partners. The MSS. were added to the Royal Library; the printed books were divided between the Archbishop and the Duchess.[3]

The Royal Library under Cheke and Ascham.

[1] *Privy Purse Expenses* of K. Henry VIII., *ubi supra*.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The books and papers, says Strype, were appraised at £100, but his widow received but £80 of those that bought them.... The library was divided into three parts. The King had the MSS. which was one part; the Duchess had the greater part of the [printed] books, and the Archbishop had the remainder, for which he for his share paid forty pounds." Strype, *Life of Cheke*, 88; Comp. *Life of Cranmer*.

The old Royal Collection.

Neither Queen Mary nor Queen Elizabeth did much in this direction that deserves commendation, although both were urgently entreated to take measures for the collection and preservation of our old writers and historians. In 1556, Dr. John Dee addressed to the former a "supplication for the recovery and preservation of Ancient Writers and Monuments," and also "Articles . . . concerning the erecting of a Library without any charge to the Queen's Majestie" (printed by Hearne, in his appendix to John of Glastonbury). Five years later (22 May, 1561), Flacius Illyricus wrote very earnestly on the same subject from Jena, to Archbishop Parker. After speaking of the helps to be derived from the study of ancient authors by those who were fighting the battles of Protestantism, he proceeds: . . . *præterquam igitur quod et optamus et expectamus promissa monimenta, valde utile esset tuam Reverentiam per id agere, ut et isthic in vestro regno et in Scotiâ, ex locis remotioribus et ignobilioribus, inclyta quædam et illustriora comportarentur, omnes libri manuscripti et qui rariores esse existimarentur, aut etiam quorum nomina planè ignorarentur, quorum quidem non adeo infinitus esset futurus numerus, neque adeo immensos sumptus ea res postularet*, etc.[1] At a subsequent period the Archbishop, in conjunction with Humphrey Gilbert — one of the illustrious band of American colonizers — and other fellows of the first "Society of Antiquaries," applied to the Queen for a Charter of Incorporation, and for the grant of some public building in which they might hold their meetings, and establish a Public Library, to be called *The*

[1] Strype, *Life and Acts of Parker* (Appendix), iii., 53 (Edit. of 1821).

Library of Queen Elizabeth, and to be well furnished with books and charters, after the pattern set us by "the more civilized nations, as Germany, Italy, and France," who "take care to encourage learning by Public Lectures, Libraries, and Academies."[1] Little, if any, result seems to have attended this application. Elizabeth had undoubtedly some love for learning. She increased the library she had inherited. Paul Hentzner, who visited Whitehall in August, 1598, tells us that it was well-stored with Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books, "all bound in velvet of different colours, although chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; the covers of some being otherwise adorned with gold and precious stones."[2] But this great Queen was not destined to add to her other glories that of being the foundress of a National Library. The zeal of the Archbishop for the preservation and advancement of learning lasted as long as his life, but it took a different channel, as we shall hereafter have to notice. At all events, it seems certain that in this department nothing worthy of Elizabeth; nothing which can be regarded as even the first step towards the carrying out of the plan of Archbishop Parker and his brother antiquaries, was achieved.

Project of a Royal Public Library in the reign of Elizabeth.

In the succeeding reign some progress was made, on a less inadequate scale. But the credit of it is due to the Prince, rather than to the King. John, Lord Lumley, who died in 1609, had been a liberal collector, and had obtained the valuable library of Henry Fitz-Alain, Earl

Improvement of the Royal Library by P. Henry, son of James I.

[1] Introduction to the *Archæologia*, vol. i., p. iv. (1770).

[2] P. Hentzneri *Itinerarium Germaniæ, Angliæ*, etc. 188 (1629).

BOOK III. Chapter I. Library of the British Museum.

of Arundel, part of whose treasures, and especially of his MSS., had been amassed at the period when the dissolution of the monasteries presented opportunities, neglected by many who might well have taken advantage of them, but by him turned to good account. This fine collection was by Prince Henry's influence secured for the Royal Library, and it nobly atoned for any damage which that library may have suffered by the somewhat singular warrant, granted by James I. to Sir Thomas Bodley: "for the choice of any books . . . in any of his houses or libraries."[1] On the addition of the Lumley-collection the eminent scholar Patrick Young (Patricius Junius) was made Library-Keeper, which office he continued to hold almost until the death of Charles I.

The Royal Library under the charge of Hugh Peters and of Gen. Ireton.

During the agitations which immediately preceded that catastrophe, the Library was in imminent danger of destruction. It owed its preservation (in August, 1648) to a man much reviled by historians, and whose very name once passed as a sort of synonyme for ignorant fanaticism,—Hugh Peters,—under whose immediate charge it remained for several months; at the end of which he transferred the custody to Ireton. The Parliament of the Commonwealth referred the subject of its definite disposal to the Council of State, and that body proposed the place of Library-Keeper to Bulstrode Whitelocke, giving him power to appoint a deputy. "I knew," he says, "the greatness of the charge, ... yet, being informed of a design to have some of them [the books] sold and transferred beyond sea (which I thought

The Royal Library committed to Bulstrode Whitelocke.

[1] *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, 205, etc.

would be a dishonour and damage to our nation, and to all scholars therein); and fearing that in other hands they might be more subject to embezzling . . . . I did accept the trouble of being Library-Keeper at St. James'; and therein was much persuaded by Mr. Selden, *who swore that if I did not undertake the charge of them, all those rare monuments of antiquity, those choice books and MSS, would be lost;—and there were not the like to them, except only in the Vatican, in any other library in Christendom.*"[1] On Whitelocke's entrance into office, he appointed John Dury (still memorable both for the friendship with which Milton honoured him, and for his amiable project to unite in close bands of fellowship all the Protestant Churches of the world), to be his deputy; and his description of the mental process and the elaborate induction which led Whitelocke to the choice, is not the least characteristic passage in his charming "Memorials."

The Old Royal Library.

Although poor Peters had saved the books, the fine collection of medals was sadly plundered. There does not appear to be the smallest ground for imputing the loss to any fault of his, yet immediately after the Restoration, a warrant was issued for his examination, but without any result. Thomas Rosse was then made Keeper (with a salary of £200 a year); and third in succession to him came the most eminent man who has ever held an office, which was now to mark an epoch in the annals of the literature and scholarship of England, by becoming the potential cause of the *Dissertation on Phalaris*.

The Royal Library under Bentley.

Richard Bentley has minutely recorded both the circumstances of his appointment, and what he did in dis-

[1] *Memorials of the English Affairs* (1732, Folio), 415.

charge of its duties. His patent was sealed in April 1694, and his first labours (entered on even before the official forms were completed) were directed to the enforcement of the copyright privilege. "I was informed," he says, "that one copy of every book printed in England .... had not of late been brought into the Library, according to the Act. Upon this, I made application to the Stationers-Company, and demanded the copies. The effect whereof was that I procured near 1000 volumes, of one sort or other, which are now lodged in the Library." In other respects, Bentley found that the Library had been greatly neglected. In the course of that famous controversy into which he was eventually led by an allegation that he had placed difficulties in the way of the use, by Charles Boyle, of one of the Royal MSS., he repeatedly expressed his dissatisfaction with the state of things then existing. "I will own that I have often said and lamented that the Library was not fit to be seen. .... If the room be too mean, and too little for the books; if it be much out of repair; if the situation be inconvenient; if the access to it be dishonourable; is the Library-Keeper to answer for it?" And he adds: "The expenses and toils of a long war are but too just an excuse that the thought of a new library were not part of the public cares; but there's no question but a few years of peace, under His Majesty's most happy government, will set us above this reproach."

The Royal Library under Bentley.

During Bentley's term of office, but at what precise period of it cannot, perhaps, now be ascertained,[1] a

[1] The question of date is complicated by the passage—"*At this very time*, the incomparable collections of Thuanus in France and of Marquardus Gudius, in Germany, might be purchased at a very low value." The library

remarkable broadside was printed, under the title: "*A proposal for building a Royal Library, and establishing it by Act of Parliament.*" It seems likely that Bentley was himself the writer; it is certain that it must have been written with his privity. The positive assertion with which it sets out that the Library was "founded for public use" is unsupported by proof, and opposed to probability,—unless, indeed, we are to understand by "foundation," the reconstruction which was instigated by Prince Henry,—with whose liberal spirit such a project would have well accorded. But even then we attain to nothing more than a probable conjecture.

of Gudius was purchased by Leibnitz—as will be noticed hereafter—for the Duke of Brunswick, in July 1710. The De Thou Library was partially dispersed as early as in 1680, but it is probable that the allusion here is to a subsequent attempt to resell a portion of that noble collection. On the whole I think it probable that the paper was printed before the death of William III.

The entire piece is so curious that it may deserve to be quoted at length:—"The Royal Library, now at St. James's, designed and founded for public use, was in the time of James I. in a flourishing condition, well stored with all sorts of good books of that and the preceding age, from the beginning of printing. But in the succeeding reigns it has gradually gone to decay, to the great dishonour of the Crown and the whole nation. The room is miserably out of repair, and so little that it will not contain the books that belong to it. A collection of ancient medals, once the best in Europe, is embezzled and quite lost. There has been no supply of books from abroad for the space of 60 years past; nor any allowance for binding; so that many valuable manuscripts are spoiled for want of covers; and above one thousand books printed in England and brought in guises to the library, as due by the Act for Printing, are all unbound and useless. It is therefore humbly proposed, as a thing that will highly conduce to the public good, the glory of his Majesty's reign, and the honour of Parliament:

"1. That his Majesty be graciously pleased to assign a corner of St. James's Park, on the south-side near the garden of the late Sir John Cutler, for the building of a new Library; and in the neighbourhood of it a competent dwelling for the Library-keeper.

Bentley ultimately resigned his keepership in favour of his son, Richard Bentley, by whom the office was sold to Claudius Amyand, the last holder of it, under the original conditions.

The list of Royal Librarians, so far as I find them recorded, runs thus:—

John Leland, 1533—1552?

Roger Ascham, 1552?—1568.

. . . . . .

"2. This situation will have all the advantages that can be wished for. 'Tis an elevated soil, and a dry sandy ground; the air clear, and the light free; the building, not contiguous to any houses, will be safer from fire; a coach-way will be made to it out of Tuttle-Street, Westminster; the front of it will be parallel to the Park-walk, and the Park will receive no injury but a great ornament by it.

"3. That the said Library be built, and a perpetual yearly revenue for the purchase of books settled on it by Act of Parliament, which revenue may be under the direction and disposal of curators, who are from time to time to make report to his Majesty of the state and condition of the Library. ....

"4. The choice of a proper fund, whence the said revenue may be raised, is left to the wisdom of Parliament. In the meantime the following is humbly offered to consideration:

"5. That as soon as the present tax of 40 per cent upon Foreign paper, and 20 per cent upon English, shall either expire or be taken off, there shall be laid a very small tax of... per cent (as it shall be judged sufficient for the uses of such a Library) upon imported paper only, leaving our own manufactures free. Which tax may be collected by his Majesty's officers of the Customs, and paid to such person or persons as shall be appointed by the curators.

"6. This being so easie a tax, and a burthen scarce to be felt, can create no damp upon the stationer's trade. And whatever shall be paid by them upon this foot being to be laid out in the purchase of books, will return among them again. So that 'tis but giving with one hand what they will receive with the other.

"7. And whereas our own white-paper manufacture, that was growing up so hopefully, and deserves the greatest encouragement, being all clear gains to the Kingdom, is now almost quite sunk, under the weight of the present tax, this new one upon imported paper, with the exception of our own, will set out upon the higher ground, and

Patrick Young, 1609—1647.
Bulstrode Whitelocke, July 1649—1660.?
[*John Dury*, Deputy-Keeper.]
Thomas Rosse, 1660—Oct. 1675.
[*Richard Pearson*, Deputy-Keeper.]
Frederick Thynne, 1675—1694.
[*Henry Justel*, Deputy-Keeper.]
Richard Bentley, April 1694—1735?
[*David Casley*, Deputy-Keeper.]
Richard Bentley, the younger, June 1735?
Claudius Amyand.....

give it a new life. For whatsoever is taken from the one, is as good as given to the other. So that even without regard to this design of a Library, the tax will be a public benefit.

"8. A Library erected upon this certain and perpetual fund may be so contrived for capaciousness and convenience, that every one that comes there may have 200,000 volumes ready for his use and service: and societies may be formed that shall meet and have conferences there about matters of learning. The Royal Society is a noble instance, in one branch of knowledge, of what advantage and glory may accrue to the nation by such assemblies, not confined to one subject, but free to all parts of good learning.

"9. The wall that shall encompass the Library may be cased on the inside with marbles of ancient inscriptions, basso-relievos, etc., either found in our kingdom, or easily and cheaply to be had from the African coast, and Greece, and Asia the Less. Those few antiquities procured from the Greek Islands by the Lord Arundel, and since published, both at home and abroad, are an evidence what great advancement of learning and honor to the nation may be acquired by these means.

"10. Upon this Parliamentary fund the curators, if occasion be, may take up money at interest, so as to lay out two or three years' revenues, to buy whole libraries at once; as at this very time the incomparable collections of Thuanus, in France, and Marquardus Gudius, in Germany, might be purchased at a very low value.

"11. And since the writings of the English nation have at present that great reputation abroad, that many persons of all countries learn our language, and several travel hither for the advancement of con-

BOOK III. Chapter I. Library of the British Museum.

The Royal Library was incorporated with the other collections of the British Museum, by Letters-Patent of George II. in the year 1759. The reversion of the Librarianship was attached to the gift.

At this time, according to a contemporary statement, the Library contained about 12,000 volumes, of which 10,200 were printed books, and 1800 were MSS.[1] A few very choice books—chiefly, I believe, presentation-copies—were retained by the King, but most of these came ultimately to the Museum, by the subsequent gift of George IV.

§. 2. THE COTTONIAN LIBRARY.

II. The Cotton Library.

Next of the four original collections,—adhering to the chronological order of their respective commencements,—comes the Library of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, one of the fathers of British Archæology.

It appears to have been in or about the memorable year 1588, that the founder began to collect largely and systematically the ancient chronicles, records, charters, and other historical muniments of Britain; and he carried on the good work during more than forty years. The descendant of an ancient Cheshire family (still flourishing

conversation; 'tis easie to foresee how much this glory will be advanced by erecting a Free Library of all sorts of books, where every foreigner will have such convenience of studying.

"12. 'Tis our public interest and profit to have the gentry of foreign nations acquainted with England, and have part of their education here. And more money will be annually imported and spent here by such students from abroad,' than the whole charge and revenue of this Library will amount to."

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1757 (vol. xxvii., p. 381).

in some of its branches), he was himself born at Denton, in Huntingdonshire, on the 22nd January, 1570; too late to share, at first hand, in the spoils of the old monastic libraries, yet early enough to profit by the many precious opportunities which the necessity or the avarice, the misfortunes or the death, of the early acquirers, opened up in rich abundance. In this pursuit he grudged neither money nor pains. It was both the labour and the solace of his life. And that interruption of his enjoyment of its results, which had been brought about by private malice in union with courtly mis-government, hastened his death.

From a letter which Harsnet, Archbishop of York, addressed to the elder Sir Henry Vane, in November, 1629, it appears that certain official persons at the instance, as afterwards appeared, of Sir Thomas Wentworth, subsequently Earl of Strafford, "were sent to seal up Sir Robert Cotton's Library, and to bring himself before the Lords of His Majesty's Council. There was found in his custody a pestilent tractate... containing a project how a prince may make himself an absolute tyrant." The book thus described was the production of the famous son of a famous father, Sir Robert Dudley, and has been printed in Rushworth's *Collections*, under the title of "*A proposition for His Majesty's service to bridle the impertinence of Parliaments.*" According to Sir Symonds D'Ewes, this MS. "passed from hand to hand till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow... to transcribe it, which plainly proves that he knew not himself that the... tract had originally come out of his own Library" [lent out, it is said, for money, by Richard James, his librarian]. . "When I went,"

proceeds Sir Symonds, "to visit and comfort him (in 1630), he would tell me, 'they had broken his heart, that had locked up his Library from him!' ... He was so outworn in a few months with anguish and grief, as [that] his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well coloured, was wholly in a green-blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage."[1] Sir Robert Cotton died in May, 1631.[2]

Sir Robert Cotton debarred from the use of his Library.

Sir Thomas Cotton, his successor, inherited his father's Library, and considerably augmented it, although his progress was hindered by the excitements of the times. Sir S. D'Ewes, in his caustic way, describes him as wholly addicted to the tenacious increasing of his worldly "wealth, and altogether unworthy to be master of so inestimable a Library."[3] But some personal incompatibility may, unconsciously to the delineator, have darkened the sketch. The founder's grandson, Sir John Cotton, continued the task under more favourable circumstances. It has been said, too, that he was liberal in the admission of writers and scholars to the use of the collection. Bishop Burnet's experience, however, proves conclusively that any such liberality must have been partial and capricious. In narrating the incidents attendant on the composition of his *History of the Reformation,* he tells us that when he had exhausted the sources of information

[1] *Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir S. D'Ewes,* ii, 40, seqq.

[2] There is a fine portrait of Cotton, engraved by Vertue, in the first volume of "*Vetusta Monumenta*"; and a contemporary one by Cross is prefixed to his Address to Prince Henry ("advising him *not* to affect Arms more than Peace"), with this motto:—

"Æsculapius hic librorum, ærugo, vetustas,
Per quem nulla potest Britonum consumere chartas."

[3] *Autobiography, ut supra,* 43.

which lay immediately at his command, he "knew what treasures were still in the Cotton Library." "The present Bishop of Worcester," he continues, "carried me to John Cotton to ask admittance, but a great prelate had been beforehand with us, and had possessed him with such prejudices against me, as being no friend to the prerogative of the crown, nor to the Constitution of the Church, that he said (as he was prepared) that *unless the Archbishop of Canterbury and a Secretary of State would recommend me,* as a person fit to have access to his Library, he desired to be excused; and though that worthy Prelate [Worcester] said that he would be answerable for the use that I would make of it, yet he could not be prevailed to depart from the answer that he made us, nor could that reverend person prevail on Archbishop Sancroft to interpose."[1]

It may reasonably be conjectured that Burnet's recollection of this instance of the intrusion of party-spleen into a domain from which it might so easily be excluded, (and his just resentment of the consecutive circumstance that he found himself forced to choose between an illicit entrance into the Cotton Library, during its owner's absence, by the favour of one of Sir John Cotton's friends, and the privation of his book of materials essential to its completeness,) may not have been without its influence in bringing about, in better times, the passing of that Act of Parliament (12 and 13 William III. c. 7), by which it was enacted that the Library should be kept and preserved by the name of the Cottonian Library,

Cotton Library made public by 12 and 13 William III. c. 7. — A. D. 1700.

[1] Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Introd. to vol. III, 8 (Edition of 1714).

for public use and advantage;" . . . and that therefore, according to the desire of the said Sir John Cotton, and at his request, the said Mansion House, . . . and also all the said Library, . . . together with all coins, medals and other rarities . . . should be . . . vested in Trustees," etc.

Other projects were soon formed, with a view to the still more complete obtainment of the advantage of a Public Library in London. Seven years after the passing of the Act of William III., we find Sir Hans Sloane writing to Dr. Charlett: "Here are great designs on foot for uniting the Queen's Library, the Cotton, and the Royal Society's together. How soon they may be put in practice time must discover."[1] Time has discovered that the scheme was only to be carried out, and that but partially, through the public spirit of Sir Hans Sloane himself, almost half a century later. In a sense, indeed, all the libraries which he mentioned in his letter to the Master of University, of April, 1707, *were* ultimately united, when the most precious portion of the Royal Society's collection—the Arundelian MSS.—was added to the previously combined collections of the English Kings, of Cotton, and of Sloane.

Act for the improvement of the Cotton Library.

But, even in 1707, an important step was taken by the passing of "*An Act for the better securing of Her Majesty's purchase of Cotton House in Westminster.*" This Act recites that since the preceding enactment of 1700 "very little had been done in pursuance thereof to make the said Library useful to the public, except what had been lately done at Her Majesty's charge," and that the place

[1] *Letters of eminent persons*, i. 166.

wherein the Library then was being a "a narrow, little, damp room," was "improper for preserving the books and papers;" and then proceeds to declare that an agreement had been made for the purchase of Cotton House for £4,500—"to the intent that it might be in Her Majesty's power to make this most valuable collection useful to her own subjects, and to all learned strangers."

Removal of the Library from Cotton House.

Within five years, however, this unfortunate Library was removed from Cotton House to Essex House in the Strand (1712); and thence, again, in 1730, to Ashburnham House,* at Westminster (already containing the Royal collection), where it had not long been lodged, when the fire occurred by which it was so seriously injured. The account which the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry gives of this calamity runs thus:

Partial destruction of Cotton Library by fire in 1731.

"On Saturday morning, October 23, 1731, a great smoke was perceived by Dr. Bentley and the rest of the family at Ashburnham House, which soon after broke out into a flame: *It began from a wooden mantel-tree taking fire which lay across a stove-chimney* that was under the room where the MSS. of the Royal and Cottonian Libraries were lodged, and was communicated to that room by the wainscot and by pieces of timber, that stood perpendicularly upon each end of the mantel-tree." [It was probably some strange misconception of this incident, that led Lord Oxford, when writing to Thomas Hearne just two months after the fire, to describe it as "the terrible calamity that had befallen the Cottonian Library *through the villany of that monster in nature, Bentley;* he must be detested by all human creatures, I mean the civilized part of them." Well may his Lordship add, by way of

somewhat softening this fierce outburst: "I have not yet been able to bring myself to write or speak on this subject with any sort of temper or patience.[1]"]

"They were in hopes, at first," continues the Committee, "to put a stop to the fire by throwing water upon the pieces of timber and wainscot, . . and therefore did not begin to remove the books so soon as they otherwise would have done. But, the fire prevailing, Mr. Casley, the Deputy-Librarian, took care in the first place to remove the famous *Alexandrian MS.*, and the books under the head of *Augustus*" [twelve of the presses, it will be remembered, were adorned by the heads of the twelve Cæsars, whence the still existing designations or press-marks, as, for instance, that of the famous Durham Book, mentioned in a previous chapter—*Nero, D iv.*]"in the Cottonian Library, as being esteemed the most valuable amongst the collection. Several entire presses, with the books in them, were also removed, but . . . several of the backs of the presses being already on fire, they were obliged to be broke open, and the books, as many as could be, were thrown out of the windows."[2] . . . . All that were saved, and the remains of what had been burnt, were removed to the Dormitory of Westminster school.

At the time of the fire, the number of Manuscript volumes was 958. Of this number 114 were reported to be "lost, burnt, or entirely spoiled; and 98 damaged so as to be defective."[3] Mr. Speaker Onslow took immediate

[1] *Letters of eminent persons*, ii., 86.

[2] *Report of the Committee appointed to view the Cottonian Library* (1732), 11—15.

[3] Casley (Deputy-Librarian), Appendix to *Report, ut supra.*

measures, in conjunction with Dr. Bentley and Mr. Casley, for the examination of the burnt MSS., and for the repair of such as were then deemed alone reparable. Three months afterwards the Record-Clerk to whom the task was more particularly committed, reports his progress: "One hundred and upwards," he says, "being volumes of Letters and State-Papers, have been quite taken to pieces, washed, and bound again." But he laments that "there having no way hitherto been found out to extend vellum and parchment, that has been shrivel'd up and contracted by fire, to its former dimensions, part of several of the vellum MSS. must remain not legible unless the desideratum can be supplied."

Extent of injury by the fire at Ashburnham House.

For nearly a century some of the most precious of the injured MSS. remained as the fire had left them. But in 1824, by the care of Mr. Forshall, then Keeper of the MSS. of the British Museum, a commencement was made towards their restoration, which his successor, Sir F. Madden, has zealously and successfully continued. About two hundred volumes have been repaired, and more or less completely restored, a considerable number of which were previously regarded as beyond recovery.

Of the 900 volumes of which the Cottonian collection consists, nearly 200 are State-Papers of the highest value. They include a vast series relating to the diplomatic intercourse between England and almost every State of Europe, extending from the reign of Edward III. to that of James I., and of these documents no small proportion consists of the original letters of Sovrans and of Statesmen. Even those papers which are not original have a high degree of authority as being, for the

most part, coeval transcripts. The public importance, therefore, of the long continued and very difficult task of restoration can hardly be over-estimated.

The calamity of 1731 brought about what may, in a sense, be termed a partial compensation, by inducing Major Arthur Edwards to make an important bequest, with the view of precluding its recurrence. Owing to the protraction of a life interest in the legacy—the terms of which will be cited in describing the Act of Incorporation—it did not become available until other arrangements had made its application to building purposes needless. It was, consequently, in pursuance of the Testator's contingent instructions, appropriated to the purchase of books in the manner and with results which will be spoken of in a subsequent chapter. Major Edwards also bequeathed about 2000 volumes of printed books, by way of addition to the Cottonian Library of MSS. These, however, were not actually incorporated with the Museum collections until the year 1769.

§ iii. THE HARLEIAN LIBRARY.

III. The Harleian Library.

Robert Harley (afterwards Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and Lord High Treasurer of England) began to collect the vast library with which his family name is imperishably connected, notwithstanding the dispersion, nearly a century since, of its largest portion, about the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne. His first considerable purchase was made in August, 1705, and within ten years of that date he was the owner of nearly 2500 valuable MSS., amongst which were the collections of Fox the Martyrologist; of Stow, the historian

of London; of Charles, Lancaster Herald, and of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, the eminent antiquary.

Almost the whole life of the last-named collector was devoted to antiquarian pursuits. He was indefatigable in the examination and transcription of the records he could not purchase, and in the systematic arrangement of those which he was able to acquire. His final disposal of his collections was in these terms (partly an almost literal translation of the words which the great historian De Thou, of whom Sir Symonds was an ardent admirer, had used for a similar purpose twenty years before):—"I bequeath to Adrian D'Ewes, my young son, yet lying in the cradle" [who eventually predeceased him], "or to any other of my sons hereafter to be born, who shall prove my heir (if God shall vouchsafe unto me a masculine heir by whom my surname and male line may be continued in the ages to come), my precious Library, in which I have stored up for divers years past, with great care, cost, and industry, divers originals and autographs, ... written books, and such as are unprinted; and it is my inviolable injunction or behest that he keep it entire, and not sell, divide, or dissipate it. Neither would I have it locked up from furthering the public good, the advancing of which I have always endeavoured; but that all lovers of learning, of known virtue and integrity, might have access to it at reasonable times, so that they did give sufficient security to restore safely any original or autograph ... borrowed out of the same .. without blotting, or erasing, or defraying it. But if God hath decreed now at last to add an end to my family in the male line .... his

Will of Sir Symonds D'Ewes, as respects his Library.

most holy and just will be done! And then my will is that my said Library .. shall be entirely possessed by my eldest daughter, upon this condition that she ..... neither .... will sell away nor dissipate all or any part of my said Library, nor willingly suffer the same to be sold away or dissipated." He proceeds to particularize the bonds to be entered into to this end, and the penalties of violation; and then adds:—"Yet I ordain, as before, that not only all lovers of learning of an upright or honest life, well known, may have access to it at seasonable times, but that also all ..... collections which concern mine own family, or my wife's, ... may freely be lent ..... (upon security given for the safe restitution of them,") .. to members of the family and those connected with them by marriage. And he subjoins his solemn averment that he "only sought after the very truth, as well in these things as in all other my elucubrations, whilst I searched amongst the king's records or public offices."[1] Eventually the entire collection came into the hands of the Earl of Oxford, and is now most thoroughly accessible to all lovers of learning.

Having availed himself of all the opportunities which occurred at home, the Earl sent agents abroad for the collection both of printed books and MSS. on a very extensive scale. At his death the MS. portion of his library amounted to 6,000 volumes, besides 14,000 charters and 500 "rolls."

Edward, second Earl of Oxford (of this family), continued the task with equal zeal and liberality. At length this noble collection included nearly 8,000 volumes of

[1] *Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir S. D'Ewes*, i.. 150-152.

MSS.; perhaps 50,000 volumes of printed books, 41,000 prints, and a series of pamphlets so extensive that they were estimated to number 400,000 distinct pieces,—the historical and literary value of which is to some extent known to all readers who have profited—and who at some time or other has not profited?—by the *Harleian Miscellany*.

Within less than half a century, the collection which had been assembled by efforts so unremitting and an expenditure theretofore without parallel in England, came to be regarded, it would seem, rather as a burden than as a source of justifiable family pride. It had descended to the daughter and heiress of Earl Edward, Margaret, Duchess of Portland, and by her and her mother, the widow of that Earl, it was offered for sale. The collection of MSS. was happily secured for the nation, but the printed books—of which Johnson said, in his preface to the catalogue, "it excels any Library that was ever yet offered to sale in the value as well as the number of the volumes which it contains"—[1] were permitted to be dispersed, and thus an opportunity was foregone, which, in some respects, is irretrievable. The price paid by Parliament for the former was ten thousand pounds.

In the formation of the Harleian Library of MSS., as in that of the Cottonian Library, the main object, at least in the outset, was to illustrate British History. Lord Oxford, and those who advised him, knew well that, notwithstanding the many reapers who had preceded him

[1] Johnson, *Account of the Harleian Library; (Works*, Oxford Edit. of 1825, v. 180-189).

in that field, the gleanings would be ample. But this was a part only of the plan, and the plan itself expanded as its execution progressed. The staple of the collection is still its English antiquarian lore, but so rich is it in other departments of literature that it would be a famous Library, even were that section removed.

In the class "Theology," for instance, it includes 300 MSS. of the Bible or of parts thereof in Hebrew, Chaldee, Greek, Arabic, and Latin,—some of them of very high antiquity,—a remarkable series of Talmudical and Rabbinical books; nearly 200 volumes of the Fathers of the Church, ranging in date from the ninth to the fourteenth century; an assemblage of Liturgies and Liturgical works of the Syrian, Samaritan, Roman, Greek, and English Churches, many of them finely illuminated.

In "Polite Literature" the Harleian collection is also rich. It includes much early English poetry, a considerable series of Lexicons, Dictionaries, and Glossaries; some valuable copies of Greek and Latin Classics; and a multitude of minor pieces in most of the modern languages of Europe, many of which are of great rarity and curiosity.

Of the wealth of its historical department, a general idea will best be given to those who are not personally familiar with it, by some quotations (taken from the preface to the original catalogue) which will be found in a subsequent chapter.

The final catalogue of this remarkable collection (which in its complete form was published in 1812) had been upwards of a century in preparation, and embodied the labour of at least seven eminent bibliographers.

It was commenced by Humphrey Wanley in 1708, and employed him, at intervals, until his death in 1726. David Casley resumed it a few years afterwards; it was continued by Mr. Hocker, Deputy Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, and its further progress was then interrupted for half a century. In 1800, at the instance of the Commissioners on the Public Records, the task was resumed by the Rev. Robert Nares, the Rev. Stebbing Shaw and Mr. Douce. Finally, an excellent series of Indexes was compiled by the Rev. T. Hartwell Horne, and was published in 1812.

§ iv. The Sloane Collections.

The *Royal*, the *Cottonian*, and the *Harleian* Collections form a most important part of the original ground-work of the Museum Library, but neither an English king, a Sir Robert Cotton, or an Earl of Oxford, has so good a claim to be regarded as its virtual founder, as has Sir Hans Sloane. Eminent alike as a most thorough explorer of nature, so far as the means and appliances of his day extended, and as a devoted and successful physician; as an archæologist, he both knew himself, and enabled others to learn, that—

> "Nor rough nor barren are the ways
> Of hoar antiquity, but strewn with flowers."

At a very early age Sir Hans Sloane gave unmistakeable evidence of the tastes and tendencies of a genuine collector, but the particular channel which they took, and the perseverance with which they were followed up, owed much to the friendship he had contracted at Mont-

pellier, with William Courten, whose extensive and curious museum he ultimately inherited.

The birth and pursuits of William Courten.

Courten was the grandson of one of those Flemish refugees who fled from the tyranny of Alba, and in exile gave a memorable impulse to the arts and commerce of England. The subsequent history of the family may truly be characterized as one of the 'romances of real life.' Beginning as haberdashers in a bye-lane of London, the Courtens rapidly established a great commercial house, whose dealings extended over the world, and whose enterprise was exceeded only by its integrity,—brought as this was into still bolder relief by the unworthy conduct of one member of the family, and by the manner in which the losses thus entailed on the house were borne. These losses, however, proved to be but the first of a long series of disasters, the accumulation of which ruined a family that appeared already to have struck a root not only amongst the merchant princes, but amongst the great landed proprietors, of the realm. The result was that the William Courten of the third generation passed a portion of his life in exile and under a feigned name; and another portion of it in retirement, though not in obscurity, in London. There he employed himself chiefly in the formation of collections which obtained great celebrity in their day, —as many readers will remember from Evelyn's record of his repeated visits to them,[1]—and ultimately formed

[1] Under the date 16 December, 1686, Evelyn writes thus:—"I carried the Countess of Sunderland to see the rarities of one Mr. Charlton" [Courten had assumed the name, either, as has been somewhere said, because his doing so had been made a condition of the compromise he had entered into at the termination of his lawsuits, or, more probably, in disgust at

no inconsiderable part of the original British Museum.

On a former page of this chapter, I have cited a paragraph written by Sir Hans Sloane, almost half a century before his death, which reads almost like an unconscious prophecy. But there is evidence that his thoughts were long turned towards the permanent preservation of his collections for the public use. And although these were ultimately *purchased* by Parliament from his executors, in accordance with the directions in his last will, the "purchase" was rather nominal than real, since the price was utterly out of proportion with their cost and value.

In this will he says:—

Will of Sir Hans Sloane.

"*Whereas from my youth I have been a great observer and admirer of the wonderful power, wisdom, and contrivance of the Almighty God, appearing in the works of his Creation, and have gathered together ..... books, both printed and manuscript, ... natural and artificial curiosities, precious stones, ... dried plants, ... and the like, ... amounting in the whole to a very great sum of money: Now, desiring very much, that these things, tending many ways to the manifestation of the glory of God, the confutation of atheism and its conse-*

the unsatisfactory result of his long efforts], "in the Middle Temple, who showed us such a collection as I had never seen in all my travels abroad, either of private gentlemen or princes. It consisted of miniatures, drawings, shells, insects, medals, ... minerals, ... all being very perfect and rare of their kind, especially his books of birds, fishes, flowers, and shells, drawn and miniatured to the life. He told us that one book stood him in £300. It was painted by that excellent workman whom the late Gaston, Duke of Orleans, employed. This gentleman's whole collection, gathered by himself travelling over most parts of Europe, is estimated at £8000. He appeared to be a modest and obliging person. *Diary*, etc. (Edit. 1854), ii. 260. Three years later Evelyn records another visit. *Ibid.* 306.

quences, the use and improvement of arts and sciences, and benefit of mankind, may remain together and not be separated, and that chiefly in and about the city of London, where they may by the great confluence of people be of most use, ... do hereby request that (my) ..... trustees ..... do make their humble application to Parliament ..... to pay ..... 20,000l. .... unto my executors .... in consideration of the said collection (it not being, as I apprehend and believe, a fourth of the real and intrinsic value), and also to obtain .... sufficient and effectual powers, ... for the preserving and continuing my said collection, in such manner as they shall think most likely to answer the public benefit by me intended, etc."

The Act for Establishing the British Museum.

The Act, 26 Geo. II, c. 22 (1753), is entitled, *An Act for the purchase of the Museum or Collection of Sir Hans Sloane, and of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, and for providing one General Repository for the better reception and more convenient use of the said collections and of the Cottonian Library and of the addition thereto.* It recites the tenor of Sir Hans Sloane's bequest, and the assent of his Trustees to the removal of his Museum from Chelsea, "to any proper place within the cities of London or Westminster, or the suburbs thereof, if such removal shall be judged most advantageous to the Public;" and then declares that "whereas all Arts and Sciences have a connexion with each other, and discoveries in natural philosophy, and other branches of speculative knowledge, for the advancement .. whereof the said Museum .. was intended .. may in many instances give help.. to the most useful experiments and inventions: Therefore, to the end that the said Museum may be preserved and maintained, not only for the inspection and entertainment of the learned

and the curious, but for the general use and benefit of the public," it enacts the payment of £20,000 to Sir Hans Sloane's executors .. in full satisfaction for his said Museum."

Incorporation of Cottonian Library with the Library and Museum of Sloane.

The Act of the 12 and 13 of William III, c. 7, concerning the Cottonian Library, is then recited, as is also that of the 5 of Anne, c. 30, and it is declared, first, that "although the public faith hath been thus engaged to provide for the better reception and more convenient use of the Cottonian Library, a proper repository for that purpose hath not yet been prepared, for the want of which the said Library did ... suffer by a fire;" ...

And with the Bequest of Arthur Edwards.

and, secondly, that "Arthur Edwards, late of Saint George, Hanover Square, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire, being desirous to preserve for the public use the said Library, and to prevent the like accident for the future," had bequeathed the sum of £7000, after a certain contingency, "to erect in a proper situation such a house as might be most likely to preserve that Library from all accidents," or, if a proper building should sooner be erected, then "to be employed in purchasing such MSS., Books of Antiquities, ancient coins, medals, and other curiosities as might be worthy to increase .. the said Library, and to that end had also bequeathed all his books; therefore it is enacted that such legacy shall be paid to the Trustees created by this Act."

And with the Harleian MSS.

It is further enacted that the sum of ten thousand pounds shall be paid to the Trustees of the Earl and Countess of Oxford for the Harleian MSS., which are "to be placed and continued in the same Repository"

with the Cottonian Library; and that twenty official persons therein named shall, *ex officio,* together with six other persons as the representatives of the families of Sloane, Cotton, and Harley, respectively, together with fifteen other persons to be chosen by the twenty-six or by the major part of them in general meeting assembled, be Trustees for putting the Act into execution.

It is also enacted that the Principal Librarian to whom the custody of the said general repository shall be chiefly committed, shall be appointed by the Crown, on the nomination by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, or any two of them, of two persons, "each of whom they shall judge fit to execute the said office;" all other officers and servants being appointed by the three principal Trustees aforesaid, or any two of them, at their own discretion.

The twenty-fourth and following clauses of the Act direct that the sum of £300,000 shall be raised by a lottery (consisting of 100,000 shares at three pounds a share), of which sum £200,000 is to be allotted in prizes, and the remaining £100,000 (after payment of expenses) to be applied to the purposes of the Act. The net produce was £95,194; of which sum thirty thousand pounds was invested by way of fund or nest-egg towards expenses of maintenance.

Purchase of Montagu House.

After much discussion the purchase of Montagu House for the reception of the Museum was determined on. Its purchase money was £10,250; its repair and adaptation cost £12,873. This mansion had been designed for Ralph, Duke of Montagu, by Pierre Puget, a native

of Marseilles. Every vestige of it has now disappeared, but it will long be remembered by those familiar with London, as one of the last, as it was one of the most magnificent, specimens of the true French hotel, 'entre cour et jardin,' which our metropolis could display. In recent days the collections had completely outgrown their habitation, but for a long time it had been well adapted to its purpose, and its gardens were the ornament and delight of the neighbourhood.

Sloane's plan for the government of the British Museum.

In one of the codicils of his will, Sir Hans Sloane had himself requested certain persons therein named, fifty in number, to be his "*Trustees* for the holding, preserving, and well-keeping of all his collections, in order that the same may be rendered as useful as possible, as well towards satisfying the desire of the curious as for the improvement, knowledge, and information of all persons;" and he further requested certain other persons, thirty in number, to be "*Visitors* of his said museum or collections." The list of *Trustees* comprised two or three of the Testator's nearest relatives; the President, Treasurer, and Secretaries of the Royal Society, for the time being; the Astronomer Royal; the Rector of Chelsea, for the time being; and many persons chiefly known for their cultivation of literature or science, such as Horace Walpole, Philip Yorke, James Theobald, Joseph Ames (the historian of printing), Drs. Thomas Shaw, Stephen Hales, William Stukely, and William Watson; and Mr. James Empson, who had been Curator of the museum in the testator's lifetime.

To these persons and to others of similar qualifica-

tions he proposed to confide the practical management of the collections.

The *Visitors*, on the other hand, he desired to select from amongst persons of eminent official position and rank. They were to have "full power and authority to supervise and examine the Museum and the management thereof, and to visit, correct, and reform, from time to time, as there may be occasion, either jointly with the said Trustees, or separately, ... all abuses ... or mismanagements that may happen to arise therein."

Existing Constitution of the Museum Trust.

The enactment above mentioned did not, however, recognize the important distinction between the functions of Trustees, and those of Visitors, which had thus been laid down by the testator. The entire control and management was vested in the Board of official, family, and elected Trustees. At first, the Board thus constituted numbered forty-one persons. This number has since been increased, but it necessarily fluctuates, from the occasional combination of an official with a *family* trusteeship, and from the very frequent combination of an official with an elective trusteeship, in the same individual.

The nomination of the two Trustees who represent the *Sloane* family was vested in the heirs male of Charles, Lord Cadogan, and of Hans Stanley Esq. That of the two Trustees who represent the *Cotton* family was vested in the heirs male of Frances Hanbury, who was heir general of Sir Robert-Cotton at the date of the transfer of the Cottonian Library to the British Museum. That of the two Trustees who represent the *Harley* family was vested in Henrietta, Countess Dowager of Ox-

ford, and in her daughter, Margaret, Duchess of Portland, and the heirs male of the latter. When the Townley collection of sculpture, coins, gems, etc., was added to the museum (by purchase), in 1805, the Act 45 Geo. III, c. 127, empowered the heirs of Edward Townley Standish, Esq., to nominate a Trustee to represent the *Townley* family. When the Elgin marbles were similarly acquired in 1816, the Act 56 Geo. III, c. 99, vested a trusteeship in Thomas, Earl of *Elgin*, and, after his decease, in every person who should succeed in that dignity. In 1824, on the acquisition of the collections bequeathed by Richard Payne Knight, another hereditary trusteeship was vested by the Act 5, Geo. IV, c. 60, in Thomas Andrew Knight, Esq., and his male descendants, and, failing them, in the next descendants of Richard Knight, grand father of Mr. Payne Knight, the testator. Finally, in 1833, the Act 2 William IV, c. 46, vested the nomination of a Trustee in His then Majesty, his heirs and successors, under the sign-manual. It is in these ten family Trustees conjointly with the twenty-three official Trustees that the power of electing the remaining fifteen is lodged.

The constitution of the Trust has been repeatedly the subject of public inquiry and discussion. On two occasions, especially, it attracted attention; the first, when the affairs of the Museum were under the investigation of a Committee of the House of Commons in 1835–36; and the second, during the sitting of the Commission of Inquiry (presided over by the late Earl of Ellesmere), which was appointed in 1847, and made its report in 1849. On this matter the *Committee* recommended

"that in filling up vacancies it would be desirable that the electing Trustees should not in future lose sight of the fact that an opportunity is thus afforded them of occasionally conferring a mark of distinction upon men of eminence in literature, science and art," and the *Commission* that in its opinion, "absorbing public cares, professional avocations, and the pursuits of private life, must in many instances prevent those individuals whose assistance might have been best relied on from giving anything like continued attention to the affairs of the institution, and, what is perhaps of more importance, the large number of the Board, by dividing or rather extinguishing individual duty or responsibility, has, in a great measure, interfered with the superintendence and control which might have been usefully exercised by any smaller selected number, specially charged with the duty."

The remedy suggested by the last named body for these alleged defects in the constitution of the trust is thus set forth: "The view which has met the approval of the majority of Your Majesty's Commissioners is that an *Executive Council* should be formed, consisting of a Chairman to be appointed by the Crown, and who, if not already a Trustee, should become a Trustee by virtue of his office; of four members to be chosen by the Trustees from among their own number; and of two other members to be appointed by the Crown, one distinguished for attainments in literature, and the other for attainments in natural history;—the former having a more immediate and special supervision of those departments of the Museum which are connected with literature, and the latter of those departments which are

devoted to Natural History. The Chairman should hold office, not for life or during pleasure, but for a definite term, such as five years, and be re-eligible. The two ordinary members chosen by the Crown must be paid by salary. Whether the Chairman should also be a salaried officer presents grave matter for consideration on which Your Commissioners are not unanimous." In most of its features this scheme has hitherto remained a mere project. The Trustees have, however, appointed an Executive Committee out of their own body, and a new office has been created for the general superintendence of the Natural History Collection.

The present composition (1857) of the Board is as follows:—

I. OFFICIAL TRUSTEES:—

1. *The Archbishop of Canterbury.* } *The Three Principal Trustees.*
2. *The Lord High Chancellor.* } *The Three Principal Trustees.*
3. *The Speaker of the House of Commons.* } *The Three Principal Trustees.*
4. *The Lord President of the Council.*
5. *The Lord Privy Seal.*
6. *The Lord Steward.*
7. *The Lord Chamberlain.*
8. *The First Lord of the Treasury.*
9. *The First Lord of the Admiralty.*
10. *The Lord Bishop of London.*
11. *The Secretary of State for the Home Department.*
12. *The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.*
13. *The Secretary of State for the Colonies.*
14. *The Chancellor of the Exchequer.*
15. *The Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.*
16. *The Master of the Rolls.*
17. *The Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.*
18. *The Attorney General.*
19. *The Solicitor General.*
20. *The President of the Royal Society.*
21. *The President of the College of Physicians.*
22. *The President of the Society of Antiquaries.*
23. *The President of the Royal Academy.*

Present Trustees.

II. FAMILY TRUSTEES.

1. *Royal* .... [At present vacant.]
2. } *Sloane* { Edward Geoffrey Smith, *Earl of Derby.*
3. } { George, *Earl Cadogan.*
4. } *Cotton* { George Annesley, *Esq.*
5. } { The Rev. Francis Annesley.
6. } *Harley* { John Frederick, *Earl Cawdor.*
7. } { *Lord* Henry W. Cavendish Bentinck.
8. *Townely* .. Charles Townley, *Esq.*
9. *Elgin* .. James, *Earl of Elgin, K.T.*
10. *Knight* .. Frederick Winn Knight, *Esq. M.P.*

III. ELECTED TRUSTEES.

1. George, *Earl of Aberdeen, K.T.*
2. Henry Petty, *Marquess of Lansdowne, K.G.*
3. Henry Hallam, *Esq.*
4. William Richard Hamilton, *Esq.*
5. George Granville, *Duke of Sutherland, K.G.*
6. Thomas Babington, *Lord Macaulay.*
7. *The Right Hon. Sir* David Dundas.
8. *Sir* Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, *Bart. M.P.*
9. Edward Adolphus, *Duke of Somerset.*
10. *Sir* Roderick Impey Murchison.
11. *The Very Rev.* Henry Hart Milman, *D.D. Dean of St. Paul's.*
12. *The Right Hon. Lord* John Russell, *M.P.*
13. *The Right Hon.* William Ewart Gladstone, *M.P.*
14. *The Right Hon.* Sir George Cornewall Lewis, *Bart. M.P.*
15. *The Right Hon.* Spencer Horatio Walpole, *M.P.*

CHAPTER II.

GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM TO THE ACQUISITION OF THE LIBRARY OF KING GEORGE III. 1753-1828.

> . . . . "You have declared that you will endeavour to secure what with so much cost and industry you have collected, from the sad dispersions many noble Libraries and Cabinets have suffered in these late times: one auction . . . of a day or two having scattered what has been gathering many years. Hence it is that we in England are so defective of good Libraries amongst the Gentlemen and in our greatest towns . . . . . This great and august City of LONDON, abounding with so many wits and lettered persons, has scarce one Library furnished and endowed for the the Public."
>
> EVELYN to Pepys, A. D. 1680 ?
> (*Diary and Correspondence*, iii, 302-309.)

DURING a long series of years the growth of the National Library was mainly dependent on the gifts of private persons. King George III., indeed, made it a truly royal present —to be described hereafter—at the commencement of his reign, but it received no important grant of public money for its augmentation, until the lapse of more than half-a-century from the original establishment.

The first name which appears both prominently and frequently in the list of donors, is that of Thomas Hollis, —a man whose memory ought to be as dear to the

friends of liberty for his firm support of manly politics in critical times, as it is to the lovers of literature for that munificent spirit which prompted him to spend no small portion of a noble fortune in sending the best books of the best writers to all parts of the world. As a benefactor to the British Museum his name repeatedly occurs from 1756 almost to the day of his death in 1774. And, not content with enriching the collection himself, he was always ready both to prompt others to the imitation of his example, and to commemorate their benefactions. Thus it is that we find the name of Hollis in connection with two of the most noticeable of the early gifts to the Museum—those of Solomon Da Costa, and of King George III.

Da Costa's gift was made in 1759 and consisted of 180 valuable Hebrew works in History, Theology, and Jurisprudence. The letter which accompanied it is curious, in more respects than one, and will probably be thought not undeserving to be cited at length:—

"*To the noble, ingenuous, and learned Trustees of that magnificent Repository called* The British Museum, *health and prosperity, Amen.*

"Thus saith Solomon, son of the humble, pious, and honoured Isaac da Costa surnamed Athias, late of the city of Amsterdam, deceased, one of the people called Jews, which are scattered among the nations, and from among that part of the captives of Jerusalem which settled in Spain, who has sojourned fifty-four years and upwards, with security, advantage, and ease of mind, in this renowned metropolis, eminent above all others for the number, valour, freedom, commerce, know-

ledge, ingenuity, politeness, and humanity, of its inhabitants.

"Whereas a most stately monument hath been lately erected and endowed by the wisdom and munificence of the British legislature;—render unto them a recompense, O Lord, according to the work of their hands! —an house abounding in books, old and new, written and printed, and in the choicest curiosities, both natural and artificial, with intent to preserve the same to succeeding generations, in benefit to the people of these nations and of the whole earth, may it increase, and may it multiply! So, therefore, I bring unto you my mite, that is, a roll containing the law of Moses, written upon parchment, after the manner in use among the Jews, in their Synagogues; and a very antient manuscript, containing Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, which is likewise upon parchment; and another manuscript, containing the law of Moses, the Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and the Aphtaroth, also upon parchment; and one hundred and fourscore printed books in the Hebrew language, of old editions which were bound by order of Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and marked with his cypher, and were purchased by me in the days of my youth; the particulars, are they not written in the book that will be found herewith? requesting you benignly to accept the same, and to cause them to be deposited in the Museum, for inspection and service of the public, as a small token of my esteem, love, reverence, and gratitude, to this

magnanimous nation, and as a thanksgiving offering, in part, for the generous protection and numberless blessings which I have enjoyed under it.

"And now my prayer is unto thee, O Lord, that this great nation may cry, yea roar, and be exalted over all its enemies! and that peace may suddenly flow in upon it like the rapid current of a mighty river; so that our eyes may behold the King in his beauty, upon the highest pinnacle of glory, in fulness of success and joy, and that by him and his posterity the liberties and felicity of this people may be preserved and increased, as hitherto, till time shall have an end!—London, the 5th day of the week, and 5th day of the month Sivan, in the year 5519 from the formation."[1]

[1] Hollis's account of this remarkable person runs thus:—

"This Solomon Da Costa is no other than a broker; but a man of knowledge and virtue, and of such rare ability in his own profession, that he had acquired by it, during the course of his life, one hundred thousand pounds, and this without public scandal, or private fraud, or meanness. Much of this has been nobly scattered, from time to time, in deeds of piety and beneficence, as well to his own straggled beggar-nation as to our's. For many years he has spent annually among the latter, of my knowledge, in the counties of Surry and Kent alone, above one thousand pounds. This has been done in a district of about thirty contiguous parishes, to which he rode and rides by divisions weekly, and where he relieves the aged and disabled worthy poor with clothes, and food, and money; and causes the industrious but necessitous young to be clothed, instructed, and placed out with farmers, and such-like laborious honest men. To which ought not to be forgotten, that the whole is conducted without bustle or affectation. Benevolence like this, well planned, large, extensive, constant, humble, and without by-views, is truly useful to society, and does honour to human nature. To this same gentleman several of our leaders in the House of Commons have been in no small degree indebted for their fame there in the funds and money-matters, which no one understands more clearly, deeply, than himself, nor probably so well; and by his credit with them he has been enabled to effect,

The liberal donation of Da Costa was shortly followed by that of the remarkable collection of books and tracts of the civil wars and Cromwellian period (1640-1660), now designated, in honour of the donor, the "*King's Tracts*," which had been formed by the Royalist book-

> at times, even national good offices. — So much for my Hebrew friend Solomon da Costa, whose character I have been drawn into by degrees, and at unawares; but it is so singularly excellent, that I have found a pleasure in sketching of it.
>
> You will wonder, it is like, how such a number of books, and Hebrew books, should have been bound by that man-hating riot-king Charles the Second. It is my opinion that they were collected during the Commonwealth, when men of different spirit bore sway (I mean not Cromwell, or his soldiers, who yet, as far as tyranny dared suffer, promoted learning), and when ingenuous male pursuits of every kind were patronized throughout, and high in mode; to be bestowed, like other similar donations, on one of the Universities (then under admirable regulations, and full of those extraordinary youths who figured afterwards with such eminence in all professions, down to and beyond the Revolution), but which fell before bestowed, with the nation, to Charles the Second, at the Restoration. But neither did that King give them to any learned body, or person, nor take them into his own Library, though they were magnificently bound in morocco, with his cypher and the crown, by his own order; and there they lay, unnoticed farther, and unpaid for, at the bookseller's his whole reign, with three thousand other volumes in various languages, alike curious, bound with like elegance, and alike neglected and unclaimed. The same being the case during the reigns of James the Second, King William and Queen Anne, they were sold at length by the bookseller to other booksellers, at loss, towards indemnifying himself for the binding and interest-money; and the Hebrew books preserved intire, and bought some time in the reign of George I. by the excellent Solomon da Costa, then a young man, greedy of knowledge, and pursuing it as keenly as most others of that age do their pleasures, for four-score pounds, though now invaluable." (Letter of Thos. Hollis, printed in the Appendix to his *Memoirs*, pp. 613-615).

The statement as to the "three thousand other volumes" is a singular one. I cannot, at present, throw any sufficient light upon it. It seems possible that it may allude, under some imperfect information, to the Thomason collection, about to be described, although that supposition is not without its difficulties. See p. 459 *(postea)*.

seller, George Thomason, of the "Rose & Crown," in St. Paul's churchyard.

The Thomason Library, known as the "King's Tracts."

It appears to have been in the year 1641 that Thomason first formed the idea of assembling the various publications that were then issuing thick and fast from the press. He began by procuring all that he could lay hands upon of those which had been printed during the preceding year or two, when the old controversies about Church-government were brought up again and fiercely debated. And, during the momentous twenty years which followed that date, he proceeded, as he says (in the introduction to his MS.-Catalogue), with that chargeable and heavy burthen, both to himself and his servants that were employed in that business, which continued about the space of twenty years, in which time he buried three of them who took great pains both day and night with him in that tedious employment." ... "Exact care," he adds, "hath been taken that the very day is written upon most of them that they came out." Neither under King nor Parliament was there then any assured "Liberty of the Press." Few indeed of the men who possessed power, or of those who aspired to it, shared Milton's faith in the sufficiency of Truth to fight her own battle without the aid of prop or penalty. Many publications, however, escaped the censorship when most vigorous, but to possess them was matter of peril, and in Thomason's case the danger was increased by his collection and transcription of many obnoxious manuscript tracts—"near one hundred several pieces," he says, "most of which are on the King's side, which no man durst venture to publish

here without the danger of his ruin." ... Hence it was that his treasure had to undergo many removals and transformations whilst it was being amassed. At one time, when the Parliament forces were approaching London from the North, the books were hastily packed up in trunks and sent into Surrey, and when the army was in the West, in apprehension of its return that way, they were as hastily sent back again. The poor collector, not daring to keep them under his own roof, forwarded them to a friend in Essex, but on hearing of the famous march to Triploe Heath was again induced to order their return. He then formed the plan of sending them to Scotland, but, thinking "what a precious treasure it was, durst not venture them at sea, and so had tables made with false tops, in which he hid them in his own warehouse, continuing his collection the while without intermission." The peregrinations, however, of these unfortunate tracts were by no means at an end; as it would seem that about the time of Waller's plot they were sent to Oxford, and a colourable transfer of them to the University was effected under the impression that they would be more safely guarded than they could be whilst in the hands of a private individual. This precaution against one danger proved to be the means of saving them from another, in the form of the book-destroying fire of London.

Thomason appears to have continued his collection until 1662 or 1663, and to have died in 1666, whilst still its owner. He had arranged and bound it in chronological order in 2220 volumes, containing perhaps from 33,000 to 34,000 separate publications, and is said

—though not on very clear or precise authority—to have refused an offer of £4,000 for it. The books remained at Oxford until about 1680, under the charge of Dr. Barlow, who when he received them was Bodleian Librarian and was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. He tried in vain to induce Bodley's Trustees to buy them. That learned board, perhaps, feared that the founder's shade might visit them in anger at their "stuffing the Library full of baggage-books," for it must be admitted that the worthy bookseller of the "Rose & Crown" was utterly undiscriminating as a collector. His only plan was to amass everything that came from the English press (and all the publications of foreign presses bearing upon English affairs that he could lay hands on), whether it were a portly volume of Baxter, Caryl, or Prynne, or the most trivial little handbill that called together a "Committee of Sequestrators" at Wallingford House or at Grocers' Hall. Theology or Romance; narratives of the "crowning mercies" of Cromwell, or News from His Majesty's Court," beyond Seas; accounts of the "massacre of a hundred thousand protestants in Ireland," or the latest intelligence respecting "Prester John;" the Lyrics of Herrick or the Satires of Wither; the majestic pleadings of Milton for unlicensed printing; or the querulous diatribes of Colonel John Lilburne against his gaoler;—all were equally welcome to Thomason. When a tract which appeared to him wickedly disloyal or outrageously fanatical came to his hand, he seems to have taken a sardonic pleasure in writing an epithet or two—more forcible than elegant—on the title-page, especially if he could note

that the author was "a cobbler" who should (he thought) have stuck to his awl; but he preserved it none the less carefully; and, stanch Royalist as he was, he took as much pains to record the honour done him by Milton in the gift of one of those terrible dissections of poor Charles I.—"given me by Mr. Milton,"— as that conferred by the fugitive monarch himself, in borrowing a tract from his collection, and reading it on horseback on one of his marches (by which hasty method of perusal it chanced to get tumbled into the mire, the marks whereof it still conspicuously bears).

In 1648, too, he had the distinction of receiving, at the hands of Selden, the joint thanks of the Houses of Lords and Commons for an eminent public service.[1]

About 1680, the collection appears to have been purchased from Thomason's heirs by Henry Mearne, the King's-stationer, at the instance of Secretary Williamson, and (according to the statement of Mearne's widow, who in 1694 *petitioned* for leave to resell them) on the King's account. Probably, Charles II., in this instance as in others of a similar kind, perceived accurately enough what he *ought* to have done, and by some gracious expressions led weak persons to incur trouble and expense in the hope of re-imbursement from an exchequer which was far too largely drawn

[1] See Chapter IX. *infra*,—"*The Public Library of the University of Cambridge.*

upon by the Castlemaines and the Portsmouths to have much to spare, either for the formation of Libraries or the reward of loyal service. But, be this as it may, the collection certainly remained in the possession of Mearne's representatives, and was regarded as a sort of standing grievance, and domestic burthen, until, by the intervention of Hollis, and the friendly co-operation of Lord Bute, George III. was induced to lay out £300 in its acquisition for the purpose of presenting it to the British Museum. This he did in 1762.[1]

At about the same period the King presented to the Trustees certain "Lottery tickets" which had belonged to his predecessor, containing prizes amounting to £1123. In our days this would seem a singular mode of augmenting the stores of a National Library. The produce of this gift was subsequently incorporated with the £7000 or thereabout which accrued in pursuance of the will of Major Arthur Edwards (which sum was received by the Trustees in 1769); the aggregate sum was invested in the public funds, and the interest-money was applied to the purchase of books, coins, "and other curiosities."[2] Of the purchases thus made during the first thirty years no particular account is accessible, but they included a remarkable series of Oriental MSS. in 93 volumes—the majority Persian; fourteen of them Sanscrit—collected by Nath. Brassey Halhed, distinguished first for the learning and ability

[1] Preface to the original MS.-Catalogue of the Thomason collection, *passim*: *Memoirs of Hollis*, 121. Personal examination of the entire collection.

[2] The precise amount of the aggregate sum invested appears to have been £7933.

which marked his edition of the Gentoo Laws, and afterwards—far less favourably—for his ardent discipleship to "Brothers, the prophet." Between 1800 and 1815 a sum of £6,400 was expended, chiefly on printed books, including a considerable collection of Bibles which had been formed by Mr. Combe (1804); an important series of classics, with MS. notes by Bentley (1807); a collection of books on music, formerly belonging to Dr. Burney (1815); and, finally, the valuable Library of Baron Moll, of Munich, extending to about 15,000 volumes (also in 1815). After the year last named the Edwards fund merged in the general account of the Museum.

Early officers of the Museum Library.

Of the first Principal Librarian of the British Museum, Dr. Gowin Knight, not much is now remembered. He held the office from 1757 until his death, in 1772, and was succeeded by Dr. Matthew Maty, who had been, from the origin of the institution, one of the Under-Librarians. Dr. Maty was a native of Holland, and had been for several years editor of the well-known *Journal Britannique*, an employment in which he succeeded Bayle and Leclerc. His abilities were considerable, but his career as the head of the Museum establishment was too short to test them thoroughly in that post. He died in 1776, and was succeeded by Dr. Charles Morton (also one of the first Under-Librarians), who held the office until 1799, when Mr. Joseph Planta became principal Librarian.

During the greater part of this period of the Museum history, the printed department of the Library was

under the immediate charge of the Rev. Samuel Harper, M. A., a very able and zealous Librarian; and the MSS. were at first under the charge of Dr. Morton; afterwards under that of Dr. Andrew Gifford, and of Mr. Planta. Probably none of the earlier officers of the Museum has a better claim to the respect of bibliographers than has Samuel Ayscough, who entered it in a very humble capacity and at a small stipend, about 1773. He laboured zealously at the Catalogues; was made an Assistant-Librarian, in 1785, and soon afterwards took holy orders. In addition to his well-known Catalogue of Manuscripts, he was the compiler of about one third of the Catalogue of printed books, published in 1787; the rest being the joint production of Maty and Harper. Mr. Ayscough died in 1805, and was succeeded by Sir Henry Ellis.

The roll of benefactors to the British Museum embraces not a few names which are to be found on its list of Trustees, and many of the gifts or bequests thus obtained are amongst the most splendid it can boast of. One of the earliest of the elected Trustees, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Birch, eminent both as a biographical writer and as a zealous officer of the Royal Society, was the first, who evinced in this manner his interest in the growth and prosperity of the Museum Library. His collection was not large, but was intrinsically valuable, especially in that department of literature which he chiefly cultivated. He also left his money in the funds to be divided amongst the three Under-Librarians for the time being. The same class of the Library was

greatly enriched by another Trustee, Sir Willam Musgrave, who, partly by donation, and partly by bequest, added nearly two thousand volumes to its shelves, the greater part of which were biographical, and included many articles of great rarity and curiosity. He wisely collected small biographical tracts and mere funeral-sermons, as well as portly volumes, and has thus helped to provide no unimportant amount of material towards that future BRITISH "*Biographie Universelle*," the want of which, it may be hoped, will not always be, as now, a national discredit. Sir William Musgrave's final gift accrued in 1799.

Library of Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode.

In the course of the same year, the Library was further enriched by another elected Trustee, the Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, who bequeathed to it the whole (two books excepted)[1] of that choice and noble Library it had been the joy and pride of his life to collect, and which he was still augmenting whilst on his death-bed. Rich both in classical and in biblical literature, it was also remarkable for the works of modern authors; but more remarkable still for the eminent taste and scholarship which had directed the selection of the individual books. It was not with Mr. Cracherode as with a later and more widely renowned collector, Richard Heber, to whom "a book was a book," whatever its edition, or its condition. Intrinsic worth—beauty of impression—elegance of binding—rarity of occurrence—"pleas-

[1] Mr. Cracherode's copy of Bishop Walton's Polyglott-Bible was left to the Bishop of Durham, and his Editio princeps of Homer to Dr. Cyril Jackson. By the express bequest, however, of the learned Dean of Christchurch, the Homer has rejoined its old companions.

ures of memory," as respects the former possessors of a volume;—all these charms in combination attach to not a few of the books in that "Cracherode Room," which, though certainly it cannot lay claim to the possession of any kind of architectural beauty, is not the least attractive of the multitudinous apartments which now compose our National Library.[1]

[1] The following lines express the estimation in which Mr. Cracherode's collection was held in his life-time, and characterize many of its gems.

AD C. M. CRACHERODE DE IIS QUÆ SUNT NECESSARIA AD BIBLIOTHECAM EXQUISITIOREM.

Libros quæ faciant venustiores,
Beatissime Cracherode, dicam.
Non obscura domus,[1] propinquiora
Urbis quæ loca prospicit superbæ,
Atque hortos tibi Cæsaris virentes.
Sit magnum specular,[2] focus perennis,
Nec fumo, neque pulvere indecorus;
Nidi, scriniaque omnibus reclusa,
Cedrique arcula, levis et cupressi.
Nusquam blatta, vel inquinata charta,
Sed margo calami notæque purus,
Margo latior, albus integerque,
Nec non copia larga pergamenæ.
Adsint Virgilius,[3] paterque Homerus,[4]
Mundi pumice, purpuraque culti;
Et quicquid magica quasi arte freti
Faustusque[5] Upilioque[6] præstiterunt.
Adsit Lascaris,[7] aureus libellus,
Argivi decus, atque origo præli;
Et quæ non pretio empta, sed relicta.

[1] Mr. Cracherode's house was in Queen's-Square, Westminster, overlooking St. James's Park.

[2] A convex mirror of remarkable size and beauty.

[3] The first and second edition of the Aldine Virgil, both printed on vellum.

[4] De Thou's copy of the first edition of Homer.

[5] Johann Faust or Fust of Mentz, then the reputed inventor of the art of printing with moveable types.

[6] Schoiffer, the associate of Fust.

[7] The first edition (printed at Milan, 1476) of the Greek Grammar of Const. Lascaris, which was the first entire book printed in Greek characters. This book was bequeathed to Mr. Cracherode by Mr. Crofts.

It was a wise innovation on former precedents which kept Mr. Cracherode's books apart from the general collection, however obnoxious to censure (as impeding systematic arrangement) such a practice may sometimes be. A Library, numbering no more than 4500 volumes, yet valued at £10,000, is surely, on all grounds, deserving of special regard and marked gratitude. And although, in one sense, the severance (or partial severance) of such a collection is monument enough of its founder, in another sense it may reasonably be desired that some "visible presentment" of the man himself, should also commemorate him in the midst of his treasures.

Adsit Callimachus,[1] frequens deorum
Cultor carminibus piè canoris,
Et scriptor[1] gravium Leandri amorum.
Adsit velleris aurei poeta,[1]
Et musæ tragicæ tener sacerdos,
Græcorumque epigrammaton libelli.[1]
Stentque omnes capite eminentiori
Quadris literulis superbientes.
Hic sit qui nitet arte Montacuti,[2]
Aut Painî,[2] Deromique[2] junioris;
Illic cui decus arma sunt Thuani,[3]
Aut regis breve lilium caduci.[4]
Quid mitissime Cracherode plura?
Dii magnam tibi copiam librorum
Atque artem dederunt simul fruendi.
Habes omnia; nilque vivus optas,
Nec post te tremis auctionis hastam.[5]

[1] Callimachus, Musæus. Ap. Rhodius, Euripides Trag. IV. Anthologia Græca; all printed in capital letters at the Florentine Press, about the years 1494 and 1496.

[2] Montague, Roger Payne, Derome le Jeune, celebrated bookbinders; the two former in London, and the last in Paris.

[3] Books formerly belonging to the collection of De Thou, and mostly purchased at the sale of the Prince de Soubise's Library.

[4] Books from the Library of Lewis XVI.

[5] *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 13, 14.

Library of Sir Joseph Banks.

Amongst the valuable collections which the Museum owes to individual Trustees, during the period now under review, that of Sir Joseph Banks, the well-known President of the Royal Society, has yet to be mentioned. It greatly strengthened the Library in departments of literature, in which it had theretofore been very deficient.

Sir Joseph Banks' Library was almost exclusively composed of works on the natural sciences (in all their various divisions); of voyages and travels in foreign countries; and of the Transactions and Journals of the learned societies of Europe, America, and the East. In the section last named it was especially rich, and included many works—those amongst others in the languages of northern Europe—which at that time were not to be found in any public Library in England. It amounted, in the whole, to about 16,000 volumes; was bequeathed in 1820, and placed in the Museum in 1827. Almost half a century earlier, Sir Joseph Banks had a place in the list of donors for various minor contributions; amongst them for that of a curious series of 117 books, printed in Iceland, and 48 Icelandic MSS.

In the annals of continental Libraries there are many instances of donations which have arisen from that ardent devotion to a particular author, eulogized by Johnson as a pursuit which may thus be made both agreeable to the collector and useful to the Public.[1] I do

[1] "When I mentioned that I had seen in the King's Library fifty-three editions of my favourite Thomas à Kempis, ... in eight languages,... Johnson said he thought it unnecessary to collect many editions of a book which were all the same, except as to paper and printer. He would have the original, and all the translations, and all editions having varia-

not remember any case in which the British Museum has obtained in this manner any one extensive series of the editions of a great writer, or of the books that illustrate him; but many special collections on particular *subjects*, formed in a similar spirit, have at various times been added to its stores. That fine collection of English plays which Garrick collected, and from which Charles Lamb gathered his *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*, was presented by Mrs. Garrick, in 1780. Forty years later, Sir Richard Colt Hoare gave a noble collection of Italian topography, comprising nearly 3,000 volumes, and accompanied the gift by the expression of his hope "that the more modern publications may be added to it hereafter." A collection in some respects more remarkable than either was formed by Hollis, with the intention that it should be lodged in the British Museum. The subject he sought to illustrate was the history and doctrines of the Jesuits. He spared neither pains nor money in the quest, and was very successful. But, offended, and most reasonably offended, at the sale by auction of a fine copy of the Life of Milton which he had shortly before presented to the Library, he altered his intention, and sent his treasure to the public Library of Zurich, together with a sum of money for future addition to it as opportunity might offer.[1]

Special collections on particular subjects, presented or purchased.

tions in the text. He approved of the famous collection of the editions of Horace by Douglas; .... and he added: 'Every man should try to collect one book in that manner, and present it to a public Library.'" Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (Croker's edit. of 1831), v. 176.

[1] "It was my intention to have presented this collection, when as complete as I could make it, to the British Museum, for the service of the Public and of posterity. But the behaviour of the Trustees has been such

Whilst the liberality of individuals was doing so much to build up in worthy proportions the National Library of Britain, what was the contribution towards the same end, of the Nation, in its collective capacity, acting by the agency of Parliament? Being, in a certain sense, a parliamentary creation, the British Museum might reasonably look for some special protection and sustenance from the holders of the public purse.

Parliamentary grants for purchase of books.

The first parliamentary grant in aid of the Library was made in 1807. Its object was the acquisition of the collection known as the "Lansdowne Manuscripts," so called as having been the property of William, first Marquis of Lansdowne, but which had been chiefly amassed by two collectors of earlier date, James West, and Philip Carteret Webb. Mr. West's collection included 115 volumes of the original State-Papers of Lord Burghley, and of his son, Robert, Earl of Salisbury, which had long remained in the family of Sir Michael Hickes, secretary to those statesmen successively, and had afterwards belonged to Strype, the historian. It also comprised the historical collections of Bishop Kennett, in 107 volumes; the genealogical collections of Le Neve and other heralds; and other valuable materials for English history and topography.

The Cecil papers in the "Lansdowne collection."

Mr. Carteret Webb's MSS. related chiefly to our parliamentary and financial history, and to legal archæology. They included fifty volumes of the papers of Sir Julius Cæsar, the well-known Master of the Rolls in the reign of James I. and Charles I. These papers had a

on a certain occasion that I cannot now resolve to lodge it there, although the properest place." *Memoirs, ut supra,* 169-171.

narrow escape from the fate to which a recent Chancellor of the Exchequer sentenced an extensive series of public documents, many of them of great antiquity and value; for a bargain had just been concluded for their purchase by a cheese-monger—at the price of £10—when Samuel Paterson chanced to see them. Under his hammer they fell for £356. The Lansdowne collection cost £4,925, and, in addition to what has been indicated, it brought a considerable augmentation to the rich treasure of "Royal Letters" which the Museum already possessed.

The next parliamentary grant for the improvement of the Library was in 1812. In that and in each of the three following years, a sum of £1000 was voted, expressly "for the purchase of works relating to the history and topography of the British Islands." In 1813, the Library of Francis Hargrave, distinguished both as lawyer and as legal antiquary, was purchased for £8000. This Library consisted—first—of about 500 volumes of MSS. on juridical and constitutional subjects, "by persons" (says the Select Committee of the House of Commons, to whom the matter was referred) "of the greatest weight and authority, and containing information of the highest value;" and—secondly—of an important collection of printed books (many of them enriched with MS.-notes by the owner) of similar character, valued at £2247 9*s.* 0*d.*

The Burney Library.

In 1818, Dr. Charles Burney's Library was purchased for the sum of £13,500, which was said at the time to have been but little more than half its original cost. The MSS. in this collection were choice. They num-

BOOK III. Chapter II. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

bered about 520 volumes, of which eighty were Greek —including the famous "Townley Iliad" of the thirteenth century. The printed books amounted to about 13,500 volumes, and were estimated at 9000 guineas. They included an important series of Greek Classics,[1] many of them having various readings and MS.-notes by Burney; a curious collection of newspapers from the earliest dates, extending to 700 volumes; together with a considerable series of books and documents which had been collected with a view to a History of the Stage, and were arranged in about 300 volumes. The books which Dr. Burney had gathered for his *History of Music* had, as we have seen, been purchased a few years before his death. In the same year with the Burney Library, the collection of Ginguené, chiefly in classical and Italian literature, comprising 4631 works or articles, was purchased for £1000. Not long afterwards, an important acquisition was made by the purchase of a series of tracts on the French Revolution, which was subsequently increased by other similar purchases, until a collection of more than 40,000 works and pamphlets relating to French History, since 1789, was brought together.

But, on the whole, it may be stated that the amount of *public money* which was devoted to the inprovement

[1] "It appears indeed," said the Commons' Committee (to which, as usual, the petition for the purchase was referred), "that this collection contains the first edition of every Greek Classic, and several of the scarcest among the Latin; and that the series of Grammarians, Lexicographers, and philological writers in both languages, is unusually complete." (*Report*, &c., 17 April, 1818.)

of the National Library of Britain during the first sixty years of its existence did not exceed £31,000; and from this sum might fairly be deducted a considerable amount obtained at various periods from the sale of duplicate books. The Museum Library, in other words, during this period of its history, did not owe to the liberality of Parliament so much as five hundred pounds a year.

Parsimony of Parliament towards the Museum Library.

Legislatorial parsimony (as respects claims of this kind) and ministerial apathy were, however, in some degree compensated by the indirect results of that wise and princely expenditure, which King George III. had incurred, during many years, for the formation of a Library which he was not long able personally to enjoy. What his own ultimate disposition of it might have been, can now be only conjectured. The keen interest he took in its progress, during his better days, is not the least favourable characteristic by which he may be remembered; and it seems likely that he desired to be the founder of a Royal Library which should take the place of the collection given to the British Museum by his grandfather, and be handed down from monarch to monarch. In all probability, he little thought that in a few years both collections would be conjoined for public use.

The formation of this Library was, in a great degree, entrusted to Sir Frederick Augusta Barnard, and one of the first steps he took towards it was to seek the advice of Johnson. Zealous aid was also given by Mr. George Nicol, who was the King's bookseller for half a century. The period was a fortunate one for the

purpose. The fine Library formed by Consul Smith at Venice, was already (1762) in the market, and not long afterwards the suppression of the Jesuits threw thither other valuable collections, and made many unusually good bargains attainable. At home, and a few years later, the sales of the Libraries of West (1773) and Askew (1775) afforded excellent opportunities for prosecuting the task.

Formation of the Library of George III.

Consul Smith's Library cost about £10,000. From 1762, when that Library was purchased, to 1821, when George III. died, an annual expenditure of about two thousand pounds is said to have been devoted to its increase. Its cost, therefore, in direct outlay, must have been about £130,000, and probably no Library so extensive was ever formed with greater taste and judgment, not even when the task was protracted through several generations.

For nearly a quarter of a century a mistake was constantly made respecting the number of volumes in this Library. The error began in the Letter addressed to Parliament by George IV., on its presentation to the nation, and for a long time was copied—with or without modifications—by almost every writer who alluded to the gift.—"More than 80,000 volumes," was the common statement; but the true number was but 65,259. Of late years, however, the old statement has been made true by the addition to the Library of about 19,000 tracts which had been intended to form part of it, but had remained unbound, uncatalogued, and inaccessible. Under Mr. Panizzi's rule, each has been bound singly,

Its extent.

and uniformly. The total number of volumes is now, therefore, about 84,000.

It may be matter of regret, but cannot be matter of surprise, that the public character of King George IV. is in nowise ameliorated by this gift, splendid as it was. In these days of scrutiny the gift, indeed, has been made to throw a darker tinge into what was already dark enough. The Library, it now appears, was to have been sold to Russia. But Lords Liverpool and Farnborough strenuously opposed such a national disgrace. The former, then Prime-Minister, is said to have been forced to expostulate "vehemently" with his Royal Master on the subject. To Lord Farnborough—who is supposed to have first heard of the scheme of expatriation in talking with Princess Lieven—a large portion of the debt of public gratitude is certainly due. The late Mr. Croker gave a different version of the story, by stating that the motive of the gift was to lessen the cost of the "repairs" of Buckingham Palace, by setting at liberty certain rooms which the Library then occupied. According to either story, the King's views in the matter were contemptible. Nor is it easy to avoid the conviction that to him the money from Russia for selling his father's Library, and the money divertible at home from the charges attendant on its preservation, would have been alike welcome.[1] The British nation

[1] Comp. *Quarterly Review* (Dec. 1850), lxxxviii, 143; *Notes and Queries*, iv, 155, 446; and *Minutes of Evidence before the Commissioners on the British Museum*, Q. 2545, pp. 117, 118. The Reviewer makes *Lord Sidmouth* to have been the remonstrant with the King, at the instigation of Mr. Heber. The condition insisted on by George IV., he adds, was "that the value of the rubles the books were to have fetched, should be, somehow

performed its part in the transaction handsomely enough, by expending £140,000 in the erection and adornment of the noble room which contains the Library. The collection was received in 1829, and opened to the Public in the following year. When added to the existing Library of the Museum, the number of duplicate volumes, in the conjoined collections, was found to be about 21,000. The Commons' Committee recommended that no more than about 12,000 of these should be parted with, so that the Royal donation made a clear addition to the national repository—tracts included—of more than 70,000 volumes. Some of its special characteristics, and a few of the choicest individual treasures which it contained, will be noticed in a subsequent chapter. Certain books were retained for George IV., and are now in the Royal Library at Windsor. Amongst them are the famous *Psalter*, of 1457,—the earliest printed book with a date; the rare Aldine *Virgil*, of 1505; the vellum Caxton,—*The doctrynal of Sapyence*; and the much prized copy of the *Shakespeare* of 1632, which was given by Charles I. to Sir Thos. Herbert, immediately before his execution.

or other, made good to him by Ministers in pounds sterling. This was done out of the surplus of certain funds furnished by France, for compensation of losses during the Revolution. The Ministers, on a hint from the House of Commons, that it was necessary to refund these monies, had recourse, we are told, to the Droits of the Admiralty."

CHAPTER III.

PROGRESS OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY FROM THE ACQUISITION OF THE ARUNDELIAN MSS. TO THE BEQUEST OF THE GRENVILLE LIBRARY IN 1846.

. . . . . The Elzevirs
Have fly-leaves overwritten by his hand
In faded notes, as thick and fine and brown
As cob-webs on a tawny monument
Of the old Greeks,—*Conferenda hæc cum his—*
Corruptè citat—lege potius,—
And so on, in the scholar's regal way
Of giving judgment on the parts of speech,
As if he sate on all twelve thrones up-piled
Arraigning Israel.

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING, *Aurora Leigh*, 225.

WE now approach a period of greater *public* liberality towards the chief Library of Great Britain than had marked the epoch hitherto under review; but still the aid accorded from public funds, for the specific purpose of replenishing our main storehouse of learning, will become dwarfed by comparison with the continued liberality of individuals towards that end. Yet the latter source, splendid as has been its abundance, cannot, by possibility, supersede the former. No aggregation of separate collections, however rich or well-chosen, can make up, in adequate fullness, that national library

which scholars need, and which it is the direct interest of the whole people to furnish, at its common charge.

Arundel Manuscripts.

The manuscript portion of the library of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, came to the British Museum in 1831, by an arrangement with the Council of the Royal Society, to which that entire library had been presented, in 1667,[1] by Mr. Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, at the suggestion of John Evelyn. The circumstances of the gift, and the general character of the library, will be adverted to hereafter. The sum given for the MSS.—according to the historian of the Royal Society—was £3559, the whole of which was expended by the Council in the purchase of scientific works, English and Foreign.[2] The Hebrew and Oriental MSS. were at first excepted from the transfer, but were afterwards added to the Museum Collection. The arrangement had the sanction of the then Duke of Norfolk, and was clearly for the advantage both of the Royal Society and of the Public. Almost at the time of the original gift, Evelyn spoke of the collection as "little apposite to the institution and design of that worthy assembly,"[3] and unquestionably he would have rejoiced at its ultimate destination, could he have foreseen it.

The Earl was one of that crowd of British nobles who, at all periods of our history, have inseparably associated their names, and their order, with the truest glory and the highest interests of Britain. A princely

[1] I believe this to be the true date, although Mr. Forshall, an able and accurate writer, says (*Catalogue of the Arundelian MSS.*, pref.), 1687.

[2] Weld, *History of the Royal Society*, ii. 448-449.

[3] Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence*, iii. 304.

promoter of learning and of the arts, he was as liberal in the encouragement of scholars and of artists, as in the collection, on a scale theretofore without precedent, of the materials of study and of criticism. His treasures are now scattered, but a very large proportion of them is still accessible to students. Part of his famous marbles—including the Parian Chronicle—is worthily preserved at Oxford; another portion is at Wilton. The gems form the basis of the Blenheim Collection. The printed books remain with the Royal Society.

Some of the MSS. were inherited; and some of them were presented to the Earl by relatives and friends. But the great majority were collected on the Continent, either by himself, during his frequent travels, or by some of the many agents whom he employed. At Nuremberg, in 1636, he purchased the entire library—or all that remained of it—of the Pirckheimer family, which, in several generations, had been distinguished for the cultivation of letters.

Formation of the Arundel Library.

Nearly at the same time with this important acquisition came to the Museum another portion of that great series of books and tracts, on French Revolutionary History, which by successive augmentations has been increased to more than 40,000 distinct works and pieces. Large as it is, the celebrated collection formed by M. Deschiens, of Versailles, was far more numerous; but the Museum series has already rendered service to historical literature, by the use which has been made of it in the careful and admirable *Histoire de la Révolution Française* of M. Louis Blanc. Very curious it is to no-

Tracts on the History of the French Revolutions.

BOOK III. Chapter III. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

tice how many unauthenticated stories have been echoed by historian after historian, without one of the number taking the pains to examine them,—conclusive evidence on the subject slumbering peacefully the while both on the shelves of the British Museum, and in the *Cartons* of M. Deschiens.

Two of the component portions of this collection were purchased by the Trustees from the late Mr. Wilson Croker for five hundred pounds. Another portion was obtained in France. A special catalogue of it—even as it is—would be no contemptible contribution to History. Still more valuable would it be, were efforts made to supply such of the existing deficiencies as may yet be remediable.

Augmentation of the Library by Parliamentary Grants, 1833-37.

From the beginning of 1833 to the end of 1837 the grants for the increase of the Library amounted to £16,882;[1] of which sum £6632 was expended in the purchase of manuscripts, and £10,250 in the purchase of printed books. Important additions to both departments were made at the sales of the respective libraries of Mr. Heber, Mr. Hanrott, Mr. Sneyd, and the Earl of Guilford. From Mr. Heber's collection a fine series of historical MSS.—including 85 volumes of Venetian *Relazioni*, or Reports made to the Seignory by their foreign Ambassadors—was obtained. From the library of Lord Guilford—part of which had been intended for the endowment of a Greek University,—came a splendid series of Manuscripts, extending to 604 volumes, on the history and literature of Italy; together

[1] *Parliamentary Papers* (House of Commons) of 1847, No. 458—Abstract accounts of the British Museum.

with 627 printed volumes in modern Greek. Mr. Sneyd's collection contributed another important series of Italian manuscripts which had been gathered by the Abbate Canonici.

In the year 1835, the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee "to inquire into the Condition, Management, and Affairs of the British Museum," on the motion of Mr. (now Sir Benjamin) Hawes. That Committee was presided over by Mr. T. G. B. Estcourt, then one of the Members for the University of Oxford, and it prosecuted its inquiries during two sessions. Many witnesses were examined, as well on the means of increasing the public utility of the Institution for the future, as on certain alleged defects in its past government. It cannot be said that the inquiry was conducted in a systematic and thorough manner, but it undoubtedly dispelled many misconceptions, and laid a foundation for many improvements. The Trustees were very ably represented in the Committee by the present Earl of Derby (then Lord Stanley), and by the late Sir Robert Harry Inglis. And if, in the course of the investigation, it became apparent that the government of the Museum might in some respects be materially improved, it was made still more evident that the means theretofore accorded by Parliament for the maintenance and increase of the various collections, were inadequate to the requirements of the Institution, and out of all harmony with the public wealth or with the public wants.

Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the British Museum.

Especially was this true of the literary departments

BOOK III. Chapter III. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

of the Museum. The whole sum *granted by Parliament* for the purchase of printed books up to the year 1836,—after deducting monies obtained for the sale of duplicate books,—was but £28,376, or, on the average of the twenty-four years during which such grants had been made, £1135 a year. The sums expended in the acquisition of manuscripts, from the opening of the Museum to the same date, amount but to £13,800,—even if we include in the reckoning the amount at which the Arundel MSS. were valued, although they were partly paid for by the sale of duplicate printed books.

Public expenditure for the augmentation of the Library.

In the evidence taken by this Committee in 1836, much was said respecting the glaring deficiencies of the National Library in important departments of Literature and Science. Mr. Panizzi, Mr. Richard Owen, Mr. Robert Brown, the late Sir Harris Nicolas, and the present writer, especially pressed this point, in their respective evidence, on the attention of the Committee. Mr. Panizzi took every opportunity of urging that it was the duty of Parliament to increase the Library, "in a manner worthy of this nation, which has never been done, and it certainly ought to be done."[1] Professor Owen placed before the Committee a long list of "*Desiderata in the Zoological department of the National Library.*"[2] My own humble contributions in this way were six specimen lists, in as many different sections (more particularly on Grecian History, on Architecture, and on the recent

Defective condition of the Library in 1835-36, especially in foreign literature.

[1] *Minutes of Evidence taken before Select Committee on British Museum,* 1836, Q. 4784, pp. 389 seqq.

[2] Ibid. pp. 378-380.

literature of Germany and France) under the general title of "*Examples of deficiencies in the Library of the British Museum, from an examination of the Catalogues, in October 1835.*"[1]

These inquiries plainly showed that the acquisition of contemporary Continental Literature, of all kinds, had been almost totally neglected; that in an especial degree works relating to the Natural Sciences and the Arts of Design—English works as well as Foreign—were largely deficient; and that the provisions of the Copyright Acts, intended to secure to the British Museum a copy of every book published within the British dominions, were extensively evaded. On this point, indeed, the evidence of Mr. Baber, the then Keeper of Printed Books, was of itself conclusive.

On the wisdom of larger public expenditure for such purpose the Committee was, I believe, unanimous. On most other points there were considerable differences of opinion. The Report, as usually happens under like circumstances, was a compromise. It recommended, *inter alia,* a reorganization of the several departments; the constitution of a Board of Officers for joint deliberation and suggestion; the printing and publication of Catalogues; and the increase of the facilities of public access. "The Committee," it was further said, "are well aware that many of the alterations which they have suggested cannot be carried into effect except by increased liberality on the part of Parliament, both with respect to the establishment of the Museum, and also, to a much greater extent, for the augmentation

Recommendations of the Select Committee of 1836.

[1] Appendix to Report, pp. 563-570.

BOOK III. Chapter III. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

of the collections, ... but they confidently rely on the readiness of the Representatives of the People to make full and ample provision for the improvement of an establishment which already enjoys a high reputation in the world of science, and is an object of daily increasing interest to the people of this country."

This Report was presented to the House of Commons in 1836. In the following session, both the grant for the Museum generally, and the specific sums assigned to the Library in particular, were considerably increased, and, towards the close of 1837, Mr. Panizzi succeeded Mr. Baber in the keeper-ship of the Printed Books. During the nine years from 1837 to 1845, the sum applied to the purchase of printed books was £30,994, or, on the average, £ 3443 a year. The number of separate *works* purchased during this period was 37,961. Of those presented, and of those delivered under the Copyright Acts, there is no precise account until 1841. But in that and the four following years the accessions from all sources ran thus:—

Increased Parliamentary grants from 1837 for augmentation of the Library.

DEPARTMENT OF PRINTED BOOKS:—					
Year.	Amount of grant for printed books.	Works purchased.	Works presented.	Works received by Copy-tax.	Total number of works received.
1841	£3000	3140	236	2409	5785
1842	«3000	3627	926	2381	6934
1843	«4000	4856	250	2816	7922
1844	«4500	5475	653	3929	10,057
1845	«4500	7630	881	3596	12,107
Total of five years.	£19,000	24,728	2946	15,131	42,805

Foremost in importance amongst the purchases made during this period may be ranked a selection of Bibles from the fine collection of the late Duke of Sussex, including, amongst many others, the following editions, remarkable alike for beauty and rarity: (1) *The Old Testament*, in Hebrew, with points and accents, printed on vellum at Naples about 1491; (2) *The New Testament*, in Ethiopic, printed on vellum at Rome in 1548-49; (3) The first edition of the Bible, printed at Rome (in Latin) in 1471. Two Caxtons—the *Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*, and *The subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope*, —the former of them believed to be the first book printed in the French language;[1] two editions of the block-book *Ars moriendi* (according to Heinecken, the second and the fifth); a collection of ten early printed Bulls of Indulgence—one of them bearing the date, 1455, two years, therefore, anterior to the earliest dated printed book; and a copy of Columbus' Letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, announcing the discovery of America, supposed to have been printed at Rome in 1493; —are among the additions to the precious collection of *Incunabula*. Some early editions of Shakespeare's Poems of great interest; the Roxburghe Collection of English Ballads, originally in the Harleian Library; and an extraordinary volume (bought of Asher of Berlin for £120) of ancient French farces, sixty-four in number, printed between the years 1540 and 1550, and the greater part of them unique;—belong also to this period.

The foundation of a Chinese collection was laid by

[1] The *Epistolæ Gasparini Pergamensis*, being probably the *first book* printed at a French Press.

BOOK III. Chapter III. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

Her Majesty's gift, in November 1843, of about 400 volumes. Between that date and the close of 1846, 2500 other volumes were purchased. In the year last named the British Government acquired the Chinese library of the late Mr. Morrison, British Consul at Hong-kong, by whose early death the public has been deprived of an excellent servant. The collection purchased from Mr. Morrison's family was presented by the Lords of the Admiralty to the British Museum. It contained nearly 12,000 Chinese volumes, and was particularly rich in Theology, Poetry, and Novels. The Rhyming Dictionaries, which appear to be in great vogue in China, were also curiously abundant. The department of History was not so well provided, but in this class also there were many valuable works. It was not, however, so much the Library of a collector, as of a student,—who is glad to pick up many a volume which seems likely to add to his information, although certain to be no ornament to his shelves. Thus it was that in this collection there were many imperfect and fragmentary works.

Chinese Department of the Museum Library.

Some valuable Oriental books were obtained at the sale in Paris of M. Silvestre de Sacy's Library; and a choice selection of Spanish, Portugese, and Dutch literature and history at the sale of Southey's Library in London. Considerable purchases in old English literature were also made at that time of Jolley's curious and extensive collection. Simultaneously with these special purchases, large direct importations of continental literature, and more especially of literary and scientific periodicals, and the transactions of learned

societies, were regularly made. Systematic searches for books were carried on not only in the well-trodden countries of Europe, but in Bohemia, Servia, Illyria, and Iceland.

Purchases of foreign literature.

American books of all kinds were also sought for. A remarkable series of works on South America was purchased from the Library of a late French Consul at Lima, M. Chaumette Des Fosses, and was subsequently increased by other like importations.

It will be apparent that whatever impulse from without may have been given by the inquiry of 1835-36 towards a vigorous amelioration of our national Library, there must have been, within its walls, a love for the task, nnd an untiring energy in its pursuit; or results so considerable could not have been thus rapidly attained. The one step which did more than aught else to promote this improvement was the systematic survey of the then existing condition of the printed Library, in all the great departments of knowledge, which Mr. Panizzi set on foot in 1843, and embodied in a Memoir addressed to the Trustees, on the 1st of January, 1845.

Systematic survey of the contents and deficiencies of the Museum Library, made in 1844-45.

The principle on which this Memoir was compiled, lay in the careful comparison of the Museum Catalogues with the best special bibliographies, and with the Catalogues of other Libraries. In *Jurisprudence,* for example, the national collection was tested by the *Bibliotheca juridica* of Lipenius, Senkenberg, and Madihn; by the list of law-books, inserted in Dupin's edition of Camus' *Lettres sur la profession d'Avocat*; and by the *Bibliothèque diplomatique choisie* of Martens. In *Political Economy*, by Blanqui's list in the *Histoire de*

l'Économie politique en Europe. The mathematical section of the Library was compared with Rogg's *Handbuch der mathematischen Literatur.* In *British history*, the *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana*, and the *Catalogues of the Library of the Writers to the Signet*, were examined, for those sections of the subject to which they were more particularly applicable, and so on in the other departments.

The facts, thus elicited, were striking. It was shewn that much had been done since 1836 to augment almost every section of the Library; but that the deficiencies were still of the most conspicuous sort. In a word, the statement abundantly established the truth of the proposition that "the collection of printed books in the British Museum is not nearly so complete and perfect as the National Library of Great Britain ought to be,".... and it then proceeded to discuss the further question: "By what means can the collection be brought with all proper dispatch to a state of as much completeness and perfection as is attainable in such matters, and as the public service may require?"

Summary of the modes by which the Library had been gathered.

It was shewn that no reliance could be placed upon *donations* for the filling up these gaps in the Library which were the special subject of the Memoir. Rare and precious books might thus come, but not the widely miscellaneous assemblage still needed. As to *special grants* for the acquisition of entire collections, not one out of ten such collections, it was thought, would, under existing circumstances, be suitable for the Museum. The *Copyright-tax*, of course, has no bearing, however rigidly enforced, save on current British literature. There remained, therefore, but one adequate resource

that of *annual parliamentary grants*, unfettered by restrictions as to their application, and capable of being depended upon for a considerable number of years to come. Purchases might thus be organized in all parts of the world with foresight, system, and continuity. In the letter addressed by the Trustees to the Treasury, it was stated that "for the filling up of the chasms which are so much to be regretted, and some of which are distinctly set forth in the annexed document, the Trustees think that a sum of not less than £10,000 a year will be required for the next ten years," in addition to the usual £5000 a year for the ordinary acquisitions of the Library.

Treasury minute on the increase of the grant for purchases.

The Lords of the Treasury were not willing to recommend to Parliament a larger annual grant than £10,000 "for the purchase of books of all descriptions," but so far they were disposed to proceed, "for some years to come," and they strongly inculcated upon the Trustees "the necessity, during the continuance of such grants, of postponing additions to the other collections under their charge, which, however desirable in themselves, are of subordinate importance to that of completing the Library."[1]

On this recommendation the House of Commons acted. But the annual grant of £10,000 continued for barely three years (in the last of which it was a little nibbled at), and was then cut down, at first to £4500, and afterwards, as we shall see, to a still smaller sum. It rendered good service, even during so brief a period; but, very obviously, a great influx of books needed larger funds for shelf-room, for binding, and for cata-

[1] *Treasury Minute of the 16th January*, 1846.

BOOK III. Chapter III. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

loguing. For want of such funds, all these requirements fell short, and the purchases were lessened, almost of necessity.

What the increased grant accomplished, 1846-48.

Amongst the most noticeable accessions which resulted from the increased grants of 1846, 1847, and 1848, were an extensive series of books in almost all sections of European literature and history; an important reinforcement of the Oriental collection previously acquired; a large number of English works, particularly of those from provincial presses, and including many precious early editions of English classics, from Shakespeare downwards; and in the history, laws, and literature of North America, acquisitions so extensive, as to place the Museum in that department beyond all rivalry.

Especially deserving of mention is the large collection of early German literature, acquired at the sale of the Vienna bookseller, Kupitsch. It included upwards of 300 works, catalogued under the name of Luther,—amongst them nearly all the original editions of his separate writings,—and a series, more extensive still, of German topography and Reformation history. On the annals of printing this Kupitsch collection contained unused materials enough for the new treatment of the subject.

The Michael Library purchased at Hamburgh.

An addition yet more remarkable was that of the Library formed by the late Dr. H. J. Michael of Hamburgh, which will best be described in the words of the Parliamentary Return of 1849:—"This collection, well known, and highly praised by critics, among others by Zunz, consisted, according to the printed

catalogue, of 5400 volumes, of which ... 4420, forming 3970 distinct works, were purchased for the Museum. ... Among them are about 400 Bibles and Commentaries, ... 2020 theological works, 380 liturgical works, 230 works on the Cabbalah; 860 on science.... This collection offers a large proportion of the works printed in Turkey and Poland during the sixteenth century, many editions unknown to bibliographers, and several fine early specimens of printing from the presses of Lisbon, Soncino, and Naples.... The volumes are enriched by the manuscript notes of several distinguished Hebrew scholars, such as Azariah de Rossi and Bezaleel, of the sixteenth century; Schiff and Heller, of the seventeenth; Emden, of the eighteenth; Heidenheim and A. Eger, of the present century. The MS. notes of the collector himself deserve special mention. To the moment of his death (in 1846) he was indefatigable in collating his printed books with MSS., and marking the variations. Owing to these circumstances, his collection, the pride and labour of his life, may very well be designated as unique."

The Manuscript department received, during the period under review, the valuable collections of Bishop Butler (biblical, classical, and miscellaneous); part of those of Mr. William Upcott; an extensive series of Welsh MSS.; and the whole of the Papers and Correspondence of the late Marquess Wellesley, during his government of India, from 1798 to 1805, extending to 1351 volumes. The two first-named accessions came by purchase; the others by donation. Far more important than any of these was the great Syriac col-

lection, obtained (piecemeal) from the monastery of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert. But this acquisition belongs, in part, to a subsequent year, and will therefore be narrated in the next chapter.

In attempting to epitomize the principal results of the important step taken in 1845 for the improvement of the printed part of the Museum Library, I have somewhat overrun the precise chronological limits assigned to this division of the subject. It yet remains to record the noblest gift which the national collection has received since that of the Library formed by George III.

Bequest of the Grenville Library.

In a codicil to the last Will (dated October 1845) of the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, who died on the 17th December 1846, occurred the following passage: "I do make, publish, and declare this as and for a further Codicil to my last Will and Testament. With the warmest continued affection to the Duke of Buckingham, and to my family, I feel it incumbent upon me, upon further consideration, to cancel the bequest of my Library and bookcases as contained in my Will. A great part of my Library has been purchased from the profits of a sinecure office given me by the Public, and I feel it to be a debt and a duty that I should acknowledge this obligation by giving that Library so acquired to the British Museum for the use of the Public. I do, therefore, revoke the bequest ... of my Library to my great-nephew Richard, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, for life, with remainder to the senior male descendant of the head of my family, as an

heir-loom; and I do hereby give and bequeath my Library, such as it may be at the time of my death, to the Trustees of the British Museum, for the purposes thereof, and benefit of the Public. But I do not mean hereby to disturb the bequest, made by my Will to the said Duke, of such of my letters and papers as my executors may, on examination, consider as worth being added to the large manuscript collection at Stowe. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, this 28th day of October, 1845.—THOMAS GRENVILLE."

The testator was a descendant of an old stock, rich in gallant soldiers in days of yore, and of that branch of it which in later times has been fertile in statesmen and scholars. He had already entered into public life when Washington was beginning to organize the army which won American Independence, and he was still living, in mental vigour, when Charles Napier was civilizing Scinde, and Hardinge was beating back the Sikhs, on the banks of the Sutlej. In early life he was the supporter and the friend of Fox, in opposition to his family connexions, but he joined in the temporary secession, occasioned by the course which that statesman pursued at the period of the French Revolution. The only conspicuous office which he had ever held in England—he had been for short periods British Minister at Paris and at Berlin—was that of First Lord of the Admiralty, in 1806 and 1807, and this office was filled for too brief a term to afford fair evidence of his latent powers. The refined tastes of the highly cultivated student, combined with a keen enjoyment of social pleasures, in their best form, may probably have

Mr. Grenville's public career.

indisposed him for the career of politics in turbulent times. But, be this as it may, the last forty years of his long life were, as regards public affairs, those of a spectator rather than of an actor. In private life his hospitalities were bounteous, and his charities both generous and unobtrusive.

The office alluded to in his codicil was that of "Chief-Justice in Eyre, South of Trent." It dated from the time of the Norman Kings. In the palmy days of their Forest-laws it was an important post, but it had long ceased to be more than a convenient sinecure for the reward of political partisanship. Of those old Forest-judges Mr. Grenville was the last, and it is no insignificant incident in English life that many a poor student will owe his access to choice literary treasures in the twentieth century, partly to the profits which had accrued from a feudal office, established in the twelfth.

At the time of Mr. Grenville's decease, the Library contained 20,240 volumes, comprising about 16,000 distinct works. Its cost was upwards of £54,000, and in the authoritative judgment of Mr. Panizzi, long and intimately acquainted with the collection, it would have sold for a larger sum.[1] Many of the books are enriched by Mr. Grenville's MS. notes, usually written on slips of paper, for the preservation of which ample precaution has doubtless been taken. Sometimes these notes are additions to other notes of earlier and famous owners. For uniform beauty of condition and splendour of binding it is probably—having regard to its extent

[1] Parliamentary returns of 1841, No. 139, p. 11.

—without a rival. The Grolier and De Thou volumes (of the latter there are no less than forty) were numerous, and, of course, untouched. Original bindings were usually retained, and when necessary repaired with the utmost care. In other cases, the best binders—the Lewises and the Mackenzies of the day—employed all their taste and skill in the suitable, and often the magnificent, adornment of the books.

CHAPTER IV.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, FROM THE ACQUISITION OF THE SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS OF ST. MARY DEIPARA, TO THE OPENING OF THE CENTRAL READING-ROOM. 1847-1857.

> I myself have seen vast heaps of Manuscripts... of the Fathers, or other learned authors, in the Monasteries at Mount Athos, and elsewhere, all covered over with dust and dirt, and many of them rotted and spoiled.
>
> COVEL (1675). *Some Account of the Greek Church.*

> What Antiquarian, worthy of the name, would be arrested.....by distant barriers, when beyond them a whole Harem of Virgin MSS. wooed his embrace, glowing, like so many Houris, with immortal youth, and rich in charms which increased with each revolving Century?
>
> STEPHEN. *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.*

BOOK III. Chapter IV. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

FOR three centuries the attention of scholars had been repeatedly attracted towards the Monasteries of the Levant, as the mysterious repositories of valuable manuscripts. Numerous were the attempts to explore them, and frequent such small and fragmentary acquisitions as served but to stimulate curiosity, and to keep expectation alive. Gilles de Loche told Peiresc a traveller's story of a collection he had seen of "about

Early inquiries after MSS. in the Nitrian Monasteries.

eight thousand volumes, some of them as old as the time of St. Anthony," and it is probable that he spoke, but not unadornedly, of the very monastery of St. Mary Deipara, or "of the Syrians," now so famous.

Visit of Dr. Huntington.

About the year 1680, Robert Huntington, afterwards Bishop of Raphoe, visited the Nitrian monasteries, and made special and eager inquiries for the Syriac version of the *Epistles of St. Ignatius*, of the existence of which there had been wide-spread belief amongst the learned, since the time of Ussher. But his quest was fruitless, although, as it is now well known, a Syriac version of some of those epistles did really exist in one of the monasteries which he visited. The monks then, as afterwards, were chary of showing their MSS., small as was the care they took of them. The only MSS. mentioned by Huntington, in recording his visits to three of the principal communities,—St. Mary Deipara, St. Macarius, and El Baramous,—are an *Old Testament* in the Estrangelo character; two volumes of Chrysostom, Coptic and Arabic; a Coptic *Lectionary* in four volumes; and a *New Testament*, in Coptic and Arabic. Towards the close of the following century, these monasteries received the successive visits of Sonnini, of W. G. Browne, and of General Andréossy. Sonnini says nothing of books. Browne saw but few,—among them an Arabo-Coptic *Lexicon*, the works of St. Gregory, and the *Old and New Testaments* in Arabic,—although he was told by the Superior that they had nearly 800 volumes,[1]

Visits of Sonnini and others.

[1] Browne, *Travels in Africa*, &c., 43.

BOOK III. Chapter IV. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

with none of which they would part. General Andréossy, on the other hand, speaks slightingly of the books as merely "ascetic works, ...some in Arabic, and some in Coptic, with an Arabic translation in the margin," but adds: "We brought away some of this latter class, which appear to have a date of six centuries." This was in 1799.[1]

Visit of Lord Prudhoe.

Twenty-eight years afterwards, the present Duke of Northumberland (then Lord Prudhoe) made more elaborate researches. His immediate object was a philological one, his Lordship desiring to further Mr. Tattam's labours on a Coptic and Arabic Dictionary. Hearing that "Libraries were said to be preserved, both at the Baromous and Syrian convents," he proceeded to El Baromous, accompanied by Mr. Linant, and encamped outside the walls. "The monks in this convent," says the Duke, "about twelve in number, appeared poor and ignorant. They looked on us with great jealousy, and denied having any books, except those in the church, which they showed us." But, having been judiciously mollified by some little seductive present, on the next day, "in a moment of good humour, they agreed to show us their Library. From it I selected a certain number of manuscripts which, with the Lexicon (*Selim*) already mentioned, were carried into the monk's room. A long deliberation ensued .... as to my offers to purchase them. Only one could write, and at last it

[1] Huntington, Observations (in Ray's *Collection of Curious Voyages*); C. S. Sonnini, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*; Andréossy, *Mémoire sur les Vallées des Lacs de Natron*, &c.; and the summary of the passages in these and other authors, bearing on the MSS. of the Monasteries, in an excellent article in the *Quarterly Review*, lxxvii. 45-68.

was agreed that he should copy the *Selim*, which copy, and the MSS. I had collected, were to be mine, in exchange for a fixed sum of dollars, to which I added a present of rice, coffee, tobacco, and such other articles, as I had to offer." ..... After narrating the acquisition of a few other MSS. at the Syrian convent or convent of St. Mary Deipara, his Lordship proceeds: "These MSS. I presented to Mr. Tattam, and gave him some account of the small room with its trap-door through which I descended, candle in hand, to examine the manuscripts where books, and parts of books, and scattered leaves, in Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Arabic, were lying in a mass, on which I stood .... In appearance it seemed as if, on some sudden emergency, the whole Library had been thrown for security down this trap-door, and that they had remained undisturbed in their dust and neglect, for some centuries."[1] Ten years later, Mr. Tattam himself continued these researches. But, in the interval, they had been taken up by the energetic and accomplished traveller, Mr. Robert Curzon, to whose charming *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant* it is mainly owing that a curious aspect of monastic life, which theretofore had only interested a few scholars, has become familiar to thousands of readers of all classes.

Mr. Curzon's visits to the Coptic monasteries.

Mr. Curzon's researches were much more thorough than those of any of his predecessors. He was felicitous in his endeavours to win the good graces of the monks, and seems often to have made his visits as pleasant to

[1] Lord Prudhoe's narrative in *Quarterly Review, ubi supra.*

his hosts, as afterwards to his readers. But, how attractive soever, only one of them has to be noticed in connection with our present topic;—that, namely, to the convent of the Syrians, mentioned already. "I found," says Mr. Curzon, "several Coptic MSS. lying on the floor, but some were placed in niches in the stone wall. They were all on paper, except three or four, one of which was a superb MS. of the *Gospels*, with a commentary by one of the early fathers. Two others were doing duty as coverings to large open pots or jars which had contained preserves, long since evaporated. On the floor I found a fine *Coptic and Arabic Dictionary*, with which they refused to part." After a most graphic account of a conversation with the Father Abbot—the talk being enlivened with many cups of rosoglio—he proceeds to recount his visit to a "small closet, vaulted with stone, which was filled to the depth of two feet or more with loose leaves of Syriac MSS., which now form one of the chief treasures of the British Museum." The collection thus "preserved," was that of the *Coptic* monks; the same monastery contained another which was that of the *Abyssinian* monks. "The disposition of the MSS. in the Library," continues Mr. Curzon, "was very original..... The room was about twenty-six feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve high; the roof was formed of the trunks of palm-trees. A wooden shelf was carried, in the Egyptian style, around the walls, at the height of the top of the door, ... and underneath the shelf various long wooden pegs, projected from the wall,.... on which hung the Abyssinian MSS., of which this curious Library was

entirely composed. The books of Abyssinia are bound in the usual way, sometimes in red leather, and sometimes in wooden boards .... they are then enclosed in a case .... to which is attached a strap, ... and by these straps the books were hung to the wooden pegs, three or four on a peg, or more, if the books were small; their usual size was that of a small, very thick quarto. .... Almost all Abyssinian books are written upon skins. .... They have no cursive writing; each letter is therefore painted, as it were, with the reed-pen. .... Some MSS. are adorned with the quaintest and grimmest illustrations conceivable, ... and some are worthy of being compared with the best specimens of calligraphy in any language." Then follows an amusing account of the "higgling of the market," after a truly Abyssinian fashion, ending in the acquisition of books, of the whole of which the travellers could not, by any packing or stuffing, make their bags containable. "In this dreadful dilemma, ... seeing that the quarto was the most imperfect, I abandoned it, and I have now reason to believe, on seeing the MSS. of the British Museum, that this was the famous book, with the date of A. D. 411, the most precious acquisition to any Library that has been made in modern times, with the exception, as I conceive, of some in my own collection. .... This book, which contains some lost works of Eusebius, has .... fallen into better hands than mine."[1]

Mr. Tattam's visit to St. Mary Deipara and other Nitrian monasteries.

In the following year (1838), the Rev. Henry Tattam, now Archdeacon of Bedford, in furtherance of the pur-

[1] Curzon, *ubi supra*, 92-99.

pose which had previously enlisted Lord Prudhoe's co-operation, set out upon his expedition into Egypt. He arrived at Cairo in October, and in November proceeded up the Nile, as far as Esneh, visiting many monasteries, and inspecting their Libraries, in most of which he only met with liturgies and service-books. Sanabou was an exception, for there he found eighty-two Coptic MSS., some of them very fine.

Continuing the narrative, (as the Quarterly Review has quoted it, from the printed but unpublished Journal of Miss Platt, the Archdeacon's accomplished relative, and his companion on the tour), we find that on the 12th of January they started across the desert for the valley of the Natron lakes, and pitched their tent at a short distance from the monastery of Macarius. The monks told them that of these convents there had once been, on the mountain, and in the valley of Nitria, no less than three hundred and sixty. Of fifty or thereabouts the ruins, it is said, may still be seen. At the convent of the Syrians, the Archdeacon was received with much civility, not, however, unaccompanied by a sort of cautious circumspection. After a look at the church, followed by the indispensable pipes and coffee, the monks asked the cause to which they were indebted for the honour of his visit. He told them discreetly that it was his wish to *see* their books. "They replied that they had no more than what he had seen in the church; upon which he told them plainly that he knew they had." A conference ensued, and, on the next day, they "conducted him to the tower, and then into a dark vault, where he found a great quantity of very old and

valuable Syriac MSS. He selected six quarto volumes, and took them to the superiòr's room. He was next shown a room in the tower, where he found a number of Coptic and Arabic MSS., principally liturgies, with a beautiful copy of the *Gospels*. He then asked to see the rest. The monks looked surprised to find he knew of others, and seemed at first disposed to deny that they had any more, but at length produced the key of the apartment, where the other books were kept, and admitted him. After looking them over, he went to the superior's room, where all the priests were assembled, fifteen or sixteen in number; one of them brought a Coptic and Arabic *Selim* or Lexicon, which Mr. Tattam wished to purchase; they informed him they could not part with it, ... but consented to make him a copy. He paid for two of the Syriac MSS. he had placed in the superior's room, for the priests could not be persuaded to part with more. ..... The superior would have sold the dictionary but was afraid because the patriarch had written in it a curse upon any one who should take it away." [It was the same volume which had been vainly coveted by Mr. Curzon as well as by several preceding travellers, and of which he tells us that he "put it in one of the niches of the wall, where it remained about two years, when it was purchased and brought away for me by a gentleman at Cairo."] "In the convent of El Baramous," continues Miss Platt, "Mr. Tattam found about one hundred and fifty Coptic and Arabic *Liturgies*, and a very large *Dictionary* in both languages. In the tower is an apartment, with a trap-door in the floor, opening into a dark hole, full of loose leaves of Arabic and

Coptic manuscripts." At the monastery of Amba-Bischoi Mr. Tattam saw a lofty vaulted room so strewn with loose MS. leaves as scarcely to afford a glimpse of the floor, on which they lay, "in some places a quarter of a yard deep." At the Macarius convent a similar sight presented itself, but of these Mr. Tattam was permitted to carry off about a hundred.

As the reader may well imagine, the charms of the Syriac MSS. had made too deep an impression on Mr. Tattam's heart to admit of an easy parting. Many were the longing, lingering looks, mentally directed towards them. Almost at the moment of setting out on his return to Cairo, he had added four choice books to his previous spoils. In February he resolved to revisit the convents, and once more to ply his most persuasive arguments. He was manfully seconded by his Egyptian servant, Mohammed, whose favourite methods of negotiation much resembled those of Mr. Curzon. "The Archdeacon soon returned," says Miss Platt, "followed by Mohammed and one of the Bedouins, bearing a large sack, full of splendid Syriac MSS. on vellum. They were safely deposited in the tent." At Amba-Bischoi a successful bargain was struck for an old *Pentateuch* in Coptic and Arabic, and a beautiful Coptic *Evangeliary*. On the next day, "Mohammed brought from the priests of Soriani a stupendous volume, beautifully written in the Syriac characters, with a very old worm-eaten copy of the *Pentateuch* from Amba-Bischoi, exceedingly valuable, but not quite perfect." The remainder of the story, or rather the greater part of what remains, will be most concisely told in the words of the Reviewer.

Mr. Tattam's second visit to the Nitrian monasteries.

"The MSS. which Mr. Tattam has thus obtained in due time arrived in England. Such of them as were in the Syriac language ... were disposed of to the Trustees of the British Museum. ... Forty-nine manuscripts of extreme antiquity, containing some valuable works long since supposed to have perished, and versions of others written several centuries earlier than any copies of the originals known to exist, constituted such an addition as has been rarely if ever made at one time to any library. The collection of Syriac MSS. procured by Mr. Rich had already made the Library of the British Museum conspicuous for this class of literature; but the treasure of manuscripts from Egypt rendered it superior to any other in Europe.

Mr. Tattam's first gathering of Syriac MSS. added to the British Museum in 1841.

"From the accounts which Lord Prudhoe, Mr. Curzon, and Mr. Tattam had given of their visits to the monastery of the Syrians, it was evident that but few of the manuscripts belonging to it had been removed since the time of Assemani; and probable that no less a number than nearly two hundred volumes must be still remaining in the hands of the monks. Moreover, from several notes ... in the MSS. already brought to England, it was certain that most of them must be of very considerable antiquity..... In several of these notices Moses of Tecrit states that in the year 932 he brought into the Convent from Mesopotamia about two hundred and fifty volumes. As there was no evidence whatever to show that even so many as one hundred of these MSS. had ever been taken away (for those which were procured for the Papal Library by the two Assemani, added to those which Mr. Curzon and Mr. Tattam had brought to Eng-

land, do not amount to that number), there was sufficient ground for supposing that the Convent of the Syrians still possessed not fewer than about one hundred and fifty volumes, which at the latest must have been written before the tenth century. Application accordingly was made by the Trustees to the Treasury;

Treasury grant in 1841 for further researches.

a sum was granted to enable them to send again into Egypt, and Mr. Tattam readily undertook the commission. The time was most opportune ..... Had much more delay been interposed, these MSS., which perhaps constitute the greatest accession of valuable literature which has been brought from the East into Europe since the taking of Constantinople, would, in all probability, have been now the pride of the *Bibliothèque Impériale.*"

Mr. Tattam thought he could work most effectively through the influence of a neighbouring Sheik with the

Mr. Tattam's expedition to Nitria in 1842.

Superior of the Convent. By this means he obtained, after some delays, a promise that all the Syriac MSS. should be taken to the Sheik's house and there bargained for. "My servant," he says, "had taken ten men and eight donkeys from the village; had conveyed ... and already bargained for them, which I confirmed. That night we carried our boxes, paper, and string, and packed them all. ... Before ten in the morning they were on their way to Alexandria." But, as will be seen in the sequel, the monks were too crafty for Mr. Tattam to cope with.

The collection thus obtained, reached the British Museum on the 1st May, 1843. When the cases were opened, very few, indeed, of the MSS. were perfect. Nearly two hundred volumes had been torn into sepa-

rate leaves, and then mixed up together, by blind chance and human stupidity. It was a perplexing sight. But the eyes that looked on it belonged to a seeing head. Even into a little chaos like this, almost hopeless as at first glance it seemed, the learning, assiduity, and patience of Mr. Cureton gradually brought order. Of necessity the task took a long time. First came the separation of the fragments of different works, and then the arrangement of the leaves into volumes, with no aid from pagination or catchwords. With the translation of extant Greek works, the collation of their originals gave, of course, great help. But in a multitude of cases every leaf had to be read and closely studied.

Fragmentary condition of the Syriac MSS. imported in 1843.

Within about eighteen months of the reception of the MSS. Mr. Cureton had ascertained that the number of volumes—reckoning books made up of fragments, as well as complete works—amounted to three hundred and seventeen, of which two hundred and forty-six were on vellum, and seventy on paper; all in Syriac or Aramaic, except one volume of Coptic fragments. With the forty-nine volumes previously acquired, an addition was thus made to the MS. department of the National Library of three hundred and sixty-six volumes. Many of these volumes contain two, three, or four distinct works of different dates bound together, so that probably, in the whole, there were of MSS. and parts of MSS. upwards of 1000, written in all parts of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and at periods which range from the year 411 to the year 1292. Of the specific character and contents of some of the choicest of these MSS. mention will be made hereafter.

Tischendorf's visit, in 1844.

In 1844 Tischendorf visited the monasteries already explored by Curzon and Tattam. His account reproduces the old characteristics: "Manuscripts heaped indiscriminately together, lying on the ground, or thrown into large baskets beneath masses of dust. ..... The excessive suspicion of these monks renders it extremely difficult to induce them to produce their MSS. in spite of the extreme penury which surrounds them. ..... But much might yet be found to reward the labour of the searcher."[1]

In truth, the monks, poor and simple as they sometimes seemed to be, had taken very sufficient care to keep enough of literary treasures in their hands to reward "further researches." Nearly the half of their collection seems to have been withheld.

Pacho's negociation for the recovery of the MSS. withheld by the monks of St. Mary Deipara.

A Mr. Pacho now entered on the scene as a negotiator for the obtainment or recovery of the missing "treasures of the tombs." They had been virtually purchased before, but the Lords of the Treasury very wisely reopened the public purse, and at length secured for the nation an inestimable possession. The new accession completed, or went far towards completing, many MSS. which before were tantalizingly imperfect. It supplied a second ancient copy of the famous Ignatian *Epistles* (to St. Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans); many fragments of Palimpsest manuscripts of great antiquity, and among them the greater part of St. Luke's *Gospel* in Greek: and about 4000 lines of the *Iliad*, written in a fine square uncial letter, apparently not later than the sixth century. The total number of volumes

[1] Tischendorf, *Travels in the East*, 52.

thus added to the previous collection was reckoned to be from a hundred and forty to a hundred and fifty. Mr. Pacho's account of his experiences in this agency is highly amusing, but too long for insertion.

In the same year with the final accessions from the Nitrian Convents, an important series of modern Historical MSS., relating more especially to the South of Europe, was purchased from the Ranuzzi family of Bologna. The papers of the brothers Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, and Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, were also secured. Additions, too, of considerable interest, were made to the theological and classical sections of the MSS. department, by the purchase of many vellum MSS., ranging in date from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. In 1849 the most important acquisitions related to our British history. About three hundred documents illustrative of the English wars in France (1418 to 1450), nearly a hundred autograph letters of King William III., and an extensive series of transcripts from the archives at the Hague, were thus gathered for the future historian. In 1850 a curious series of *Stammbücher*, three hundred and twenty in number, and in date extending from 1554 to 1785, was obtained by purchase. These Albums, collectively, contained more than 27,000 autographs of persons more or less eminent in the various departments of human activity. Amongst them is the signature of Milton. The acquisitions of 1851 included some Biblical MSS. of great curiosity; an extensive series of autograph letters (chiefly from the Donnadieu collection), and a large

number of papers relating to the affairs of the English Mint.

In the year last named, Sir Frederick Madden thus summed up the accessions to his Department, since the year 1836:

Tabular view of the accessions to the MSS. department from 1836 to 1851.

Volumes of Manuscripts	9051
Rolls of Maps, Pedigrees, etc.	668
Manuscripts on Reed, Bark, or other like material.	136
Charters and Rolls	6756
Papyri	42
Seals	442

And he adds:—"If money had been always forthcoming, the number of the manuscripts acquired during the last fifteen years might have been more than doubled. The collections that have passed into other hands, namely, Sir Robert Chambers' Sanscrit MSS.; Sir William Ouseley's Persian; Bruce's Ethiopic and Arabic, Michael's Hebrew; Libri's Italian; French, Latin, and Miscellaneous; Barrois' French and Latin; as well as the Stowe collection of Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and English manuscripts, might all have been united to the Museum; and in Sir Fr. Madden's humble opinion they ought to have been so united. The liberality of the Treasury becomes very small when compared with the expenditure of individuals. Lord Ashburnham, during the last ten years, has paid nearly as large a sum for MSS. as has been expended on the national collection since the Museum was first founded.[1]

The causes which at this period tended somewhat to

[1] *Communications relating to the enlargement of the British Museum*, 1851, p. 11.

slacken the growth of the printed collections have been glanced at already. But during the fifteen years from 1836 to 1851, it had increased at the rate of 16,000 volumes a year, on the average. When the estimates of 1852 were under discussion, Mr. Panizzi stated "that till room is provided, the deficiencies must in a great measure continue, and new [foreign] books, only to a limited extent, be purchased."[1] The grant for such purchases was therefore, in that year, limited to £4000.[2] In a subsequent report, Mr. Panizzi added, "that he could not but deeply regret the ill-consequences which must accrue by allowing old deficiencies to continue, and new ones to accumulate."[3] From the same report may be gathered a precise view of the actual additions, from all sources, during the quinquennium, 1846-1850:—

Growth of the printed department, up to 1851.

Years.	Printed volumes added by purchase.	Sum expended in purchases.	Printed volumes added by gift and by copyright.	Total of printed volumes added.
1846	28,407	£ 8,910	3,441	31,848
1847	19,604	„ 9,942	35,871	55,475
1848	17,218	„ 8,572	4,838	22,056
1849	10,065	„ 4,108	4,201	14,266
1850	11,793	„ 4,527	4,415	16,208
Total.....	87,087	36,059	52,766	139,853
Yearly average	17,417	7,211	.....	27,970

The Report from which these figures are taken, was made in furtherance of the good and fruitful suggestion that a great reading room should be built within the

[1] *Communications*, etc. p. 23.

[2] *An account of the estimated charges of the Brit. Museum*, 1852, p. 3.

[3] *Communications*, etc., *ubi supra*, 30.

inner quadrangle. Judging from the past, argued Mr. Panizzi, in June 1852, "and supposing that for the next ten years from £7000 to £7500 be yearly spent in the purchase of printed books, the increase ... would be at the average rate of about 27,000 volumes a year, without taking into consideration the chance of an extraordinary increase owing to the purchase or donation of any large collection. It was owing to the splendid bequest of Mr. Grenville that the additions to the collection in 1847 reached the enormous amount of more than 55,000 volumes. After the steady and regular addition of about 27,000 volumes for ten years together here reckoned upon, the collection of printed books in the British Museum might defy comparison, and would approach as near as seems practicable in such matters to a state of completeness. The increase for the ten years next following might be fairly reduced to two-thirds of the above sum. At this rate, the collection of books which has been more than doubled during the last fifteen years, would be double of what it now is in twenty years from the present time [1852]." At the date of this Report the number of volumes was upwards of 470,000. It now (January, 1858) exceeds 500,000 volumes. The increase, therefore, although it has not quite kept pace with Mr. Panizzi's hopeful anticipations in 1852, has actually reached a larger yearly average during the last quinquennium, than was attained in the like period from 1846 to 1850.

Growth of the printed section of the Library since 1852.

The extended accommodation for readers, and the increased facilities of all kinds provided for them, in the

noble Reading-Room which was opened in June 1857, are still more remarkable. Those few surviving students of the early part of this century, who, like the late Isaac D'Israeli, were wont to read occasionally in the dingy but by no means unattractive rooms of Montagu House, must feel the contrast to be a striking one. "There we were," said the veteran antiquary, "little attended to, musing in silence and oblivion; for sometimes we had to wait a day or two, till the volume so eagerly demanded, slowly appeared."[1] At the much later period (within my own 'Reader' experience), when those rooms at the south-end of the new building which for more than twenty years past have belonged to the department of MSS., were used as Reading Rooms, the accommodation was poor and the service slow in comparison with the methods of the present time. These rooms would scarcely contain a hundred readers, with any tolerable comfort, and the subsequent ones, at the opposite angle, not above a hundred and forty. All of them were dark in winter, and ill-ventilated at all times. In 1850 some better arrangements of detail were introduced, which increased the accommodation so as to admit of perhaps a hundred and sixty simultaneous readers with some degree of comfort; and with the practical result of increasing the number of *visits* paid by readers, during the last four months of that year, to 26,615, as compared with 20,857, in the last four months of the preceding year. The Central-Reading Room provides ample facilities for thrice that number. Finally,—on this head,—in 1811, the number of readers' tickets granted was

[1] *The Illustrator illustrated*, 5.

269; in 1849 it was 3049; it has risen, I believe in 1857, to upwards of £5000. Of the total yearly number of *visits* paid to the Reading-Rooms for purposes of study or research (since any careful account of them has been kept), the following is a tabular view:—

Year.	Total number.	Year.	Total number.
	About		About
1810	1,950	1850	78,533
1815	4,300	1851	78,211
1820	8,820	1852	72,226
1825	22,800	1853	67,794
1830	31,200	1854	56,132
1835	63,466	1855	53,567
1840	67,542	1856	53,422
1845	64,427	1857	.....

Of the methods of admission, the Catalogues, and the other appliances which are furnished, I propose to give some account, when treating of those matters more systematically, as parts of the PRACTICAL ECONOMY OF LIBRARIES.

CHAPTER V.

CURSORY VIEW OF THE CONTENTS OF THE MORE IMPORTANT COLLECTIONS NOW INCLUDED WITHIN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Come, go with us; we'll guide thee to our House,
And shew thee the rich treasures we have got;
Which, with ourselves, are all at thy dispose.
The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act iv. Scene 1.

THE COTTONIAN Collection, as we have seen, is eminently historical in its contents. To amass the muniments and state-papers of his native country was Sir Robert Cotton's prime ambition. So eminent was his success that, after the losses which have been narrated, it is still the great treasure-house of our British antiquities. The charters and original letters of our kings are here to be seen in rich abundance. The monastic chartularies alone amount to about 150 volumes. There is a still larger number of volumes concerning the negociations between England and the other European States. Most of them relate to France, Scotland, and the Netherlands, and are of the Tudor period: but there are many

The Cotton MSS

volumes on our international affairs with Spain, Portugal, Venice, Germany, and Sweden. The old *Chronicles* are numerous and fine. There are also biblical MSS. of high value. The famous *Durham Book* of the eighth century, for example, has been mentioned already, in relation to its curious history.

Specialties of the Cottonian Library.

Of the ROYAL MSS., the biblical and other sections of the class "Theology" are among the most conspicuous. The *Codex Alexandrinus* has a world-wide celebrity, as one of the two most ancient and precious copies of the Greek Septuagint which have come down to us. Queen Mary's *Psalter* and King James the First's *Basilicon Doron* have long been cynosures for the eyes of visitors. Here, too, the works of the old Chroniclers are of great beauty, and are more than fifty in number. Those of the old schoolmen are more abundant still, but are, of course, less generally attractive. There is a curious series of the domestic-music-books of King Henry VIII; a volume of French Romances, which was presented by John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, to Queen Margaret of Anjou, and is richly illuminated. Many of the theological manuscripts in this collection still bear upon their fly-leaves those plain-spoken anathemas against purloinment or alienation which testify of their monastic origin, and of their probable transit through the hands of Leland or of Cheke.

The Royal Library of MSS.

The noble MSS. of the HARLEIAN Library will be best characterized in the words of the preface to the old Catalogue, whose compiler wrote thus:—

Specification of the principal contents and rarieties of the Harleian collection of MSS.

"First, for the Topographical part, histories and surveys of several counties, and the customs of their inhabitants; memorials of the founding and incorporation of cities, towns, boroughs, and villages, with the most remarkable events that have happened to each; their antiquities, and other curiosities. Accounts of the erections of temples, castles, and other buildings; and of the remains (if any) of such as have been destroyed. The establishment and endowment of parishes, foundations of religious houses, books of ancient tenures, inquisitions, *post mortem* escheats, customaries, terriers of manors, perambulations of forests, accounts of ancient coin, monumental inscriptions, forts, camps, roads, military ways, and other antiquities, which have been casually discovered in particular places. Notes concerning the most remarkable rivers, mountains, mines, minerals, and other curiosities. A variety of tracts and memoranda relating to particular parts of England, as well in its pristine state, when separated into petty kingdoms, provinces, and principalities, during the times of the Britons, Romans, Saxons, as subsequently, when under the dominion of one monarch; divided into counties, ridings, rapes, wapentakes, etc. ...

"Secondly, for the Civil and Ecclesiastical History, valuable copies of our ancient historians and chroniclers, as Gildas, Nennius, Asserius Menevensis, Alfred of Beverly, Abbot Benedict, Castoreus, or John Beaver, J. Brompton, Raulf Boun, Douglas, Monk of Glastonbury, Edmerus, Florence of Worcester, Robert of Gloucester, William Giseburn, R. Hoveden, Henry Huntingdon, Peter de Ickham, John Joselyne, R. Higden, Peter Langtoft, T. Lewis, Adam Murimuth, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Robertus Montensis, John Pyke, Sir Walter Raleigh, Robert de Reading, Thomas Rudburne, Simeon of Durham, Richard Sporte, Nicholas Trivett, John Wallingford, Thomas Walsingham, Walter of Coventry, Gotselinus de Sancto Bertino, and sundry anonymous authors of good value. A finely illuminated copy of John Harding's chronicle, much more perfect than the edition published by Grafton, and containing the letter of defiance sent to King Henry the IV. by the old Earl of Northumberland, Henry Hotspur, his son, and the Earl of Worcester, his brother, before the battle of Shrewsbury; some discourses of the same old Earl touching John of Gaunt; a map of Scotland from Carlisle to the water of Tay; and another from thence to Sutherland and Caithnes; with sundry other matters omitted likewise by Grafton. A transcript of John de Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*, differing from the account given of that work by Bale and Pitts; together with several other translations and compositions of Trevisa, not to be met with in any other book. No less than four ancient copies of the *Polycratica Temporum* of Roger Cestrensis; from whence R. Higden stole his *Polychronicon*.

The famous and very ancient copy of William Malmsbury's elaborate treatise *de Gestis Regum Anglorum*, which was formerly preserved with great religious care at Rochester. An exemplar of his four books, *de Gestis Pontificum*, written in the 12th century; and several transcripts of the Dunstable Chronicle, one whereof is most beautifully illuminated; and another adorned with the blazon of the arms of divers Emperors and Kings.

"Chronicles and histories of Abbeys and other religious houses, as those of Abingdon, St. Alban's, Alnewik, Bermondsey, St. Edmund's Bury, St. Davids', Hales, Litchfield, Ely, St. Paul's London, and Peterborough.

"Lives of particular kings, and histories of their reign: as of Edward the Confessor, King Harold, of whose life and miracles here is a very fair copy, written in the 12th century. Henry I., Richard I., Henry III., Edward I., Edward II., and Edward III. The history of Richard II., written by Fran. de Marque, a French gentleman, attendant on the court in the Queen's service; adorned with 16 admirable paintings, wherein the principal persons and habits of those times are most accurately represented. As also those of Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., and Edward IV.

"Many original instructions to ambassadors, and letters which passed between them and the chief ministers of their courts; together with authentic copies of an immense number of others.

"Letters to and from foreign princes and states, negociations, alliances, leagues, truces, and treaties of peace, commerce, and navigation. A series of Writs of Summons to Parliament from the 49th of Henry III. to the 21st year of the reign of King Henry VIII., in many places larger and more correct than the work published under that title by Sir William Dugdale. Transcripts of the rolls, journals, and memoranda of parliament; particularly a copy of the parliament rolls, beginning at the 4th year of King Edward II., and continued to the end of the last parliament of King Henry VIII., in thirty volumes; amongst which are the parliament rolls of the 5th, 8th, and 9th years of King Edward II., which are with others, omitted by Sir Robert Cotton, in his Abridgment of the Tower records, and by him supposed to have been lost. Journals of the House of Lords from the first year of Henry VIII. to the end of the year 1740, in 69 vols. As also one hundred and eleven other volumes, containing the Journals of the House of Commons, from the first year (inclusive) of King Edward VI. to the 8th day of March 1701. A numerous collection of privileges, orders of parliament, and sundry papers relative to parliamentary affairs.

"Proclamations, original letters, journals, and other books of the Privy Council; books of aids, subsidies, reliefs, taxes, granted to sundry particular Kings of England, and accompt books of the

product and disposal of the ancient demesne lands of the Crown.

"Letters, papers, books of docquets, etc. relative to the office of the privy seal, signet, ordnance, admiralty, navy, victualling custom, and excise. Three volumes of very interesting original papers and letters, which belonged to John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, as Lord Privy Seal to Queen Anne, giving a better insight into the transactions of those times, and the immense success issued on account of the forces employed under the Duke of Marlborough, than can easily be met with elsewhere.

"Accounts of the public revenue and national expences, books and papers of the household and treasurer of the chamber. Inventories and indentures of the jewel office and wardrobe. Orders, proceedings, and accounts of the office of works. Laws and ordinances for management of the mint.

"Several large collections of letters and speeches of our kings, their chief ministers, and other persons of eminence; particularly four volumes, containing original letters by the royal family of England, from Henry VIII. to the end of King Charles I. Eighteen volumes of original letters of divers considerable persons, relating to public affairs from the year 1307 to 1716. And two volumes, containing letters written to Henry Prince of Wales, together with original draughts of his own letters. The above volumes afford interesting anecdotes particularly relative to Queen Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II., unnoticed by the most elaborate writers of the English history: and may be justly deemed inestimable remains of the times to which they relate.

"Histories of the first planting and propagating of Christianity in Britain, and its growth and increase under the British and Saxon prelates.

"The lives and successions of English archbishops and bishops; particularly a most noble illuminated copy of the Lives of the seven first Archbishops of Canterbury, by Gotselinus de Sancto Bertino, monk of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, in the time of St. Anselm; and of which the first part only, containing the life of St. Augustine, is published by Mr. Wharton.

"Saxon and English Councils, and the canons promulgated by them. Provincial and diocesan canons and constitutions.

"The forms and manners of election, and consecraiions of archbishops and bishops: their jurisdictions, privileges, and courts. Surveys, terriers, and rentals of their possessions; taxations of their spirituals and temporals, and inquisitions relative to the state of their respective dioceses.

"Lives and canonizations of sundry British, Saxon, and English Saints. Authentic papers and memorials relating to the dissolution of religious houses, and the establishment of the Reforma-

tion; particularly draughts of Acts of Parliament for their dissolution, some in the handwriting of King Henry VIII. Inventories of plate, jewels, and other valuables belonging to them. Inquisitions into the state of several episcopal dioceses, and the returns made thereto by the bishops. Accounts of the erection and proceedings of the Court of Augmentation; with four original and very valuable volumes belonging to that court.

"Historical accounts of the successions, rights, forms, and instruments of election of abbots, priors, and other superiors, and their officers. Chartularies, registers, and ledger books of sundry monasteries. The most accurate and valuable register of Dunstable, begun by Richard de Morins, the prior of that house, and carried on from the foundation of the priory by King Henry I. to the Reformation.

"Statutes of the two Universities, and of their several colleges and halls, and a vast mass of other materials relating to their history and antiquities; with a transcript of the proceedings of the convocation upon the divorce of Anne of Cleves, authenticated under the hands of public notaries.

"Papers relating to the laws, polity, and civil government of England; divers copies of the laws of several of the Anglo-Saxon, Danish, and Norman kings. Transcripts of divers of the *Magnæ Chartæ* of King Henry III., and an *inspeximus* and copy of his confirmation, both of the Great Charter, and of the similar one, sealed by Prince Edward, at London, the 10th of March, 1264. Transcripts of ancient statutes, never printed. Readings of them; and extracts of all the private Acts of Parliament remaining in the Rolls Chapel.

"Historical accounts of, and memorandums relating to, baronies, serjeancies, knight-fees, and other tenures. Copies of escheats, rolls, inquisitions *post mortem*, pleas of the crown, etc., and abundance of other law-books.

"Many treatises on the institution, establishment, and jurisdiction of the Exchequer, Kings Bench, Common Bench, Courts of Wards and Liveries, Star Chamber, and Chancery; as also of the Courts Leet, Baron, Pye-Powder, and other inferior courts; the forms and methods of proceedings in them respectively, and accounts of their several officers, registers, and records.

"Discourses on the antiquity, jurisdiction, and authority of the ancient great officers of the kingdom: to wit, the Marshal, Steward, Constable, and Admiral. The forms, ceremonies, and proceedings used in their courts; and extraordinary trials before them. Original charters of our ancient kings, as Edward the Elder, Hardicanute, and Edward the Confessor. The famous charter of King Edgar, wherein he is stiled *Marium Brit. Dominus;* which

Dr. Hicks hath demonstrated to have been forged after the Norman Conquest.

"A curious book, covered with crimson velvet, and adorned with bosses and hasps of silver, gilt, and enamelled; the cover and all the leaves indented at the top; containing four original Indentures of Covenant, illuminated and embellished with historical miniatures, dated the 16th of July, in the 19th year of King Henry VII., and made between that King and the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter's Westminster, for certain masses to be for ever said in the chapel of the Virgin Mary, then determined to be built at the east end of that church, as a place of reception of the bodies of the King, Queen, and Royal family, and for other purposes. To this indenture-book, five broad seals of King Henry VII.; preserved in silver boxes, and ornamented with his badges of the Portcullis, and rose sprigs, are appended by strings of silk, and gold and silver thread."

Noticeable frequency of State-Papers and other Public Records in collections which have belonged to individuals.

The reader can scarcely fail to have noticed how large a mass of undoubted *public* documents have passed into the National Library through private hands. I suppose that in no other European country has the practice of leaving State-Papers in the possession of individual functionaries been carried so far or continued so long. For more than two centuries such documents have been constantly and openly offered for sale. The governments of the day have in due course received auction-duty on the proceeds, and have occasionally been purchasers; yet no effectual means have ever been taken to stop this costly and destructive alienation of public property.

Of early examples of this kind what has been said of the contents of the Cottonian and Harleian collections supply more than enough. But there have been many such instances within the last thirty years. At the dispersion of the Library of the late Sir Mark Masterman Sykes, the Original Report of the Convocation to King

BOOK III. Chapter V. The Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

Henry VIII. on the legality of his divorce from Anne of Cleves was sold by auction, and purchased by government, for two hundred and fifteen pounds. In 1829 many valuable documents from the Archives of the Exchequer were sold by auction, as part of the Library of Craven Ord, Esq., Master of the Exchequer. Still more recently were similarly dispersed the papers of the late Joshua Sharpe, Esq., Solicitor to the Board of Trade, amongst which were many public documents of the highest importance in relation to our Colonial history. Fortunately, the British Museum has largely profited by such opportunities, and public records have thus been made, far more available to historical students than they would have been in our Record-Offices; but, very obviously, the process is circuitous, hazardous, and expensive. Many State-Papers have been in this way for ever lost to the Public. And many others have been alienated or destroyed, by methods more pernicious still, as I may, perhaps, hereafter have occasion to notice.

Character of the Sloane Library.

The SLOANE MSS., as would be inferred from the pursuits of the collector, are chiefly scientific; and are of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The correspondence of Sloane himself with nearly all his eminent contemporaries is by no means the least interesting feature of this collection, in which are also included part of the papers of Sir Theodore Mayerne, physician to four Kings (Henry IV. of France, James I., Charles I., and Charles II. of England), and those—elsewhere mentioned in connection with the circumstances of their ob-

tainment—of William Courten. The total number of Sir Hans Sloane's MS. books was 4100; that of his printed books—which included almost all departments of literature—exceeded 40,000. Less rich than many other collections in the choice treasures chiefly prized by bibliographers, it laid a good foundation for the general library which the working student needs.

The Arundel Manuscripts.

Next in importance comes the ARUNDEL Manuscript Library. Its numerous *cimelia* have been well and concisely described by Mr. Forshall, in the preface to his excellent *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts*, printed in 1834:—

> "The Arundel collection is singularly rich in the materials for the history of our own country and language. Among the MSS. of early British Historians are no less than seven copies of the *Historia Britonum* by Geoffrey of Monmouth, chiefly of the 12th and 13th centuries; two copies of the *Historiæ Rerum Anglicarum* by Henry of Huntington; the *Polychronicon* of Ralph Higden; two copies of the *Annals* of Roger de Hoveden; a recent, but unique MS. of Ingulph's *Descriptio Abbatiæ Croylandensis*; two copies of William of Malmesbury's book, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, and copies of his *Historiæ Novellæ*, and books *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*; the *Flores Historiarum*, attributed to Matthew of Westminster; the *Historia Regum Britannorum*, and *Gesta Pontificum Angliæ*, by John Pike; two copies of the *Annals* of Nicholas Trivet, in Latin, and a copy of the general *Chronicle, from the Creation to the 7th Edward II.*, which he wrote in French; the tracts of Alred, Abbot of Rivaulx, intitled *De Vita et Moribus quorundam Regum Angliæ*, and *De Vita S. Edwardi Regis et Confessoris*; and a valuable MS. in three folio volumes, of the *Chronicles* of Jehan Froissart. To this class may be appended a fine copy of the *Life of Dunstan*, by Osborn; an unique MS. of the *Life of Thomas à Becket*, by Edmund Grim; two copies of the life of the same Prelate, commonly known as the *Quadrilogus;* a volume of his *Epistles*; and a valuable MS. of the *Epistles* of Peter of Blois. It may be proper also to notice a volume of letters and other documents relative to the divorce of Henry VIII. from Katherine of Arragon, some of which are original. There

will be found, likewise, a fine MS., containing an abridgement of a large part of *Domesday Book*, written in the 12th century, and formerly belonging to the Abbey of Margan; the *Topographia Hiberniæ*, by Giraldus Cambrensis; a book of accounts of the treasurer of the King's household, from the 29 to the 33 of Henry VIII.; and a book of the accounts of the Tellers of the Exchequer, for the first year of James I.

The collection is also rich in that important class of MSS. the chartularies and registers of our ancient monastic institutions.

It possesses *chartularies* of the Abbey of St. Albans; of the Hospital within the Southgate, at Bury St. Edmunds; of the Monastery of St. John, at Colchester; and of the Abbeys of Sibton and Tintern; and *Registers*, or Lieger Books, of the Monasteries of St. Austin, and Christ Church, Canterbury; of the Convent of St. Mary and St. Margaret, at Dartford; of the Abbey of Glastonbury; and of that of Newenham, in Devonshire. To these may be added, though of a different nature, a curious volume of the *Rules and Constitutions* of the Nuns of Sion, near Isleworth.

The materials for the illustration of the origin and progress of the English language are not less ample. Under this head there occur, a splendid MS. of the *Psalter* in Latin; with an interlineary gloss in Saxon, written about the year 1100; a Latin *Psalter*, supposed by Mr. Humphrey Wanley to be of the time of Cnute, followed by numerous prayers, having an interlineary Saxon translation; an extremely curious volume intitled *Ayenbyte of Inwyt*, composed in 1340 by a monk of Canterbury, in the Kentish dialect of that period; a copy, in two volumes, of the English translation of the Bible, usually ascribed to John Wycliffe; the *Harmony of the Gospels*, by Clement of Lanthony, together with the *Catholic Epistles*, in an English translation, likewise commonly considered to be Wycliffe's.

Of early English Poetry we have, the *Life of St. Katherine*, by John Capgrave, with some other pieces of the same age bound with it; two copies of the poem of Thomas Occleve, intitled *De Regimine Principum*; the book called *Secretum Secretorum*, versified partly by John Lydgate, and completed by Benedict Burgh; Lydgate's poems on the Siege of Troy, and of the Siege of Thebes; a volume containing *Ypotys*, *Guy, Earl of Warwick*, and *Deacon Alcuin and the Seven Wise Masters*; another containing several religious legends, the *Life of St. Katharine*, by Capgrave, and the *Life of the Virgin*, by Lydgate; a *Bestiarium* and some other pieces of no great extent, but exceedingly curious, in the language of the 13th century; Osbern Bockenam's *Lives of the Saints*, an unique MS., written in 1447; a third copy of Capgrave's *Life of St. Katharine*, with a poem in praise of the Mass; and some very early

and interesting translations of Hymns; nor should here pass unnoticed a volume, containing numerous pieces of Scottish Poetry, chiefly of the latter part of the 15th century.

The MSS. which illustrate the language of France in the 12th and three succeeding centuries, are of considerable value. The most remarkable are, a *Psalter* with an interlineary gloss in French, of a date probably anterior to the year 1200; and in the same MS., Philippe de Thaun's *Livre des Creatures*, and a small fragment of the Romance of *Alexander*; a translation of Turpin's *Exploits of Charlemagne*, by William de Briane; a sort of French and English *Vocabulary*, written by Walter de Biblesworthe, before the 32 Edward I.; a volume of the 13th century, in which are a poem upon the Passion of our Saviour, *Le Manuel de Peche*, usually ascribed to Grosteste, a poem upon the Love of God to Man, a translation of Edmund Riche's *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, and the *Disputation between the Body and Soul*, besides some other pieces both in prose and verse; a few early poems in the MS. No. 292, already noticed, and several very curious Hymns and Verses.

In general chronicles and histories of foreign states, the collection comprises, the works of Eusebius, Jerome, Sigisbert, Otto, Frecholf, and Bernard Guido; Eginhard's *Life of Charlemagne*, and his *Annals*, from the year 741 to 829; the *History of Charlemagne*, by an anonymous monk of St. Galles; the *Gesta Francorum*, by an author of the time of Theodoric II., and a fragment of an anonymous *History of Pipin junior;* a supplement to the *Chronicle* of William de Nangis, by a monk of St. Denys; the *History of the Dukes of Normandy* by William of Jumieges; a very early MS. of the *Chronicle* of Regino; and five or six copies of the *Chronicle* of Martinus Polonus and its continuators.

Of the MSS. of classical authors, several deserve remark; amongst them a very early and handsomely written volume of the *Natural History* of Pliny; a fine copy of Vitruvius; MSS. of Horace, and of the commentary of Helenius Acro; of Plautus, Virgil, Terence, Lucan, Statius, Martial; the Tragedies of Seneca, Suetonius, Justin, Valerius Maximus, Pomponius Mela, and Sextus Ruffus, and several works of Cicero. In Greek there are, a MS. of Hesiod; another of Thucydides; two copies of three plays of Euripides; small portions of the writings of Lucian and Plutarch; the *Elements* of Euclid; Hephæstio with Scholia; *Epistles* of Libanius, Synesius, Marcus Brutus, and Lysis; the Epistles of Phalaris; a copy of Diogenes Laertius; the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius; and some of the Rhetorical pieces of Hermogenes and Aphthonius.

The Greek part of the collection contains also a valuable copy of the *Gospels* of the 10th century; an *Evangeliary*, written in

Uncial characters, probably of the 9th century; and another *Evangeliary* of the 13th; *Homilies* of Chrysostom and Basil; *Orations* of Gregory Nazianzene; the Commentaries of Theophylact; some valuable MSS. on Canon and Civil Law; the poetical *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses; and a curious *History of the affairs of Cyprus*, between the years 1456 and 1474, written in barbarous Greek, probably the dialect of that island. Among the more remarkable MSS. may also be accounted two extremely interesting volumes, containing a large collection of *Letters* and *Orations* by the most distinguished scholars of Italy, immediately after the restoration of learning; several ancient MSS. of *Lives of Saints and Martyrs*, and others, containing Hymns and Odes, many of them curious specimens of the Latin poetry of the middle ages; an autograph MS. of Leonardo da Vinci, another of Melancthon, and a book of Latin and Greek exercises, in the handwriting of Edward VI.

One of the most striking features of the collection still remains to be noticed, in a considerable number of volumes on the subject of jurisprudence. They consist of copies of the *Digests* and *Codex* of Justinian; the *Decretum* of Gratian; and the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. and Bonifacе VIII., with numerous glosses, commentaries, dissertations, and discourses upon these several texts; summaries, abridgements, and dictionaries of law; collections of decisions, cases, and opinions; and various other books of a similar nature, forming what was probably considered, in the middle of the 15th century, a complete Library of Canon and Civil-Law."

The Lansdowne collection of MSS.

The LANSDOWNE Manuscripts were chiefly gathered by William Petty, first Marquess of Lansdowne, who died in 1805. Amongst its more remarkable contents are (I.) One hundred and twenty-one folio volumes of the State-Papers and Correspondence of the celebrated Elizabethan statesman, William Cecil, Lord Burghley. (II.) The Correspondence and other papers of Sir Julius Cæsar, extending to fifty volumes. Sir Julius, it may be remembered, was Judge of the Admiralty, in the time of Queen Elizabeth; Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls, in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. (III.) The collections, chiefly on the history

and biography of the church, of White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough. (IV.) Another series of State-Papers and Correspondence, highly important for British history, and ranging in point of time from the reign of Henry VI. to that of George III. (V.) Extensive legal collections, including those of Petyt on Parliaments; a series of law-cases of the Tudor and Stuart periods; a selection from the patent rolls, and a curious treatise on the Star-Chamber. (VI.) Large collections in British Topography and Heraldry, as, for example, those made by Warburton, for Yorkshire; by Holles, for Lincolnshire; and by Segar, St. George, Dugdale, Le Neve, and other heralds, on genealogical and ceremonial matters. The Classical and Biblical MSS. in this collection are few, but choice.

The Egerton Manuscripts.

The EGERTON Manuscripts have gradually accrued, and will long continue to accrue, from the bequest of that eccentric man, Francis Henry Egerton, eighth Earl of Bridgewater, and fifth in lineal descent from that John, first Earl, whom Milton, by a stroke of his pen, has made securely memorable, when Bridgewater canals and Egerton peerages shall alike have passed into oblivion. Earl Francis was himself very ambitious of some sort of immortality on earth, and it cannot be denied that the services rendered by him to that profession, whence the Egertons derived their first distinction, do at least merit as much of celebrity as the gratitude of lawyers might be able to compass.

The only part, however, of the will of this Earl with which we are here concerned, is the bequest to the

BOOK III. Chapter V. The Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

Trustees of the British Museum of sixty-seven volumes of Manuscripts, chiefly relating to the History and Literature of France and Italy; of ninety-six charters; and of two sums of money, of five thousand pounds, and seven thousand pounds, respectively, the interest of the first named of which sums was to be expended in maintaining, augmenting, and binding the MSS. so bequeathed; and that of the second "to be paid to such person or persons as shall, from time to time, be charged with the care and superintendence of the said collection." The Earl died in April, 1829. Nine years afterwards, Charles Long, Lord Farnborough, for many years a Trustee of the Museum, bequeathed £2872 6*s.* 10*d.* three per cent. consols, producing an annual interest of £86 3*s.* 4*d.*, to be expended in the purchase of MSS., "as an addition to the Bridgewater bequest." By these conjoined legacies, the sixty-seven volumes originally bequeathed have grown to nearly two thousand volumes. Among them are included a very fine collection, relating to Spanish History, in 323 volumes, from the Library of Don Bernardo Yriarte; the Italian State-Papers and Correspondence of Cardinals Commendone and Azzolini, in twenty-six volumes; Cavendish's Reports of the Debates of the English House of Commons, from 1768 to 1774, in forty-eight volumes; and a remarkable series of books and papers, relating to the Literature and History of Ireland, in a hundred and forty-one volumes.

Addition made by C. Long, Lord Farnborough, to the Bridgewater bequest.

MSS. from St. Mary Deipara, or the Convent of "the Syrians."

The general character of the Manuscripts from the Nitrian monastery of ST. MARY DEIPARA has been

indicated in a preceding page. It may now be said, more specifically, that of the abundant liturgical, hagiological, and hortatory books, the great majority are *palimpsest.* The Greek Manuscripts were the first to suffer. No complete Greek book, indeed, has survived, but only such fragments as suffice to show that the lost codices had been of rare antiquity and beauty. These fragments have, on the best authority, been described as "closely resembling the famous Alexandrian Bible in substance and calligraphy." The Syriac MSS. are unsurpassed and unsurpassable. Of the Peshito version of the Bible there are nearly thirty volumes, containing various books of the *Old Testament,* written for the most part in the sixth century. A copy of the *Pentateuch* occurs with the date A. D. 464. Of the *First book of Samuel,* and of the *First book of Kings,* in the version of Mar Jacob of Edessa, there is a copy, written in the year 703. Of parts of the *New Testament,* in the Peshito version, we find more than forty MSS., many of them of the sixth, and some, it is believed, of the fifth century.

Biblical MSS. in the Syriac collection.

None of these exceed in interest those fragments of St. Luke's *Gospel* that form part of the underwriting of the same Palimpsest in which were found the fragments of the *Iliad.* The more recent writing is part of the monophysite treatise of Severus of Antioch against Grammaticus, translated into Syriac, in a calligraphy which is exceedingly broad and black. Mr. Tregelles has collated the forty-five leaves which contain St. Luke, and he tells us that "the ancient writing is so faint that it requires a clear day, with as much light as the Brit-

ish Museum affords," to read it. . . . . This writing is in two columns . . . . . in letters of very ancient form, ... belonging probably rather to the earlier than to the later part of the sixth century. The Ammonian sections stand in the margin; the Eusebian canons, if once there, are now effaced. "There are," he adds, "besides the Nitrian fragment of St. Luke, palimpsest fragments of a very small portion of St. John's Gospel. These leaves are of extreme antiquity. The letters are very similar to those of the Vatican MSS., and the vellum, which is of a thin, firm, beautiful texture, has been used, like others in this collection, *more than once* for Syriac writing."[1]

In many of the Nitrian Palimpsests, the underwriting is illegible, save by the aid of chemical restoratives. The Trustees have most properly been sparing of permissions for the use of such processes. But, in special cases, and under needful conditions, exceptions have been made, to which, amongst other results, we owe the fragments of Licinianus, recently published at Berlin.[2]

The ancient Rituals and Service-books are, of course, numerous. Of a tract, intitled *The doctrine of the Apostles*, there are two copies, both of which are stated to be undoubtedly of the sixth century. There are likewise two copies of the *Recognitions*, ascribed to St. Clement; and several copies of the works, ascribed to Dionysius, the Areopagite. Nearly all the treatises of Chrysostom

[1] Tregelles, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (forming vol. IV. of the new edition of Horne's *Introduction*), 183, 184 (1856).

[2] Gai Grani Liciniani *Annalium quæ supersunt, ex codice ter scripto Musei Britannici Londinensis, nunc primum edidit K. A. F. Pertz* (1857).

occur in MSS. of great antiquity. Of a Syriac version of the famous treatise of Irenæus *adversus Hæreses*, about thirty fragments have been recovered. They are printed in Mr. Harvey's recent edition of that Father,[1] but the merit of the discovery belongs to Mr. Cureton. There are also among the Nitrian MSS. many ecclesiastical Chronicles, and an extensive series of the Lives of Saints, Fathers, and early Bishops; many Martyrologies; and some curious Commentaries on Aristotle.

Of the great collections, which, in the main, constitute the existing "Department of Printed Books," the GEORGIAN and the GRENVILLE more especially require that some addition should be made to the general indications of their contents, afforded in the preceding chapter.

The Royal Library of George III.

George the Third's Library includes a noble series of *Bibles*, amongst which are the "Mazarine," Mentz of 1462, Bamberg of (circa) 1460, and Strasburgh of (circa) 1468, editions of the Latin Vulgate; the Soncini Hebrew Bible of 1488; the Ferrara *Biblia en lengua Española segunda la verdad Hebrayca*, of 1553, and Taverner's English Bible of 1539. The assemblage of "Caxtons" is unrivalled. It extends to thirty-seven different productions of the father of English printing, some of them in copies of rare beauty. Other early printers are almost as finely represented. The *Editiones principes* of the Greek and Latin Classics are numerous, as are also those of the modern masterpieces of European literature, and preëminently of the Italian classic

[1] S. Irenæi *Libros quinque adversus Hæreses. Edidit* W. W. Harvey. (Cantab. 1857.)

BOOK III. Chapter V. Library of the British Museum. (Continued.)

authors. The works of early English writers are likewise many and choice. In almost all sections of historical literature this Library may be described as strong. Its chief deficiencies lay in the various departments of the sciences; more especially in Physics and in Natural History. It must also be noted that at the time of its transfer to the Public the number of incomplete works was very considerable. These, however, like the other deficiencies, have long since been supplied.

MS. portion of the Library of K. George III.

With the printed books came 440 volumes of MSS., including an extensive series of volumes relating to the international affairs of England and France, and a very curious collection of papers on fortification and military architecture.

Mr. Panizzi's account of the GRENVILLE Library, as inserted in papers which were laid before Parliament in 1848, runs thus:

Panizzi's account of some of the *choicest* books in the Grenville Library.

> "It would naturally be expected that one of the editors of the "Adelphi Homer" would lose no opportunity of collecting the best and rarest editions of the Prince of Poets. Æsop, a favourite author of Mr. Grenville, occurs in his Library in its rarest forms; there is no doubt that the series of editions of this author in that Library is unrivalled. The great admiration which Mr. Grenville felt for Card. Ximenes, even more on account of the splendid edition of the Polyglot Bible which that prelate caused to be printed at Alcala, than of his public character, made him look upon the acquisition of the Moschus, a book of extreme rarity, as a piece of good fortune. Among the extremely rare editions of the Latin Classics, in which the Grenville Library abounds, the unique complete copy of Azzoguidi's first edition of Ovid is a gem well deserving particular notice, and was considered in the whole, by Mr. Grenville himself, the boast of his collection. The Aldine Virgil of 1505, the rarest of the Aldine editions of this poet, is the more welcome to the Museum as it serves to supply a lacuna; the copy mentioned in the Catalogue of the Royal Collection not having been transferred to the National Library.

"The rarest editions of English Poets claimed and obtained the special attention of Mr. Grenville. Hence we find him possessing not only the first and second edition of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales by Caxton, but the only copy known of an hitherto undiscovered edition of the same work printed in 1498, by Wynkyn de Worde. Of Shakespeare's collected Dramatic Works, the Grenville Library contains a copy of the first edition, which, if not the finest known, is at all events surpassed by none. His strong religious feelings and his sincere attachment to the Established Church, as well as his knowledge and mastery of the English language, concurred in making him eager to possess the earliest as well as the rarest editions of the translations of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. He succeeded to a great extent; but what deserves particular mention, is the only known fragment of the New Testament in English, translated by Tyndale and Roy, which was in the press of Quentell, at Cologne, in 1525, when the translators were obliged to interrupt the printing, and fly to escape persecution.

"The History of the British Empire, and whatever could illustrate any of its different portions, were the subject of Mr. Grenville's unremitting research, and he allowed nothing to escape him deserving to be preserved, however rare and expensive. Hence his collection of works on the divorce of Henry VIII.; that of Voyages and Travels, either by Englishmen, or to countries at some time more or less connected with England, or possessed by her; that of contemporary works on the gathering, advance, and defeat of the "Invincible Armada;" and that of writings on "Ireland;"—are more numerous, more valuable, and more interesting than in any other collection ever made by any person on the same subjects. Among the Voyages and Travels, the collections of De Bry and Hulsius are the finest in the world; no other Library can boast of four such fine books as the copies of Hariot's Virginia, in Latin, German, French, and English, of the De Bry series. And it was fitting that in Mr. Grenville's Library should be found one of the only two copies known of the first edition of this work, printed in London in 1588, wherein an account is given of a colony which had been founded by his family namesake, Sir Richard Greinvile.

"Conversant with the Language and Literature of Spain, as well as with that of Italy, the works of imagination by writers of those two countries are better represented in his Library than in any other out of Spain and Italy; in some branches better even than in any single Library in the countries themselves. No Italian collection can boast of such a splendid series of early editions of Ariosto's Orlando, one of Mr. Grenville's favourite authors, nor

indeed of such choice Romance Poems. The copy of the first edition of Ariosto is not to be matched for beauty; of that of Rome, 1533, even the existence was hitherto unknown. A perfect copy of the first complete edition of the Morgante Maggiore, of 1482, was also not known to exist before Mr. Grenville succeeded in procuring his. Among the Spanish Romances, the copy of that of "Tirant lo Blanch," printed at Valencia, in 1490, is as fine, as clean, and as white, as when it first issued from the press; and no second copy of this edition of a work professedly translated from English into Portuguese, and thence into Valencian, is known to exist except in the Library of the Sapienza, at Rome.

"But where there is nothing common, it is almost depreciating a collection to enumerate a few articles as rare. It is a marked feature of this Library, that Mr. Grenville did not collect mere bibliographical rarities. He never aimed at having a complete set of the editions from the press of Caxton or Aldus; but Chaucer and Gower by Caxton were readily purchased, as well as other works which were desirable on other accounts, besides that of having issued from the press of that printer; and, when possible, select copies were procured. Some of the rarest, and these the finest, Aldine editions were purchased by him, for the same ressons. The Horæ in Greek, printed by Aldus in 16°, in 1497, is a volume which, from its language, size, and rarity, is of the greatest importance for the literary and religious history of the time when it was printed. It is therefore in Mr. Grenville's Library. The Virgil of 1501 is not only an elegant, but it is the first book, printed with that peculiar *Italic*, known as Aldine, and the first volume which Aldus printed, "forma enchiridii," as he called it, being expressly adapted to give poor scholars the means of purchasing for a small sum the works of the classical writers. This also is, therefore, among Mr. Grenville's books; and of one of the two editions of Virgil, both dated the same year, 1514, he purchased a large paper copy, because it was the more correct of the two.

"It was the merit of the work, the elegance of the volume, the "genuine" condition of the copy, etc., which together determined Mr. Grenville to purchase books printed on vellum, of which he collected nearly a hundred. He paid a very large sum for a copy of the Furioso of 1532, not because it was "on ugly vellum," as he very properly designated it, but because, knowing the importance of such an edition of such a work, and never having succeeded in procuring it on paper, he would rather have it on expensive terms and "ugly vellum," than not at all.

"By the bequest of Mr. Grenville's Library, the collection of books printed on vellum now at the Museum, and comprising those

formerly presented by George II., George III., and Mr. Cracherode, is believed to surpass that of any other National Library, except the King's Library at Paris, of which Van Praet justly speaks with pride, and all foreign competent and intelligent judges with envy and admiration. In justice to the Grenville Library, the list of all its vellum books ought to be here inserted. As this cannot be done, some only of the most remarkable shall be mentioned. These are—the Greek Anthology of 1494: the Book of Hawking of Juliana Berners of 1496: the first edition of the Bible, known as the "Mazarine Bible," printed at Mentz about 1454: the Aldine Dante of 1502: the first Rationale of Durandus of 1459: the first edition of Fisher on the Psalms, of 1508: the Aldine Horace, Juvenal, Martial, and Petrarca, of 1501: the Livy of 1469: the Primer of Salisbury, printed at Paris in 1531: the Psalter of 1457, which supplies the place of the one now at Windsor, which belonged to the Royal collection before it was transferred to the British Museum: the Sforziada, by Simoneta, of 1490, a most splendid volume even in so splendid a Library: the Theuerdank of 1517; the Aulus Gellius and the Vitruvius of Giunta, printed in 1515, etc. etc. Of this identical copy of Vitruvius, formerly Mr. Dent's, the author of the *Bibliographical Decameron* wrote, "Let the enthusiastic admirers of a genuine vellum Junta—of the amplest size and in spotless condition—resort to the choice cabinet of Mr. Dent for such a copy of this edition of Vitruvius and Frontinus." The Aulus Gellius is in its original state, exactly as it was when presented to Lorenzo de'Medici, afterwards Duke of Urbino, to whom the edition was dedicated.[*]

Other additions since 1850.

Among the more important miscellaneous additions of the last sixty-seven years, which yet claim a word of notice, are the famous "Bible of Charlemagne;" a valuable series of manuscripts illustrative of our English Civil Wars; the Correspondence and other papers relating to the captivity of Napoleon; and the remarkable papers of the Florentine family of Gualterio, extending to about four hundred volumes, and rich in materials for Italian History during the eighteenth century. Two fortunate reunions have also been effected. The famous Bedford *Missal* has rejoined its Harleian companions,

after many adventures; and the Cottonian MS. '*Vitellius D. IX,' A Cartulary of the Priory of St. Nicholas, Exeter* (of the thirteenth century), has been restored to its shelf, after an absence of a hundred and sixty years.

The following is a list of the Principal Librarians, from the date of the Parliamentary establishment of the Museum:—

(1) Gowin Knight, 1756 to 1772.
(2) Matthew Maty, M.D., 1772 to 1776.
(3) Charles Morton, M.D., 1776 to 1799.
(4) Joseph Planta, 1799 to 1827.
(5) Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., 1827 to 1856.
(6) Antonio Panizzi, 1856. [Present Principal Librarian.]

CHAPTER VI.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

I tell you, Sirs, I judge no land in England to be better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities, for by their maintenance our realm shall be well governed, when we be dead and rotten.

King HENRY VIII. (as reported by Holinshed, i. 256.)

§. I.—THE FOUNDER AND HIS ENTERPRISE.

OF Sir THOMAS BODLEY old Anthony Wood says: "though no writer, worth the remembrance, yet hath he been the greatest promoter of learning that hath yet appeared in our nation." Born at Exeter, on the 2nd March, 1545 (the eldest son of John Bodley), he received much of his education at Frankfort and at Geneva, and was, we are told, whilst yet under fifteen years, an auditor of Chevalerius in Hebrew, of Beroaldus in Greek, and of Calvin and Beza in Divinity. In 1559 he was sent to Magdalen College, Oxford; was admitted B. A. in July 1563, and M. A. in 1566. For some years he read a Greek lecture in the hall of his College, at first without any stipend. In 1569 he was

The Founder's Life.

elected junior Proctor of the University, and about seven years afterwards left it to travel for four years in Italy, France, and Germany. At the end of this period he returned to Oxford, and in 1582 was made gentleman-usher to Queen Elizabeth. Shortly afterwards he married the wealthy widow of a Bristol merchant. In 1585 he began a long series of honourable and important diplomatic employments, by an embassy to the King of Denmark. At the Hague he was ambassador for many years, enjoying, however, the relief of occasional brief visits to England. He seems to have looked eagerly for his final recall from this employment, in the expectation that his services would be rewarded by the power and dignity of the Secretaryship at home. But it was his misfortune to be so highly commended by two rival-statesmen that the more wary of them began to fear, that his elevation would give a great advantage to the other. Burleigh and Essex seem at first to have vied with each other in their praises of the able diplomatist, but the misgivings of the politic Lord Treasurer proved fatal to Bodley's hopes. We have his own warrant for the belief that his keenly felt disappointment led him to undertake the enterprise which has immortalized his name. The glittering prize which he had almost reached, having eluded his grasp, he firmly waived away many less tempting allurements, resolved, as he says, "to possess my soul in peace all the residue of my days; to take my full farewell of state-employments, . . and so to retire me from the Court, which was the epilogue and end of all my actions and endeavours of any important note, till

Bodley's disappointment at Court.

I came to the age of 63. . . Whereupon, examining exactly for the rest of my life what course I might take, and having sought, as I thought, all the ways of the wood, to select the most proper, I concluded at the last to set up my staff at the Library door in Oxon; being thoroughly persuaded, that in my solitude and surcease from the Commonwealth's affairs, I could not busy myself to better purpose than by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and waste) to the public use of students. For the effecting whereof I found myself furnished, in a competent proportion, of such four kinds of aids, as, unless I had them all, there was no hope of good success: for without some kind of knowledge, as well in the learned and modern tongues as in sundry other sorts of scholastical literature; without some purse-ability to go through with the charge; without great store of honourable friends to further the design; and without special good leisure to follow such a work;—it could but have proved a vain attempt and inconsiderate."

His resolution to set up his staff at the door of the University Library.

Bodley set himself to work with the vigour which seems always to have characterized him. The stocks of English booksellers he ransacked in person. Archbishop Usher has recorded his meetings with Bodley in the London shops, while himself in quest of books for the Library of Dublin University. John Bill and other active and experienced agents were dispatched to Paris, Venice, Padua, Milan, Florence, and Rome; and afterwards into Spain and Germany. An agreement for the supply of new books was entered into with the Stationer's company.

Bodley's personal research for books.

The Library was opened on the 8th of November, 1602, apparently with between 2000 and 3000 volumes —a small but well chosen collection. The hours of access, during the half year from Easter to Michaelmas, were from eight o'clock until eleven o'clock, in the morning, and from two until five o'clock, in the afternoon. The books to be given out to readers were limited to six at one time. And the statutes proceed to say that—"sith the sundry examples of former ages, as well in this University as in other places of the realm, have taught us over often that the frequent loan of books hath been a principal occasion of the ruin and destruction of many famous Libraries: it is therefore ordered and decreed to be observed as a statute of irrevocable force, that for no regard, pretence, or cause there shall at any time any volume, either of those that are chained or of others unchained, be given or lent to any person or persons of whatsoever state or calling, upon any kind of caution or offer of security for faithful restitution." The privilege of reading within the Library is further restricted to Graduates of the University and to Donors. All persons admitted are to take an oath against the abuse of their privilege. "We do utterly," says Sir Thomas, "reject the opinion of those who would have no exception to no (*sic*) man's access; for that a grant of so much scope would but minister occasion of daily pestering all the room with their gazing, and babbling, and trampling up and down, .. disturbing out of measure the endeavours of those that are studious."

First statutes of the new Library.

The first Librarian was the learned Thomas James, and his salary was fixed at £40 a year, in the money

of that day, with £10 to an assistant, and £4 to a servant. "The choice," say the statutes, "of these inferior ministers shall be committed to the Keeper's discretion." By his last will, Sir Thomas Bodley left a considerable estate to the University in land and money for salaries, repairs, and new books. But Dr. Hudson, Bodleian Librarian in the earlier part of the century, writing in 1720, says, the income "is now fallen miserably short, for by the fraud of his executor, by the loan of a great sum of money to Charles I. in his distress, and by the fire of London, the estate will do little more than pay the officers their old salary."

The early imitators of Bodley's example.

Bodley's example, however, had been so generously followed by donations of books that, notwithstanding the poverty of the maintenance fund, the number of volumes had been largely increased. In his lifetime he had received assistance at the hands of some of his most illustrious contemporaries,—Burleigh amongst the number. Shortly after his death, the Earl of Pembroke gave nearly the whole of a noble collection of Greek MSS. which had been assembled by Francesco Barozzi, amounting to 250 volumes, and costing the Earl £700. "This collection," says Hudson, "was esteemed the most valuable that ever came into England at one time." The few which the Earl had retained, were afterwards purchased and presented to the University by Cromwell. In 1628 Sir Thomas Roe presented a large collection of Greek and Oriental MSS. which he had brought together during his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte. Sir Kenelm Digby was repeatedly a benefactor to the Library. Amongst his gifts were a considerable collection

Benefactions of Digby and of Laud.

of MSS. and his entire Library which had been bequeathed to him (about the year 1632) by his former tutor, Thomas Allen. But the greatest benefactor of this period was Archbishop Laud, who was not only liberal himself, but the promoter of liberality in others. He sent agents to the East, expressly to buy oriental MSS.; and others into Germany to profit by the opportunities afforded by the devastating wars of acquiring the treasures of dispersed Libraries. The MSS. given by Laud amount to 1300 in number, and are in more than twenty different languages.

§. II.—GROWTH OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY FROM THE TIME OF SELDEN.

Selden, it is said, had originally intended to bequeath his entire Library in augmentation of the Bodleian, but, according to Anthony Wood, changed his mind in resentment of the refusal of his application for the loan of certain MSS. The statement, however, seems to rest on insufficient proof. In the most circumstantial form in which we have it, it is coupled with an inaccurate version of the Library-regulations, and the large discretion accorded by his will to his Executors seems to show that his resentment, whatever its cause, was neither very bitter nor very long-lived. His Oriental books, it is admitted on all hands, were always designed for the University. The offer to the students of the Inner Temple appears to have been made by the Executors as the result of their own discretion to take measures for the preservation of the testator's books

Alleged resentment by Selden of a refusal to lend him Bodleian MSS.

"in some convenient Public Library, or some college in one of the Universities." To this offer was annexed the condition that a fitting repository should be built for their reception. The Templars failing to give satisfactory assurance on this head, Dr. Thomas Barlow (then Bodleian Librarian and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln) made overtures to the Executors, which led to the gift of a considerable part of the collection to the University. "'Tis to be lamented," says Dr. Hudson, "that Selden's whole Library was not given by his Executors, according to his intention once. For the fire of the Temple destroyed in their chambers eight chests full of the Registers of Abbeys, and other MSS. relating to the History of England, though most of his law-books are still safe in Lincoln's Inn." The gift to the Bodleian appears to have included upwards of 8000 volumes, and its "conditions" are not undeserving of quotation at large. They run thus:—

Conditions of the gift by Selden's executors.

"*Proposalls by the Executors of* John Selden, Esq., *touching the settling of the Bookes of the said* John Selden, *hereafter mentioned for publique use in the University of Oxon, and the Honour and Memory of the said* John Selden; *in answeare to a Letter, formerly sent to them by the sayd University.*

1. That as well the Manuscripts in Greeke and Hebrue, and Orientall tongues, and the Talmudicall and Rabbinicall bookes, as alsoe such other bookes of the said John Selden as shall be sent to the said University by the Executors of the said John Selden bee forever heerafter kepte togeather in one distincte pile and body under the name of Mr. Selden's Library.
2. That they bee placed and forever heerafter contynued togeather in the new built west end of the publique Library, or some manner and with such distinction from the other parte of the Library, and with such inscription upon the place where they shall bee soe settled as the said Executioners or the Survivor of them shall directe or approve for publique use in the said University, and the perpetuall Memory and honour of the said John Selden.
3. That the sayd Bookes bee purpetually preserved togeather un-

der the charge of the publique Library-Keeper for the publique use in the sayd University without any dissipation, sale, imbezelling, or removeall of them or any of them, and without any delivery or Lone of them or any of them out of the said Repository to any person or upon any pretence whatsoever.

4. That the property of the said Bookes (subject nevertheless to the use aforesaid) be lodged and settled in such persons, and in such manner, and under such conditions and provisions, in order to the perpetuateing of them to the end and uses above expressed, as by the said executors or the survivors of them shall bee adjudged most meete, safe, and convenient.

5. That the said Bookes may be within the space of twelve months next ensueing placed and chayned, and a just Catalogue thereof made at the public charge of the University, and one parte of the said Catalogue delivered by the publique Act of Convocation to the said executors or the survivors of them.

6. That the said executors, or such others as they shall nominate, if they shall thinke fit, to nominate any, or, in default of such appoyntment, the visitors appoynted for the publique Library, shall once every yeare have the search, inspection, and examination of the said Bookes, to the end that any distraction, displaceing, losse, or injury of the said Bookes may bee made thereof to the said executors, or the survivors of them, or their assignes; and that if any of the said Bookes bee lost or made useless, the same bee supplyed againe in the same place and roome, at the charge of the said University, under the same use, title, and security, as if they had been originally sent by the said executors.

7. That the publique Library-Keeper, or some other person of fidelity to the good liking of the said executors, bee nominated by the said University within two Moneths to take the present care, charge, and custody of the said Bookes, and of the transportation of them to the said University at the publique charge of the University, and that they may bee placed in the said west end of the Library in safe custody, till they shall bee digested and settled in the place soe appoynted, as is above directed.

8. That if in the pile of Bookes nowe to bee sent there shall appeare to bee Duplicats of Bookes of the same binde and edition, that then one of every such duplicats be delivered backe to the said executors, for their owne use and disposall.

9. That before any delivery of any of the said Bookes the University doe by publique Acts of the Convocation, and under their Common Seale, declare their assent to the proposalls above mentioned.

MATTHEW HALE. JOHN VAUGHAN.
ROW. JEWKES. W. & H."

To the illustrious parliamentarian General, Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the Bodleian Library is doubly indebted. He effectively protected it from injury, when Oxford was occupied by his army, and he enriched it with many valuable MSS.,—especially with the collections of Roger Dodsworth on English History, extending to 160 volumes. Anthony Wood busied himself with their arrangement, and has told us with what pleasure he expended a month's labour in the humble task of drying them, after some accidental exposure to damp, on the leads of the Schools.

Benefactions of Fairfax.

Large accessions to the Oriental MSS. were made by purchases from the collection of the eminent Orientalist, Dr. Edward Pocock, of Dr. Huntington, and of Mr. Greaves. All these were acquired within the first century from the establishment of the Library, and this department of it, although constantly receiving minor accessions, appears to have had none of equal importance until the acquisition, in 1818, of a considerable portion of the splendid collection of MSS. which had been formed at Venice by the Abbate Canonici. This acquisition included choice MSS. in Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, and Latin, some of which are exquisitely illuminated.

Ten years later, the noble Hebrew Library of the Oppenheim family was purchased at Hamburgh. It had been originally formed at Hanover by the celebrated Rabbi David Oppenheimer, between the years 1690 and 1730, and afterwards removed to Hamburgh, where in 1782 Isaac Seligman, under whose charge it then was, published a catalogue of it. To this collection the *Bibliotheca Hebraica* of Wolf was greatly indebted.

The Oppenheim Library.

The principal benefactors to the general collection during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—besides those already named,—were Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Marshall, Rector of Lincoln College; Nathaniel, Lord Crewe; Tanner; Rawlinson; Godwyn; and Lord Sunderlin. The last-named donor enriched the Library with the fine collection of early English Poetry which had been formed by Malone, the editor of Shakespeare.

Until about 1780, the additions by purchase were paid for, either by special grants from the University chest, or by voluntary contributions.[1] But either in 1777, or in 1780, on the suggestion of the late Lord Stowell, a small addition was made to the matriculation fees, and an annual contribution levied on all Graduates towards the support of the Library. At first this combined source of income yielded about £460 a year. It now yields—taken together with other small payments under the term of "Library dues"—upwards of £2000 a year. By means of these payments, and of occasional voluntary subscriptions, such as that which was made in 1789 for the specific purpose of obtaining rare and choice books at the Pinelli and Crevenna sales, very important additions have been made to the treasures of the Library.

Increase of the Library by a rate on Graduates.

Early in the present century was purchased the valuable collection of Manuscripts—chiefly classical—and

[1] Dr. Ingram says 1780 (*Memorials of Oxford.*, B. L. p. 13), but we find, in Nichols, that Prince, the then Under-Librarian, writing in 1789, says; "The revenue from the tax on the members of the University is about £460 per annum, which has existed twelve years. This has increased the Library so much ... that a new catalogue must be put in hand." (Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, iii. 699.)

of printed books, with MS. notes, which had belonged to Jacques Philippe d'Orville. In 1809 the small but very choice collection of Greek and Latin MSS. which Dr. Edward Clarke had procured during his travels in the East, was added to the Library at the cost of nearly a thousand pounds.[1] The important acquisitions of the Canonici and Oppenheim collections have been noticed. In 1824 large purchases were made at the Meerman sale at the Hague. In 1834 selections were made from the famous library of Richard Heber, and a collection of more than fifty thousand academical dissertations was purchased at Altona.

Acquisition of the d'Orville and other collections.

The following table will show the number of volumes added, and the sums expended, in each year respectively, from 1826 to 1842 inclusive. It is founded on the official statements which are annually printed according to the statute, in the month of November. The series to which I have access does not extend beyond the year last named, but the period is perhaps long enough to give a fair approximative average of the ordinary annual growth of the Library, as far as respects purchases and donations. A third source of increase, that, namely, afforded by the Copyright Acts, will remain to be considered.

Additions to the Library by purchase and gift, 1826-1842.

[1] Dr. Clarke is said to have been ascending the steps of the British Museum with a view to propose the purchase of these choice treasures to its Trustees, when a casual meeting with an Oxford Professor led him to change his intention.

Abstract of the Official Accounts 1826-1842.

Year.	Volumes of Printed Books added.		Expenditure in Acquisitions.		Expenditure in Salaries.	Total Expenditure.
	By Purchase.	By Donation.	1. Printed Books.	2. Manuscripts.		
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.
1826	1,208	87	1,384 12 6	82 2 —	820	3,016 1 8
1827	3,014	114	1,199 2 —	67 11 —	820	2,897 1 1
1828	1,586	51	1,319 10 —	415 7 —	820	4,460 18 —
1829	7,112	35	3,284 4 11	54 12 —	820	5,257 4 10
1830	1,380	104	1,067 6 —	.....	820	2,633 17 —
1831	1,105	61	805 12 6	.....	820	3,394 17 4
1832	1,191	67	978 15 —	105 — —	820	2,927 17 5
1833	1,271	150	990 14 6	36 6 —	820	3,460 6 6
1834	2,337	12,110?	1,600 15 —	5 — —	820	3,823 4 9
1835	2,775	87	1,251 7 6	215 5 —	820	4,182 14 8
1836	1,215	85	1,465 8 —	114 19 6	820	3,255 4 10
1837	3,105	131	1,469 16 6	55 2 —	820	3,223 7 11
1838	1,956	144	1,474 17 —	29 18 6	820	3,469 14 1
1839	1,648	60	1,053 17 6	21 — —	820	3,461 16 1
1840	1,856	151	1,632 3 6	94 10 —	820	4,200 11 10
1841	1,695	75	1,579 13 6	21 16 —	820	3,623 — 9
1842	2,609	140	1,810 6 —	520 19 —	970	4,408 2 6
Totals of seventeen years.....	37,063	13,652	24,368 2 —	1,839 8 —	14,090	61,696 1 3
			26,207 10 —			

Bequest of Richard Gough.

The present century has been already distinguished by two benefactions worthy of being ranked with those of the Lauds, the Pembrokes, and the Seldens of an earlier day. In 1809 Richard Gough bequeathed to the University of Oxford all that portion of his fine library which related "to British Topography, ... to be placed in the Bodleian Library, in a building adjoining to the Picture Gallery, known by the name of *The Antiquaries' Closet*, erected for keeping MSS., printed books, and other articles relating to British Topography, so that together they may form one uniform body of English Antiquities." The collection thus bequeathed, contained not only a choice assemblage of printed books, but also

an important series of MSS., Drawings, Prints, and Maps. He likewise gave to the University all his printed books and MSS. on Saxon and Northern literature "for the use of the Saxon Professor."

Bequest of the Douce Library.

In 1834 Francis Douce bequeathed (by a Will made in 1830) "the accumulated stores of many years of patient research" to the University, in the following words: "I leave my library of printed books, my collection of prints and drawings, my illuminated manuscripts, and all my other books and manuscripts (except those hereafter more particularly mentioned), and my collection of coins and medals with their cabinets, to the Bodleian Library at Oxford." Mr. Singer, his biographer, states that "the reception he met with from Dr. Bandinel, when on a visit there .. in 1830, led to this bequest." The only books excepted from the gift are described as "my commented copies of the blockhead Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, and his *Cornwall Cathedral*," and these were bequeathed to the British Museum, together with a curious series of rubbings from monumental brasses, and a volume of the works of Albert Durer. The Douce library occupies a separate and finely proportioned room, forty-four feet long and twenty-four feet wide, with additional dwarf presses arranged on either side.

Additions made to the Bodleian by the Copyright Law.

Of the total number of volumes which have accrued from the operation of the Copyright Acts there is no satisfactory account. In a return made in 1849 by the Bodleian Librarian, to an application from the Secre-

tary of State for the Home Department (made in pursuance of an address from the House of Commons), it is stated:—"As to the number of books received under various Copyright Acts, *no distinct register ... has been kept, ... so that I am unable to give the number of the books so received.*" ...[1] But from evidence, the sources and details of which are given in a subsequent chapter of this work (Part III, Book I), as to the results of the enactment in other instances, it may fairly be assumed, as a near approximation to the truth, that at least 2000 *volumes* are now yearly added from this source alone. At the end of 1848 the number of printed volumes was officially returned as about 220,000, and that of manuscript volumes as 21,000. At that date the University was already in possession of the munificent bequest of the Reverend Robert Mason, by which the proceeds of the funded sum of £40,000 are annually added to the income of the Library. The present number of volumes may therefore be very safely estimated as, at least, 260,000 in the printed, and 22,000, in the manuscript, departments.

[1] *Returns relating to Public Libraries*, 1849, p. 4.

CHAPTER VII.

THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

'Hail, Learning's Pantheon! Hail, the sacred Ark,
Where all the world of science doth embark.
Which ever shall withstand, as it hath long withstood,
Insatiate Time's devouring flood!
Hail, Tree of knowledge! thy leaves, fruit, which well
Dost in the midst of Paradise arise—
OXFORD, the Muses' Paradise!
From which may never sword the Blest expel.
Hail, Bank of all past ages, where they lie
T'enrich with interest posterity!
Where thousand lights into one brightness spread,
Hail, Living University of the Dead!

COWLEY, *Ode to the University Library at Oxford.*

§ I.—NOTICES OF SOME OF THE MORE CONSPICUOUS BODLEIAN TREASURES.

THE foremost place in any notice, how slight soever, of the choicer contents of the Bodleian, must needs be given to its unrivalled collections of Oriental manuscripts. From the days of Sir Thomas Roe and Sir Kenelm Digby to the present time, scarcely a decennium has passed without contributing its due augmentation to this department. The MSS. procured, two centuries

The Oriental MSS.

ago, by the exertions of Archbishop Laud, are almost an Oriental Library in themselves.

The Biblical Codices of the Bodleian are remarkable both for number and for intrinsic worth. Among them is the famous copy of the *Acts of the Apostles (Codex Laudianus)* in Greek and Latin, which Wetstein ascribed to the latter part of the seventh century, and believed to have been written in Sardinia,—an opinion much controverted, but perhaps not yet satisfactorily supplanted. Later critics, however, incline to place its date a century earlier, and think it probable that it was brought into this country as early as the eighth century. The *Codex Ebnerianus*, containing the whole of the New Testament except the *Apocalypse*, once attracted much attention in connexion with the controversy on the first chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew. It is of the twelfth century, and came from Nuremberg. In Rabbinical Literature the Oppenheimer collection made such important additions to the MSS. previously in the Bodleian, as to raise it to the rank in this department which it already occupied in so many others.

Biblical Codices.

What Archbishop Laud did for the study of Oriental and Biblical learning, Fairfax did for an important section of British history, in his memorable gift of the Dodsworth MSS. They are for the most part in Dodsworth's own handwriting. They extend over the whole field of the family, local, and monastic history of England, and contain valuable materials for its general his-

Bodleian MSS. in the department of British History.

[1] See Tregelles, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 186-189 (1856).

tory. For the genealogy and topography of the Northern counties they are especially valuable. The Rawlinson MSS. also contain important materials for British history. Among them are the Thurloe State Papers (from which the printed work so called is but a partial compilation). Here, too, are the extensive collections of Thomas Carte on English and Irish history; his Indexes of the Records relating to England preserved in the French archives, and his assemblage of news-letters. The collections of Browne Willis are comprised in fifty-eight volumes, and relate chiefly to Buckinghamshire. Those of Bishop Tanner extend to 450 volumes and embrace a wide range of antiquarian subjects.

In English poetry there are many remarkable MSS., including several of "moral Gower" (whose black letter celebrity is, to the honour of this generation, becoming once again popular fame), and so fine a MS. of Lydgate's *Troy-book*, as to warrant the belief that it is the copy which the poet presented to his royal patron Henry the Fifth. Of the *Roman du bon roi Alexandre* there is a superb copy on vellum, written and illuminated in the fourteenth century.

The famous 'Junian' Cædmon (F. Junius had received it from Archbishop Ussher, by gift), one of the most precious of Anglo-Saxon MSS., has been so recently and so elaborately described by Mr. Thorpe,[1] that the mere naming it will here suffice. Whether it be ascribed to the tenth or eleventh century, it is of the highest interest both philologically and pictorially. A vellum MS. of the

[1] *Archæologia*, xxiv. 329-343.

twelfth century has also special interest in the last-named point of view.

Treasures of the Printed Book Department.

The section of Printed Books includes a magnificent series of the *Editiones principes* of the Greek and Latin Classics, comprising the choicest gems of the Pinelli and Crevenna libraries. Among them are Æsop, Ammianus Marcellinus, Ammonius, Anacreon, Apollonius, Appianus, Apuleius, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Aulus Gellius, Cæsar, Cicero, Claudian, Demosthenes, Diodorus, Dionysius Afer, Dionysius Halicarnassensis, Euclid, Euripides, Eutropius, Herodotus, Homer, Horace, Isocrates, Justin, Juvenal, Lucan, Lucian, Cornelius Nepos, Oppian, Persius, Plato, Pindar, Plautus, Pliny, Plutarch, Polybius, Seneca, Tacitus, Terence, Theocritus, Thucydides, Ulpian, Valerius Maximus; the *Etymologicon Magnum Græcum;* the *Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores;* the *Rhetores Græci;* and the *Rei Rusticæ Scriptores.*

Curiosities of early English printing.

Among the numerous curiosities of early English printing are a fine series of Caxtons, Pynsons, and Wynkyn de Wordes, and of the productions of the famous presses of Oxford, Saint Albans, Tavistock, and York. The early English Bibles are both numerous and choice.

Books on vellum printed in 15th century.

The Vellum Books include—to mention those alone which are of the 15th century—the Mentz *Psalter,* and the *Rationale,* of 1459; the Mentz *Bible* of 1462; the Ciceros of 1465 and 1466; the *Clementis V. Constitutiones* of 1467; the Paris *Sallust* of *circa* 1470; the *Gratiani Decretum* of 1472; the *Sextus Decretalium Bonifacii VIII,* and the *Gregorii nova compilatio Decretorum* of 1473; the superb Wurtz-

burg *Breviarum* of 1479, and *Missal* of 1481, both of which were amongst the gifts of Archbishop Laud; the Bologna *Pentateuchus Hebraicus* of 1482 (of which but five copies were known to Van Praet); the Soncini *Berachoth* of 1484, remarkable as being at once the first printed portion of the Talmud, and the first production of a famous press; a portion of an unknown edition of the Hebrew *Pentateuch*, probably printed between 1485 and 1490; the Parma *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, printed in 1486; the Lubec *Revelationes Celestes* of St. Bridget, of 1492; the Brescia *Pentateuch* of the same year; the Strasburgh *Lucubratiunculæ ornatissimæ* of Schottus, printed in 1498; and the Paris *Regula Benedicti*, in French, of 1500. Of vellum books of later date there is an extraordinary series, of which a descriptive account may be seen at the end of Archdeacon Cotton's *Typographical Gazetteer*. The vellum Hebrew books—chiefly from the Oppenheimer and Crevenna collections—are of remarkable beauty. Amongst them is the great edition of the *Talmud* in twenty-four folio volumes, printed at Berlin and Frankfort between the years 1713 and 1728.[1]

The Hebrew books on vellum.

§ II. Evidence taken, and suggestions offered, by the Oxford University Commissioners of 1850, on the present condition and future improvement of the Bodleian Library.

If it be an indubitable truth that "Time is the greatest innovator," it cannot be necessarily an impeachment either of the faithfulness or of the wisdom of the

[1] Cotton, *Typographical Gazetteer*, 2nd edit., 339-353.

governors of an institution now two centuries and a half old, to allege that after such a lapse of time some charges have become desirable, over and above those gentler modifications which may almost be said to have introduced themselves, gradually and silently, during its course. That, in respect of the Bodleian Library in particular, there was nothing to be dreaded from publicity through the proceedings of a Royal Commission, is obvious. It seems to have been shunned simply from punctilios of form and precedent.

Enquiries of the Royal Commission of 1849-1850.

In the lack of direct official evidence the Commissioners had to content themselves with that of volunteers. Of such evidence their blue-book contains much that is to the purpose; and their Report has epitomized it well and concisely. What follows is derived from this source, unless it be otherwise expressly indicated. Dr. Greenhill bore strong testimony to the good management of the Library, of which, he said, he had made almost daily use for eleven years, and thus "had an opportunity, not only of observing its management and condition himself, but also of hearing the opinions expressed on the subject by the numerous foreign students with whom he there became acquainted," and whose accounts of the regulations of different continental Libraries he was thus enabled to compare with those of the Bodleian. "The opinion," he proceeds, "expressed by these foreigners was (I think I may say) in every instance most favorable; and I am inclined to believe that of all the great libraries in Europe the Bodleian is the most convenient and the most generally useful."

Dr. Greenhill's evidence on the good management of the Bodleian.

This opinion Dr. Greenhill supported by an enumeration of its advantages,—such as its size; its rich collection of manuscripts; the facility of obtaining an introduction to it; the extreme courtesy and kindness of the officers, a point almost invariably mentioned by foreigners in the highest terms; the privacy afforded by the little "Studies" to those who make constant use of the Library; the printed Catalogues of almost all the books, and of a considerable portion of the manuscripts; the certainty of finding in the Library any book and manuscript that it possesses; and the small number of days in the whole year on which the Library is closed, the total number (besides Sundays, Good Friday, and Christmas-day) being about thirty-two. He adds that several of the points he has enumerated "will appear perhaps hardly intelligible to those who are unacquainted with the regulations of large public libraries both in this country and on the continent; but they certainly add in no small degree to the comfort of the student. Some of the great European libraries enjoy some of these advantages, and some enjoy others; but the whole of them (as far as I am at present aware) are to be met with only in the Bodleian."

Suggestions for Improvement.

There is a general concurrence, say the Commissioners, in the high praise bestowed by Mr. Greenhill on this great Library. But several suggestions have been offered respecting it, which they proceed to consider:—

(I) Management by Professors.

I. We have, say they, in a former section of our Report recommended that the Professorial Delegacy should be charged with the duty of superintending the Library of Oxford. This would not be an innovation, so

far as regards the Bodleian Library. It would merely imply an enlargement of the present Board of Government on the same principle as that on which that Board was originally established. We are spared the necessity of discussing this subject ourselves by the evidence of Professor Vaughan.[1]—"It seems (he says) to have been the original plan of that great Institution, that it should be superintended by the chief Professors of the University. The Regius Professors of Divinity, Civil Law, Medicine, Hebrew, and Greek, are Curators, probably because at the time of its foundation these were the only endowed Professorships of the University. But in truth the only method by which the purchase of books on so vast a scale, in a Library which should embrace so many branches of literature and science, can be satisfactorily effected, is through superintendence of men respectively well acquainted with the literature of each great subject. No man can judge the real value of a work, but one thoroughly conversant with the subject of which it treats; and it is the real value of a book which entitles it to a place in a great Public Library. The librarian or the book-merchant may know the one; the student and man of science only can appreciate the other. Catalogues and even Reviews cannot furnish information to be relied upon. In this way, then, only can the value of works be truly estimated, and the several kinds of books be obtained without undue favour or disfavour to any line of reading. The appointment of the five original Regius Professors indicates this to have been the true spirit of the Institution. Since the

Dr. Vaughan's views as to the future management of the Bodleian.

[1] *Minutes of Evidence taken by the Oxford University Commission*, p. 268.

foundation, large sums have been bequeathed to the Library for its maintenance and extension, and it has outgrown the care of so small a Committee, representing so limited a number of sciences. It would be well that many more Professors should be admitted to the superintendence, and that the Professor of History should be amongst these. Indeed, it seems that the Regius Professor of Modern History is omitted simply because that functionary did not exist when the founder and its rulers were established, and when the existing were appointed its Curators. This arrangement I think indispensable to the full and symmetrical growth of the noble Institution."

(II) Increased facilities for reading.

II. It has been alleged, continue the Commissioners, by some of those who have given Evidence, that the utility of the Library, however great, is not proportionate to the extent and value of the books which it contains. The most important alteration suggested in this respect is a relaxation of the stringent rule which forbids any books or manuscripts to be taken out of the Library. The examples of the Library of Gœttingen, and of many others on the Continent, on the University Library at Cambridge, and of the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh, are quoted as a proof of the advantage and practicability of such a course. Sir Edmund Head, in a pamphlet which he wrote on the subject when Tutor of Merton,[1] and Professor Wall,[2] speak strongly of the inconvenience of this regulation in Oxford itself, where the engagements of most College Tutors preclude them

[1] Evidence of Sir E. Head, *ut supra*, p. 161.

[2] Evidence of Prof. Wall, p. 154.

from using the Bodleian during the larger part of the academic year, because it is closed at three in the afternoon. On the other hand it is urged with great force[1] that the value of a Library of reference is immensely enhanced by the certainty that every book in the Catalogue is at all times to be found in the Library. "Literary men (says Mr. Strickland) would pay many a fruitless visit, if they were to be told that the book which they were in quest of was just then at a remote country parsonage, but would be returned as soon as its borrower had done with it." "Such a promiscuous and extensive liberty (says Professor Vaughan[2]) would upon the whole, I think, tend to defeat the great objects of such an institution. It is not an uncommon habit of general readers who take books out of lending libraries, to defer or interrupt the perusal of them, and to retain them sometimes after they have abandoned serious intention of studying their contents. But under any circumstances the permission of all Masters of Arts to make use of the Library in this way might so materially diminish the number of books on the shelves, that constant disappointment would be felt by those resorting to that Library in order to read and consult; and even those who desired to exercise their privilege of taking the books away would very often find their claim anticipated and nullified by others. However desirable, therefore, it may be in some points of view to give to all a privilege of this description, yet, with so many claimants for the exercise of it, each might, I think, be

[1] Evidence of Mr. Strickland, *ut supra*, p. 101.

[2] And of Prof. Vaughan, p. 269.

found to lose as much as he would gain. I speak after some experience of lending Libraries." To this the Commissioners add the weighty testimony of Niebuhr, who, when resident in the University of Bonn, complains:—"It is lamentable that I am here much worse off for books than I was at Rome, where I was sure to find whatever was in the Library, because no books were ever lent out; here I find that just the book which I most want is always lent out."[1]

The Commissioners admit the cogency of these objections to an indiscriminate permission to take out books. Still they incline to think that the inconveniencies of the present rules might be mitigated, partly by relaxation of these rules, partly by some alteration in the existing arrangements.

Further suggestions: (1) Permission to take books out under certain restrictions.

(I.) Books, and even Manuscripts, should be allowed, under certain restrictions and in peculiar cases, to be taken out of the Library altogether. Dr. Greenhill, who, though disapproving of a general relaxation, advocates this partial permission, suggests that, "in order to prevent the abuse or too frequent use of this privilege, the special permission of the curators might be required, together with a deposit to ensure the safe and punctual return of the volume borrowed."[2] He adds: "As an illustration at once of the exceptional cases which I have in mind, and also of the greater liberality in this respect of some Foreign Libraries, I may mention that I once had in my house for several weeks three of the

[1] Niebuhr, *Life and Letters*, Vol. 3, p. 57. Letter dated from Bonn, Oct. 4, 1823.

[2] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 228.

Arabic Manuscripts, belonging to the Public Library at Leyden, which were of very great use to me in a work I was then engaged upon, and which, as I could hardly have gone to Leyden myself, I should not otherwise have had an opportunity of consulting."

Professor Vaughan suggests that "provision might be made for aiding those Professors in their studies, who depend entirely upon books for the investigation of their subjects. Either some reading-room should be provided for them in connexion with the Bodleian Library, or they should be permitted, under proper restrictions, to take books home to their houses and lodgings. For this last method a precedent has been established in the case of the Anglo-Saxon Professor. A considerable donation of Anglo-Saxon works was made to the Bodleian Library by a benefactor of that Institution, on the express condition that the Professor of Anglo-Saxon should be at liberty to take them out as often as he might require to do so."[1]

"It might (he adds) be practicable to lend, on such conditions as would secure the appearance of any volume which the necessities of others might call for. We have now within the University a class of men from whom knowledge at first hand is required, who have special branches of learning devolved upon them, the cultivation of which in some instances can be carried on by means of books only, and for whom the University has provided no means of supplying themselves with the raw material of their work. Straw should be

[1] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 269.

furnished as well as clay for such labourers in the great work of academical education. Each Professor then, I think, might be empowered to take out works in the prosecution of his studies, from the Bodleian. It might be attached as a condition, first, that no book should ever be taken out of Oxford, during the term; and, secondly, that each book so taken out should, on due notice from any member of the University requiring the use of it, be returned to the Bodleian, for the purpose of reference and consultation, for a certain time. This last arrangement could easily be carried into effect, —inasmuch as, from the department of each Professor being well known, and from his residence also being generally known, it would be very easy, with the aid of an entry-book, to ascertain with which Professor the book might be, and where he was to be found. The general position and duties of the Professors surely would go far to rescue this privilege from any invidious appearance; and it would be further justified by the relation of the Professors to the Library itself, of which they would be unpaid curators. But whether this scheme be approved or not, I would still suggest that the Bodleian Library should be more completely furnished with means for entertaining readers than its present arrangements secure or permit."

(2.) Duplicates.

(2.) It is suggested by Dr. Macbride that duplicates should be allowed to circulate freely.[1] In this suggestion the Commissioners concur.

(3.) Annexation of a Reading-Room.

(3.) Professor Donkin and others propose that the hours allowed for reading should be extended, and, as

[1] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 201.

BOOK III. Chapter VII. The Bodleian Library. (Continued.)

an almost necessary consequence, that a reading-room should be annexed to the Library, in which books might be read after the Library itself was closed. This would, to a certain extent, meet the case of the College tutors, and also, as Dr. Greenhill justly observes, of foreigners or other strangers, who often come "to reside for a time at Oxford, at a heavy expense, for the sake of consulting the volumes in the Bodleian, and who naturally wish to finish their work as soon as possible. In these cases (especially if they come in the winter months) it is a very great hardship that they are not able to use the Library for a greater number of hours than at present."[1]

(4.) Increased accommodation in the Library.

(4.) Increased accommodation might, it is argued, be given in the existing Library. Some of the discomforts, of which Professor Wall complains,[2] appear to have been removed; but it would seem from Professor Vaughan's account that the reading-rooms and their apparatus might still be rendered more commodious. Mr Jowett and Professor Donkin[3] strongly urge that books of reference should be made more accessible to all readers, whether by some alteration of the present arrangements, or by being placed in a new reading-room, as above suggested. "To those," says Professor Donkin, "who are engaged in a search for information on any particular subject, it is a great hinderance to be required to specify the particular volume they want, out of a series of thirty or forty."

[1] Evidence of Professor Donkin, p. 108; Mr. Jowett, p. 39; Mr. Strickland, p. 101; Dr. Greenhill, p. 228.

[2] Ibid. p. 150.

[3] Ibid. pp. 39, 108.

(5) The period selected for the Visitation of the Library, namely, eight days in the early part of November, is in the opinion of the Commissioners extremely inconvenient; as the Library remains closed during this large portion of the full Term, when all Academics are in residence. They suggest that the visitation should take place, if not in Vacation, at least at the very commencement of Term, before the time of general residence commenced.

(5.) Visitation.

(6.) To carry some of these recommendations into effect, an increase, say the Commissioners, of the number of Sub-Librarians will be required. The time and courtesy of the present staff are taxed to the utmost. But, with the resources which the Bodleian has at its disposal, expenditure on this and similar purposes need not be grudged. "Its funds," as Professor Vaughan remarks, "are very large, and it is as much a direct object of the Library that good books should be read as that they should be purchased. Indeed, I hope that it is not too theoretical to say that they are purchased in order that they may be read."

(6.) Increase of the staff of under-librarians.

(7.) They further suggest the propriety of permitting a more liberal use of the other Libraries in Oxford. Even those who most strongly advocate the retention of books within the walls of the Bodleian, urge that it should be made more easy to procure them from the Radcliffe Library. "The class of readers there," says Mr. Strickland,[1] "can never be extensive, and will be chiefly confined to men actually engaged in scientific

(7.) A more generous use of other Libraries in Oxford.

[1] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 105.

BOOK III. Chapter VII. The Bodleian Library. (Continued.)

researches, or to members of the medical profession, who rarely have any time for study till the evening. .... Having myself resided in Oxford for four years, almost wholly for the sake of having access to the Radcliffe Library, I have no hesitation in saying that I could have done the same amount of work in three years instead of four, if I could have taken the books out of the building to my residence." Mr. Jowett also suggests that College Libraries should be made more generally useful, by allowing to Masters of Arts access to other College Libraries as well as to their own.[1]

(8.) Admission of Undergraduates.

(8.) Lastly, whether as regards the University or the College Libraries, the Commissioners concur in the opinion expressed by several persons that Undergraduates should have every facility and encouragement given them to make use of these institutions. There is little difficulty at present in the admission of Undergraduates to the Bodleian. Many Colleges also permit them to have free access to their Libraries. In some Colleges, however, they are still excluded.

Suggestions as to the internal arrangement of the Library.

III. From the facilities to study afforded by the Oxford Libraries, the Commissioners proceed to consider their internal arrangements.

(1.) Proposed increase in division of resources.

(1.) When it is remembered that, according to the enumeration hereinafter given, there are in Oxford more than thirty Libraries, a question naturally arises whether, by greater coöperation, the resources of each might not be expended in a manner more conducive to the general interests of learning. Such a division exists, to a cer-

[1] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 39.

tain extent, amongst the University Libraries, and a special character has, by accidental benefactions, been in some instances imparted to the Libraries attached to the Colleges. But this division of subjects, think the Commissioners, might, certainly in regard to the former, perhaps even in regard to the latter, be carried out to a much greater extent. Such an arrangement was proposed by Mr. Strickland, with great reason, between the Bodleian and Radcliffe Libraries:—

At present, many works exist in duplicate in these two contiguous Libraries,[1] while a still larger number of important scientific works exist in neither. Works on Physical Science are very sparingly purchased in the Bodleian, because they are supposed to find their way spontaneously to the Radcliffe; while the funds allowed to the latter Library are far too small to keep it on a par with the scientific literature of the day. Hence the many deficiencies of both Libraries. If the officers of each Library were mutually "to agree to abstain from purchasing any books which already exist in the other, much money would be saved for the purchase of their common desiderata."

Evidence as to desirable amalgamation of certain collections.

"There is at present," observes Dr. Greenhill, in allusion to the same topic, "in the Radcliffe Library a pretty large collection of Oriental Manuscripts (Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit), besides a considerable number of classical and other non-scientific books. Very few persons are aware of the existence of these volumes (as there is no printed Catalogue of them, and they are

[1] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 101.

BOOK III. Chapter VII. The Bodleian Library. (Continued.)

not shown to visitors, unless specially asked for), and therefore they would be much more useful if they were transferred, either by sale, exchange, or otherwise, to the Bodleian, which is the place where any one would naturally expect to find them."[1]

"Similar friendly relations," Mr. Strickland further suggests,[2] "might also be established between the Bodleian and the other public or otherwise permanent Libraries of Oxford. This might be effected by employing some person to compile a Catalogue of all the printed books existing in those Libraries which are not to be found in the Bodleian. It would form a supplement, and a very valuable one, to the Bodleian Catalogue. The two Catalogues together would exhibit at one view the whole literary treasures of Oxford, and would guide the learned student to many a rare volume which he now overlooks.....

Suggestions as to the Catalogues of books in College Libraries, not in the Bodleian.

"I would ... recommend that (with the consent of each College) the titles of such of its printed books as are additional to the Bodleian collection should be inserted in the general Catalogue, above referred to, accompanied by a distinctive mark, indicating the Library or Libraries in which a copy exists."[3]

Some progress, continue the Commissioners, has been made in preparing a Catalogue, such as Mr. Strickland speaks of, of the books not in the Bodleian which are to be found in the College and other Libraries. It would

[1] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 229
[2] Ibid. p. 101.
[3] Ibid. p. 102.

be a benefit to the University and the Public, if this Catalogue were completed and published.

The books and manuscripts of the smaller public Libraries before mentioned, might with advantage be transferred to the larger Libraries, according to the subjects to which they severally belong.

State of the Musical collection.

The Professor of Music makes some remarks on the Library belonging to his own department,[1] to which the Commissioners call special attention:—"Amongst other means for the advancement of the study of music, I know," said Sir Henry Bishop, "of none more important, more worthy to be seriously considered, than the establishment of a distinct Library of Music, which from its completeness and classification should comprise a perfect history of the progress of the musical art. It is true that copies of all musical publications printed in this country, are, according to Act of Parliament, deposited in the Bodleian, the British Museum, etc.; but to render a Library of Music complete, and make it really useful to Students, all superior foreign musical works, both theoretical and practical, of every school and of every age, should be added to the collection. .... The formation of such a Library....is by no means impossible. The Bodleian is already the repository of a valuable collection of ancient musical manuscripts, which might be made a foundation to proceed upon. And when once it became generally known that a Library of that peculiar description was actually commenced, I feel confident that not only from time to

[1] Evidence of the late Sir Henry Bishop, *ut supra*, p. 266.

time it would be materially increased by donations of classical music, but that, in case a small annual grant for the purpose from the University itself should be objected to, a public subscription would be made towards the accomplishment of the desired end. With the exception of Munich and Vienna, there is no such classified and historical collection of music existing in all Europe."

(2.) Deficiencies of the Bodleian Library in 1850.

(2.) With regard to the special wants of the Bodleian Library, the late Mr. Strickland's evidence is regarded by the Commissioners as especially worthy of consideration. It runs thus: "If the Bodleian be regarded as a general Library, analogous to that of the British Museum, its most striking deficiency is certainly in the department of Physical science. But if, by the division of labour above recommended, the literature of physical science were to be transferred to the Radcliffe, there would still remain several notable deficiencies in the especial subjects belonging to the Bodleian.[1]

Importance of increasing the topographical collection of the Bodleian.

"A public Library, if its resources do not admit of its accumulatiug the *omne scribile* of all countries, should at least endeavour to exhaust the printed literature of its own immediate locality. On this principle the Bodleian ought to be a storehouse of reference on all that relates to the university, the city, and the county of Oxford. If it reject newspapers in general, on account of their bulk, it ought at least to preserve a perfect series of all the newspapers published in Oxfordshire. Every ephemeral pamphlet, every local periodical, every

[1] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 102.

political squib, every poetical broadside, issued in the County of Oxford, should be carefully collected, arranged, and preserved. I have no doubt that the sweepings of the booksellers' shops in Oxford would at this moment supply a large mass of local literature, which is not extant in the Bodleian. A room in the Library should be especially set apart for this local literature, and a highly curious collection would thus be formed for the future historian of Oxford to explore.

"By the present Copyright Act, the Bodleian Library is entitled to a copy of every book published in the British dominions. As regards London, this privilege seems to be very fully acted upon, but not so in the case of the provinces. Many valuable and curious books are published in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dublin, Newcastle, Bristol, and other large towns, of which only a very small number ever find their way to the Bodleian. The Library might easily employ an agent, at a small salary or commission, in each of these towns, to collect the local literature and forward it to Oxford.

"A still greater deficiency exists in the case of Colonial literature. Although the Copyright Act extends to the Colonies, no steps whatever appear to be taken to secure to the Bodleian those colonial publications to which it is by law entitled. Even should it be necessary to obtain such works by purchase, a portion of the money laid out on foreign literature might be advantageously expended upon the many curious books which have been published in the different British Colonies.

"The literature of the United States is almost wholly unrepresented in the Bodleian, except by English reprints of some of the most popular authors.

Extensive Collections of Transactions of Learned Societies in the Bodleian.

"The Bodleian Librarian deserves great credit for the diligence with which he has collected the 'Transactions,' and other periodical publications of Continental Literary and Scientific Societies. The chief deficiencies under this head consist in the Transactions of Danish and Swedish Societies, and in those of our own Colonies, hardly any of which exist in the Bodleian.

"These scientific 'Transactions' would be more appropriately placed in the Radcliffe; but as long as the Bodleian continues to procure this class of works, it ought not to restrict itself to the periodicals of learned societies, but should include the many equally valuable periodicals published by individual editors. Such, for instance, are Van der Hoeven's '*Tijdschrift voor natuurlyke Geschiedenis*,' Müller's '*Archiv für Naturgeschichte*,' Meckel's '*Archiv für Anatomie*,' Froriep's '*Notizen aus dem Gebiete der Natur- und Heilkunde*,' Leonhard's '*Zeitschrift für Mineralogie*,' Poggendorf's '*Annalen der Physik*,' Wiegmann's '*Archiv für Naturgeschichte*,' '*Annales des Sciences Naturelles*,' Silliman's '*American Journal of Science*,' and numerous others which might be mentioned. ....

"In order to collect as far as possible the opinions of the literary Public as to the desiderata of the Library, a conspicuous notice should be placed near the Catalogue, inviting all persons, who fail to find in the Library the books which they want, to enter the titles of such works in the Desideratum-book. If readers gene-

rally could be induced to do this, the Desideratum-book would be a valuable guide to the Librarian in making his purchases."[1]

Suggestions respecting the internal economy of the Bodleian.

Mr. Strickland observes further:—"It would be a great convenience, if the titles of all new books, as they come in, were briefly entered on the blank leaves of the interleaved Catalogues. At present, if a reader does not find the book which he wants in the printed Catalogue, he must apply to one of the attendants to search the manuscript-slips, before he can ascertain the presence of a book, which often causes considerable trouble and delay.

"The printed Catalogues of the Bodleian are very well drawn up for practical purposes. I have only one suggestion to make in regard to them, namely, that the headings which consist of authors' names should be in a different type, or be otherwise distinguished, from the headings which express subjects; and that the cross-references should in the same way be distinguished from the substantive titles."

Finally, Mr. Strickland suggests that "the books in the Bodleian are greatly in want of a stamp or other distinguishing mark. The greater part of them have no mark whatever to prove that they belong to the Bodleian Library; and if they were stolen, it would be exceedingly difficult to identify them."[2]

Some of these suggestions have already borne fruit. The general tendency of the evidence received by the

[1] Evidence, *ut supra*, p. 101.

[2] Ibid. *ubi supra.*

Commissioners is greatly to the honour of the Bodleian management, and could scarcely have been otherwise. In respect of liberal access, the practice has long been in advance of the literal rules. And such further steps as may warrantably be taken in this direction, will doubtless follow. The roll of the authors and scholars who have profited by the treasures of the collection would still be a very notable one, were the names of all Oxford men left out of it. Were all Englishmen excluded from the record, it would yet fill a large space. The true freemasonry of letters has long been generously recognised within the walls of the Bodleian.[1] Even in times when party-spirit and personal bitterness were so rife that one scholar who had been a Bodleian officer could deliberately write of his immediate and eminent predecessor, "He did the Library a vast deal of mischief," and of his immediate successor, that he was "a most vile, wicked wretch: 'Tis incredible what damage *he* did the Bodleian Library,"[2]—the very men who quarrelled so recklessly, would probably vie with one another in throwing open their stores to foreign students. Certain it is that almost every other page of the *Fasti Oxonienses* records the visit to Oxford of some

[1] One out of many recent testimonies on this point from foreign writers may be cited in a few words: "Whether we regard," says M. Daremberg, addressing the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, "its extent, its majestic building, its decorated rooms, its perfect order, or the remarkable courtesy and liberality of its officers, the Bodleian will lose nothing by comparison (*n'a rien à envier*) with the most renowned Libraries."—*Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires*, ii. 120. (1851.)

[2] *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, 591, 900. Hearne's very curious account of the circumstances attendant on his removal from the sub-librarianship, in 1715, will be found in the appendix to this chapter.

learned stranger "for the purpose of study in the Public Library."

The succession of the Chief-Librarians from the foundation is as follows:

(1) Thomas James, D.D., 1601 to 1620.
(2) John Rouse, M.A., 1621 to 1652.
(3) Thomas Barlow, D.D. [afterwards Bishop of Lincoln], 1652 to 1660.
(4) Thomas Lockey, M.A., 1660 to 1665.
(5) Thomas Hyde, D.D., 1665 to 1701.
(6) Thomas Hudson, D.D., 1701 to 1719.
(7) Joseph Bowles, M.A., 1719 to 1729.
(8) Robert Fysher, M.A., 1729 to 1747.
(9) Humphrey Owen, D.D., 1747 to 1768.
(10) John Price, M.A., 1768 to 1813.
(11) Bulkeley Bandinel, D.D., 1813. [Present Bodleian Librarian.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

(I.) NOTE ON THE ACQUISITION OF THE SELDEN LIBRARY.

As I have ventured to hint a doubt of the strict accuracy of part of Wood's statement, respecting the acquisition of the Selden books, it may be right to quote his words; they run thus:—"In the beginning of September the Library of the learned Selden was brought into that of Bodley. A. W. labour'd several weeks with Mr. Thos. Barlow and others in sorting them, carrying them upstairs, and placing them. In opening some of the books they found several pair of spectacles, which Mr. Selden had put in and

forgotten to take out, and Mr. Thos. Barlow gave A. W. a pair, which he kept in memorie of Selden to his last day.

"As for the Library of Mr. Selden, it was once (as I have been informed) his intention to bequeath it to Bodley's Library, but being denied the borrowing of certain MSS. from thence, because it was downright against the statutes and will of their respective donors, did upon distaste taken thereupon (as also the sharing of the founder's gold at Magdalen College, as I have been told), bequeath it (the Oriental books excepted, which he designed for this Library) to the students of the Inner Temple, conditionally, that they with the students of the Middle would build a Library to receive them: if not, then to any public place, according to the discretion of his executors. But the said Templars not accepting it upon that condition, certain persons of this University, especially Mr. Thomas Barlow, the head-keeper, conferring with the executors about it; it was obtained of them on certain conditions. So that soon after, viz., in 1659, the said Library being sent from London by water was set up in the remaining stowage of this new addition. [The western end of the Bodleian Library, which was begun in 1634 and finished in 1638. Mr. Selden's books remain there to this day (1813), and it is generally known by the name of the Selden End.] The shelves in the lower part were filled with folios and large quartos, and divided into the faculties of Divinity, Law-physics, and Arts; and the rest of smaller size were put up in upper shelves above the stairs, and all since put in the common catalogue and printed; but so it is that by the imprudence of the then Library-keeper (Lockey), by disposing several of the quartos which he (very unequally in several respects) bound together and mixed with the folios below (whereas they should have been put above stairs), have suffered loss and great damage. But for the favour thus shown to the University by the executors, the members thereof caused this inscription following to be written in golden letters on a table to be hung in the middle of the window of this addition, looking towards the West, performed (such as 'tis) by the then Library-keeper:

BIBLIOTHECAM
JOHANNIS SELDENI,
nitore ingenii, candore morum, præcellentia doctrinæ imparilis viri
Heic repositam
Johannes Vaughan,
Matthæus Hale,
Rolandus Jucks Armigeri,
(quibus testamenti sui fidem mandavit) in duraturam tanti viri memoriam et rei literariæ bonum amplissimæ huic Academiæ sacratam voluere."[1]

[1] *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* (1796), ii. 942; *Athenæ Oxonienses*, i, xxxviii. The addition, between brackets, is by the late Dr. Bliss.

(II) HEARNE'S ACCOUNT OF HIS DIMISSAL FROM THE UNDER-LIBRARIANSHIP.

Dismissal of Hearne.

"On Friday, March 2nd, last (1715), the Visitors of the Library met, being called together by Dr. Hudson, who had declared almost a year before that I should be turned out of both my places, and at the same time spoke in very indecent language. This meeting was wholly about me. There were only five of the eight (for eight is the whole number) there, viz. Dr. Barrow, Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Clavering, Reg. Prof. of Hebrew, Dr. Terry, Reg. Prof. of Greek, Dr. Boucher, Reg. Prof. of Law, and Mr. Dod, the junior Proctor. They met in the study of the Library gallery, which study belongs to the under-librarian, though Dr. Hudson had hindered me the use of it for some time. I was writing out the old monuments upon the wall opposite to the study. After some time they sent for me, and the Vice-Chancellor told me that I had printed Rowse without leave, and Dr. Boucher said that the MSS. of the Library ought not to be transcribed. I said I had done nothing against statute. The Vice-Chancellor said that I had reflected in my preface to Rowse, in p. 9 (though this objection was not mentioned when I was before him a day or two before, when the objections were stated at a meeting of the press), upon the University's not keeping up the exercise. If it be a reflection I am sure it is too true. After several warm words of the Vice-Chancellor though I behaved myself very coolly, he told me Mr. Hudson had complained that I had not done the duty for some time of the hypo-bibliothecarius, and that therefore another must be put in, and that they would make an order for it. I gave him my reasons why I did not act, viz. first, because I was excluded by Dr. Hudson (though I neither had resigned nor intended it), new keys, different from mine, being made by him. Secondly, because I had not taken the oaths, and so could not act, unless I would hazard the danger of forfeiting £500, and of incurring other penalties. I desired them to express these reasons in their order, if they thought fit to make any. But this the Vice-Chancellor denied, and said they would only insist upon my neglect of duty. I was desired to withdraw, and after a long hour (all which time I spent opposite to the study in writing out the old monuments), I was called in again. The Vice-Chancellor told me they had allowed me the Lady-Day, and that they had made an order that if after that time there was any complaint of neglect, Dr. Hudson should be at liberty of putting in a proper person to act into my room. I told them I should not act, for the reasons before mentioned, and I desired to have a copy of the order. This I was also denied. But at last the Vice-Chancellor showed it at a distance. 'Pray,' said I, 'Mr. Vice-Chancellor, let me have it in

my hands. I am short-sighted, and I cannot see at a distance.' This he denied. 'Then,' said I, 'I will use my glass;' which when I spoke of, he vouchsafed to let me have it in my hands, and I read it aloud just as it was writ (by Dr. Hudson who was employed to pen it), there being false spellings in it (particularly *agread* for *agreed*). Towards the bottom there was "*upder* library keeper," and so I read it, at which the Vice-Chancellor was in a passion and took the book out of my hands. They were all amazed at this word "*upder*," because that may be understood of the upper, as well as of the under-library-keeper. I desired the book again to make an end of my reading. At last it was delivered to me, and then I read out aloud as before, and pronounced it as written, *upder*-library-keeper, at which the Vice-Chancellor was in a passion again, and said among other things, 'Sir, I will send you to the castle, for all you are a Master of Arts. We do not come hither to be drolled at.' To omit several merry particulars, I was dismissed at last and they broke up and went away. They all set their hands to Hudson's ill-spelt record, of which before I went I desired a copy, alleging that my memory was bad, and that I could not otherwise observe it. But this was absolutely denied. Lady-Day being come, Dr. Hudson, without any regard to the order (by virtue of which I should have had another admonition as I remember), put Mr. Fletcher of Queen's into my place. I have resigned nothing, but must submit to every thing without any stir in the affair. By the bye, Dr. Hudson, being married, is not a statutable librarian; marriage is express against statute; and though Sir Thomas Bodley, with great unwillingness, gave way to Dr. James's marriage, yet he declared it should be no precedent for the future." [1]

[1] Thomas Hearne to Mr. Rawlins, March 2, 1715. (*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1857, 262, 263.)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MINOR UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES, AND THE COLLEGIATE LIBRARIES OF OXFORD.

> The University of Oxford, ... the most noble theatre and emporium of all good sciences, the very source and most clear spring of good literature and wisdom; from whence religion, civility, and learning, have spread most plentifully through all parts of England.
>
> WOOD, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, 2.

OF the lesser libraries of Oxford seven belong to the University, namely (1) The *Radcliffe* Library; (2) The *Ashmolean* Library; (3) The Library of the *Taylor Institution;* (4) The *Hope* Library of Natural History; (5) The Library attached to the *Geological Museum;* (6) That attached to the noble *Botanic Garden* of the University; (7) The *Savilian* Library, which is an appendage to the Savilian professorship of Geometry. The Radcliffe Observatory and the Ashmolean Museum have also a small collection of books attached to each of them respectively. The other libraries belong to the several colleges.

The Radcliffe Library.

Garth's smart saying that "for Radcliffe to found a library was as if an eunuch had founded a Seraglio,"

was doubtless a return for some sarcasm, at least as trenchant, which he found it more convenient to retort when the witty utterer had left the stage. But there was sufficient truth in it to make the saying remembered. It agrees, too, with Radcliffe's own reply, forty years before, to the enquiry of Bathurst, the Master of Trinity,—"Where are your books?"—"Sir," replied Radcliffe, pointing to a few phials, a skeleton, and a herbal, "there is my Library."

The foundation of a Library especially honourable to men like Dr. Radcliffe.

In truth, the foundation of a library is more honourable to a man for whom ready wit, great energy, and unusual self-reliance had done so much, than it could possibly be to the most accomplished book-worm. Radcliffe knew that to books he owed comparatively little. But he loved and honoured men of quite another mould, for whom books had done almost everything. If he was quick to see that some of them would have been the better for a little more of his own independent spirit of enterprise, he probably felt quite as keenly that he would have been himself none the worse for a larger infusion of their patient industry. At all events, he gave a noble impulse to study by the dispositions of his last Will.

His first idea had been the enlargement of the Bodleian. He thought, as Atterbury has told us, "to build out from the Selden part, a room of ninety feet long,... and under it another library for Exeter College, on whose ground the new erection must stand;" but the scheme failed, apparently on account of some of the conditions insisted on by the College.

Dr. Radcliffe bequeathed forty thousand pounds for

building his library, to be paid by his executors on the decease of the survivor of his two sisters (to whom he had left large annuities). The Trustees appointed by his Will purchased the necessary ground as opportunity offered, but the contingency attached to the bequest delayed the actual commencement of the building until the year 1737.[1] It was completed in 1747. A salary of £150 *per annum* for the librarian, and a sum of £100 *per annum* for the purchase of books, were amongst the munificent provisions of the founder. The public opening took place in 1749, on which occasion the Duke of Beaufort, on behalf of the Trustees, formally delivered the key of the Library to the Vice Chancellor.[2]

Character of the books in the Radcliffe Library.

The collection is especially rich in works on the physical sciences, on architecture, and on some sections of archæology. The manuscripts are few, and—with one exception,—of no great importance. The exception has been made memorable by the account which August Wilhelm von Schlegel has given of his Oxonian adventures in search of Oriental MSS., some thirty years ago. He had been informed, he tells us, that some valuable Arabic, Persian, and Sanscrit MSS., collected by James Fraser, during his travels, were preserved at Oxford, in some library or other. At the Bodleian, he was unable to gain any clue to them. At the Radcliffe Library, Fraser's Arabic and Persian manuscripts were remembered, but nothing was known of any in Sanscrit, which latter were the special object of Schlegel's inqui-

[1] Gibbs, *Bibliotheca Radcliviana*, pref.

[2] Ingram, *Memorials of Oxford*, iii. 12.

ries. "We commenced," he continues, "a diligent search. At last, we drew from a press long unopened, separate and torn fragments of manuscripts covered with dirt.... Nothing was ever scattered more confusedly from the Sybil's cave into every quarter of the Heavens, when the leaves on which she was wont to write her oracles were carried away by a sudden storm. I was not able to examine them all, ... but selected from the midst of that disgraceful confusion a fragment of the *Ramayana*, and I put together almost the entire manuscript of the poem *De Crishni ἐπιφανεία (Sri Bhâgavata-Purâna)*. ... I had already noticed the unusual antiquity of the writing, and read with so small astonishment these dates ... (A.D. 1405-1407). The most ancient MS. at Paris is sixty-five years later. The University of Oxford, although ignorant of its wealth, possesses a manuscript unique in Sanscrit literature."[1] It need scarcely be said that an improved method of preserving Oriental MSS. was long since introduced into the Radcliffe Library. But the incident none the less affords a fair illustration of the advantages which would result from the local classification of libraries, and the concentration of their manuscripts.

A. W. von Schlegel's "discovery" of Sanscrit MSS. in the Radcliffe Library.

The recent investigations of the Oxford University Commission have shown both the practicability and the importance of measures for enabling the Radcliffe Library better to keep abreast with the growing literature of those departments of knowledge to which it has been usually and wisely limited.

[1] A. W. von Schlegel, Pref. to the *Ramayana* (1829), quoted in the *Journal of Education*, i. 403.

Mr. Strickland gave it in evidence, that "when the late Dr. Williams was Librarian, the Trustees allowed the very liberal sum of £500 a year for purchasing books, and the Library during this period made great progress. But when, about seven or eight years ago, this allowance was suddenly reduced from £500 to £200, the result was most injurious to the interests of the Library. The Librarian was compelled to withdraw his subscriptions from numerous valuable periodical works, and was almost precluded from purchasing any new works of importance."[1] A request for the renewal of the grant was laid before the Trustees, signed by many distinguished members of the University, in 1845; but was declined, on the ground, we are told, of the very small number of Readers who frequented the Library; and subsequently, in 1847, in consequence of some unusual demand on the Radcliffe funds. "Whether those demands have been since satisfied, and whether it now would be in their power to renew their former liberality to the Library, the public have no means of judging. For though the Radcliffe Trust is of large amount, and was specially destined by its founder to public uses, no balance sheet of receipts and expenditure is ever laid before the public. All that is known is, that the gross income is very large, and that the rental must have been very greatly increased of late years, in consequence of the "Railway-Town" of Wolverton, containing nearly 2000 inhabitants, having sprung up on the Radcliffe Estates. There is, therefore, every reason to hope that the Trustees may soon be in a position to make adequate

Evidence respecting the recent management of Radcliffe Library.

Improvement in the value of the Radcliffe estates.

[1] *Minutes of Evidence before Oxford University Commission*, pp. 106-113.

provision for the Radcliffe Library, without detriment to the other valuable foundations which have arisen out of the Radcliffe bequests." The Commissioners add the remark, that if a School of Physical Science should, as they hope, be established in Oxford, the increase of persons likely to use the Library will remove the objection formerly raised to enlarging its means.

Still more recently, it has been suggested by the present eminent Radcliffe Librarian, Dr. Acland, that the Radcliffe building should be converted into a Reading Room for the Bodleian (a purpose to which it seems admirably adapted), and the books be removed to the new Scientific Museum, with which, as we have seen, they have a strong affinity. It is probable that such a step would benefit both the Libraries concerned, and facilitate other improvements. The present number of volumes in the Radcliffe Library is believed to be almost 24,000.

Ashmolean Library.

In the Ashmolean Library, three small collections are combined; those, namely (1) of the founder, Elias Ashmole, which includes a portion of the MSS. of Sir William Dugdale; (2) of Dr. Martin Lister, distinguished as a physician and naturalist in his day; and (3) of Anthony Wood. Ashmole's original library of printed books, the fruit of more than thirty years' activity as a collector, was accidentally burnt in a fire at the Middle Temple, in 1678. At his death, fourteen years afterwards, he had gathered, besides a most curious series of pamphlets, 1758 volumes, of which 620 were manuscript, relating chiefly to historical, astronomical, and chemical subjects.[1]

[1] *Athenæ Oxonienses*, iv. 363.

These he bequeathed to the University, to be preserved in the Museum which bears his name, and to which he had many years before given his antiquarian and miscellaneous collections.

In the year 1830, the Reverend Robert Finch, M.A. (of Balliol), bequeathed all his "books, manuscripts, statues, etc. to the University, upon condition that the whole should be kept separate from any other collection, be called 'Finch's Collection,' and be deposited either in the Ashmolean Museum or in some other convenient building where visitors and students may have access thereto." He also bequeathed funds for the maintenance and increase of his collection. The books, however, have been placed in the Library of the excellent foundation known as 'Sir Robert Taylor's Institution for teaching the European languages.' This Taylor Library is of course mainly composed of foreign literature, and now contains, the Finch Collection included, upwards of 10,000 volumes.

Library of the Taylor Institution.

Of the Libraries of individual colleges, those of All Souls, of Queen's, of Trinity, of Christ Church, and of St. John's, are preëminent. All Souls still possesses some of the books given to it, more than four hundred years ago, by King Henry VI. In June, 1440, that monarch wrote to the Keeper of his Privy Seal:—"We have granted unto the Wardeyn and Scolers of our College of AlSowlen within our Universite of Oxenford, the bokes and volumes the names of whiche been writen and described in a cedule here enclosed, for to have thayme of oure gifte and to remayne perpetually to the

The College Libraries.

Gift of King Henry VI. to All Souls.

use and prouffit and encrece of lerning of ... the saide College for the tyme being." In the schedule thus referred to, the books are classed under four heads: (1) *Libri juris civilis;* (2) *Libri juris canonici;* (3) *Libri Theologiæ;* (4) *Libri Philosophiæ.* Among the jurists whose works are presented, appear Jacobus de Bellovisu, Jacobus de Ravenna, and Willielmus Durandus. Among the Theologians are Augustine, Jerome, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Hugo de Sancto Victore, Isidorus, Robert Grosteste, and Stephen Langton. The only entry under the last-named heading runs thus: "Burley *super Libris Ethicorum et Politicorum.*"[1]

Codrington's munificent bequest to All Souls.

But the true founder of All Souls Library is Christopher Codrington, a native of Barbadoes, and a grateful pupil of Oxford. After a very honourable academical career he entered the army, where he won the favourable notice of William III. After the peace of Ryswick he was made Governor-in-chief of the Leeward Islands; he distinguished himself at the attack on Guadaloupe; and on his retirement from public life occupied his leisure with the earnest and successful study of mental science. By his last will he became a munificent benefactor to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as well as to All Souls College. His legacy to the latter consisted of a library then valued at six thousand pounds,[2] and of a sum of ten thousand pounds in money, of which six thousand pounds was to be applied to the erection of a suitable building, and the remainder

[1] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England,* v. 117-119.

[2] *Letters ... from the Bodleian Library,* i. 135.

to the increase of the collection. The bequest was so well husbanded, by the judicious accumulation and re-investment of interest monies, that after providing for the entire cost of the building and its furniture, amounting in the whole to £12,100, there remained a permanent income of two hundred pounds a year. Colonel Codrington died (in the island which had been his birthplace) in 1710. When his books were brought over their arrangement was superintended by Blackstone.

Library of Queen's College.

It does not appear that the Library of Queen's College was of much account until the period of the bequest by Dr. Thomas Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln (and previously, as we have seen, Bodleian Librarian to the University), of the principal part of his library, in 1691. The splendid building which is now one of the lions of Oxford was commenced in the following year. The earliest traces of the College Library go back to the year 1362, when an item for a "Register of books" appears amongst the disbursements. Another entry of twenty-six shillings and eight pence for "chains for the books" occurs in 1389. In the north window of the Library there is an ancient inscription in honour of King Henry V. ... "hostium victor et sui," ... but this inscription does not seem to have any direct relation with the Library itself.

Mason's bequest to Queen's Library.

The extent and fine condition of the collection at Queen's, as the visitor now sees it, is mainly owing to the liberality of the late Reverend Robert Mason, who bequeathed the sum of thirty thousand pounds, to be applied to the purchase of books.

Trinity Library.

Trinity Library occupies the same building which formerly contained the books given by Richard of Bury to the scholars of this house—then called Durham College—for themselves, and for the students of the University at large, as has been narrated in a preceding chapter. None of the gifts of the author of *Philobiblon* are now to be seen in their original abode. Some were early removed to Duke Humphrey's Library, and shared its fate. A few are said to be still preserved in the Library of Balliol.[1] The architectural aspect of Trinity Library is charming. It yet boasts its "storied windows richly dight," and its old oak bookcases constructed very early in the seventeenth century by the liberal bequest of Edward Hyndmer, who left to the college, besides the money thus expended, a considerable collection of books. In 1640 Richard Rands left twenty pounds a year for ever for the augmentation of the collection.

Library of St. Johns.

The Library of Saint John's College is both handsome and spacious. It is rich, too, in memories. Even those who hold the strongest conviction that the prosperity of Laud and of his clique would have been, for a time, the ruin of England, may here feel some reverence for his name. and think of him, not as the implacable bigot and mole-eyed statesman, but as the open-handed scholar. To him are due many noble gifts of books collected by himself; the incitement of several

[1] Gough, Additions to Camden's *Britannia*, ii. 23.

[2] Wood, *History of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford;* Ingram, *Memorials of Oxford.* § Trin. Coll.

like gifts from others; and the entire construction (in 1635) of the fine second or inner Library. So zealous was his friendship for Johnnians that, on one occasion at least, it led him to intercept a gift already destined for the Bodleian Library. In one of the characteristic letters which Sir Kenelm Digby addressed to Dr. Langbaine, he writes: "As I was one day waiting on the late King, my master, I told him of a collection of choice Arabic manuscripts which I was sending after my Latin ones, to the University. My Lord of Canterbury, that was present, wished that they might go along with a parcel that he was sending to St. John's College; whereupon I sent them to His Grace, ... beseeching him to present them in my name to the same place where he sent his."[1]

Of the *Editiones principes* of the Greek and Latin classics there is a fine series. There are also many curious and rare books and tracts relating to English history, some of which were counted amongst the gems of the Harleian Library. The widow of Burghley; Sir Thomas Tresham; Sir William Paddy; Dr. Richard Rawlinson; Nathaniel Crynes, M.A., and Dr. Sherard, were liberal contributors to the collection.

Christ Church Library.

The Library of Christ Church was planned by the great Founder of that eminent college on a scale characteristically large. One of his far-sighted schemes in relation to it was to procure copies of the most famous MSS. of the Vatican, but the "killing frost" nipped this project, like so many others, in the bud. The first con-

[1] *Letters ... from the Bodleian Library*, i. 4.

siderable benefaction to the Library was that of Otho Nicholson, who early in the seventeenth century gave eight hundred pounds for books and for repairs. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford; Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester; and Dean Aldrich, were successively helpers in the work. But the virtual founders of the existing library were Charles Boyle, third Earl of Orrery, and Archbishop Wake. The former bequeathed his own collection, (the books on British history and politics excepted), amounting to more than ten thousand volumes. The latter bequeathed a fine library and cabinet of medals,—and also a sum of one thousand pounds towards the erection of a new building. The present library was accordingly commenced in 1716, but was not completed until 1761. It forms the south side of Peckwater quadrangle, and was designed by Dr. George Clarke. Internally it measures a hundred and forty-one feet by thirty.[1]

Oriel Library.

The well-known Ionic Library of Oriel is the fourth building devoted to that purpose of which the College records have to tell. The collection itself is a respectable but not extraordinary one. Amongst its choicer books there is one of singular interest, the presentation copy, namely, of a Commentary of Genesis, which its author, John Capgrave, offered to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and within which the Duke wrote this note: "*Cest livre est a moy Humfrey Duc de Gloucestre du don de frere Johan Capgrave, quy le me fist presenter a mon manoyr de Pensherst, ... l'an* 1338." This is

[1] Wood, *History of Colleges and Halls, ut supra; Repertorium Bibliographicum*, 162; Ingram, *Memorials of Oxford, ut supra.* § Ch. Church.

unquestionably a survivor of the "Library of Duke Humphrey," once so famous.

New College Library.

New College Library is coëval with the foundation of the Society. In his *Life of William of Wykeham*, Mr. Mackenzie Walcott has printed a catalogue of the books given by the founder at the outset. They amount in number to two hundred and four volumes, of which sixty-two are theological, fifty-two medical, and ninety juridical. The catalogue ends thus: "*Summa totalis precii assignati præter gratuitos in omnibus facti* (sic) £151 11 9."[1] Bishop Rede of Chichester gave a hundred volumes. In 1532 Archbishop Warham bequeathed his collections in Civil and Canon Law and his Greek books to New College. The latter included many which had originally been purchased from the Constantinopolitan refugees. His church music he gave to the twin foundation of Winchester, and his theological books to All Souls. His other benefactions were many. It is said that shortly before his death he asked his steward "How much money have I left?" and was answered "Thirty pounds." "*Satis viatici ad cœlos*," replied the dying prelate, who will be for ever memorable in the annals of England.

Wadham Library.

The Library of Wadham College is also noteworthy. Philip Bisse, D.D., who died in 1612, left two thousand volumes, which, if we may rely on the express but somewhat startling assertion of Anthony Wood, were valued, at the time, at no less a sum than seventeen hundred pounds. At the date of this bequest the building was still in progress. The foundress ordered that a full

[1] *William of Wykeham and his Colleges*, 285-289.

length portrait of Bisse should be placed over the Library door. The collection is now rich in classics, in early printed books, and in the literature of France, Italy, and Spain. Part of these foreign stores are due to the liberality of Sir William Godolphin, who gave a valuable series of books which he had gathered during his Spanish embassy.

Corpus Library.

Corpus Christi Library possesses a fine collection of Aldines given by the founder, Bishop Fox, illustrious as one of the earliest and most judicious of the educational reformers of England. Erasmus put a helping hand to the work, and has recorded his opinion of the collection that had been gathered in very eulogistic terms. "*Ingenti Colosso Rhodus est celebris;*" he wrote to Claymond, the first President of Corpus Christi, "*Caria Mausoli sepulchro .... Mihi præsagit animus futurum olim, ut istud collegium, seu templum sacrosanctum, optimis literis dicatum, toto terrarum orbe inter præcipua decora Britanniæ numeretur: pluresque futuros, quos trilinquis istius Bibliothecæ spectaculum, quæ nihil bonorum auctorum non habeat,—pertrahat Oxoniam, quam olim tot miraculis visenda Roma ad sese pellexit.*"[1]

Suggestions of the Oxford University Commission as to the future management of the College Libraries.

Of the various MSS. dispersed amongst these collegiate libraries, an excellent catalogue has been recently published by Mr. Coxe.[2] The University Commissioners appear to have formed the same opinion of the advantages which would result from the union of these MSS. into a single collection, as that which individual members of the University have repeatedly expressed.

[1] *Epistolæ* (Lond. 1641), lib. iv. 281.

[2] *Catalogue*, etc., 1852, 2 *vols*, 4^to.

They also avow their conviction that a more liberal use of the College Libraries may be safely and discreetly accorded, and that it would be worthy of the authorities to consider whether some sort of coöperative arrangement might not be made, in virtue of which, by division of subjects or otherwise, those libraries would to some extent supplement each other's deficiencies.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

In that great maze of books I sighed, and said,—
'It is a grave-yard, and each tome a tombe;
Shrouded in hempen rags, behold the dead,
Coffined and ranged in crypts of dismal gloom,—
Food for the worme and redolent of mold,
Trac'd with brief epitaph in tarnish'd gold.'—
Ah, golden-letter'd hope!—Ah, dolorous doom!
Yet, mid the common death, where all is cold,
And mildewed pride in desolation dwells,
A few great Immortalities of old
Stand brightly forth;—not tombes but living shrines,
Where from high saint or martyr virtue wells,
Which on the living yet works miracles,
Spreading a relic wealth, richer than golden mines.

J. M. *On the Librarie at Cambridge* (1627).

BOOK III. Chapter IX. The Public Library of the University of Cambridge.

ALTHOUGH no individual name fills a place in the Annals of the Public Library of Cambridge so pre-eminent as that occupied by Bodley's name in those of the great Library at Oxford, yet the designation of founder is virtually, if not technically, due to one of the many Prelates, whose munificent spirit has cast a lustre on the Church of England, which neither lapse of time nor change of social circumstance can ever dim. Thomas Scott of Rotherham, Bishop of Lincoln, and afterwards Archbishop of York, and Lord Chan-

Mainly founded by Archbishop Rotheram.

cellor of England, built, in 1475,[1] the Library which preceded the present edifice, and which continued to be the home of the University's collection until 1755. He also gave upwards of two hundred and fifty volumes of choice books, partly manuscripts, and partly printed,[2] many of which the student may still see and consult. His other benefactions were numerous and liberal.

Early benefactors.

One of the first helpers in the work was John Harris, Mayor of Cambridge. Several successive Bishops of Durham gave it zealous furtherance; Tunstall, Pilkington, and Barnes more especially. Theodore Beza gave the famous Codex of the *Gospels* and *Acts of the Apostles*, which bears his name, and some printed books. Burghley was the medium of the gift, and in the letter which he wrote to the University, after describing the books, he adds, "partly in good will towards me being Chancellor, he has made choice of that University, and I do think good that some special note may be made upon them, for the memory of this his well-meaning towards the University, which may remain to Posterity." Bacon honoured the Library with a copy of his *Novum Organon*, elaborately inscribed in his autograph. Bishop Hacket bequeathed a collection of nearly fifteen hundred volumes, directing that such of them as the Library

[1] *Statuta Academiæ*, p. 93. The Library, however, existed before the time of Rotherham, as may be inferred from the expression "*novam librariam*," p. 93, and still more precisely from the date, 1463, of the Grace, allowing the Librarian 40*s.* a year, "*a denaris Scholæ Canonici Juris.*" Power, *Evidence before the Cambridge University Commissioners* (1852).

[2] *Catalogus benefactorum qui libros Bibliothecæ Academiæ Cantabrigiæ contulerunt.*—MS. as quoted by Hartshorne, *Book Rarities of Cambridge B.* It is to be regretted that Mr. Hartshorne's extracts abound with uncorrected errors, either of transcription or of the press.

already possessed should be sold, and books yet wanting, be purchased with the proceeds.

Temporary accession of the Lambeth Library.

In 1647 a splendid but merely temporary addition was made to the University collection, by the reception of the Lambeth Archiepiscopal Library, then, it is said, in danger of dispersion. Archbishop Bancroft had bequeathed it to his successors in the See, for ever, on condition that each of them should give security to hand it down unimpaired in due succession. On failure of such security, he bequeathed it to Chelsea College, then being built, provided that the building should be finished within six years after his decease. In the event of this condition also failing, the University of Cambridge was to inherit it. Chelsea College was abandoned, and Bishops were abolished. A project was then set on foot to give the collection to Sion College. But Selden wisely interposed, and suggested to the University that the contingency provided for by the founder had now occurred, though in a manner that could never have entered into his imagination. The claim was prosecuted[1] and granted. The books were removed to Cambridge, where they remained until the Restoration. Archbishop Juxon then reclaimed them, and obtained a decree for their return to Lambeth, although (according to the usual account) this did not actually take place until the archiepiscopate of his successor.

[1] The University petitioned the House of Lords, whose proceedings on the subject are entered on the Journals, 15 Feb. and 23 March, 1646 [1647, N. S.], Vol. ix, pp. 16, 17, 102. The substance of Archbishop Bancroft's Will is recited under the first-named date. The second of the two Ordinances had for its object the addition of the books bequeathed to the Lambeth Library by Archbishop Abbot.

One year after the transfer of the Lambtch Library, the Houses of Lords and Commons jointly ordained that the sum of £2000 should be granted to the University of Cambridge, out of the Chapter lands, "towards the building and finishing of the Public Library there;" and further directed that the sum of £500 "out of the receipts at Goldsmith's Hall should be paid to George Thomason (collector of the 'Thomason Tracts'), for a collection of books in the Eastern languages, late brought out of Italy," that the same may be bestowed upon the Public Library in . . Cambridge.[1]

John Evelyn visited Cambridge in 1654. He records his opinion that "the Public Library is but mean, though somewhat improved by the wainscotting and the books lately added by Archbishop Bancroft's collection. They showed us little of antiquity, only King James's Works, being his own gift, and kept very reverently."[2]

The Restoration brought with it a benefaction which much more than compensated the University for the loss of the Lambeth Library. In June, 1666, Tobias Rustat, one of the gentlemen of the King's Chamber, gave the sum of "One thousand pounds to the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Masters, Fellows, and Scholars, of the University of Cambridge, for the purchase of fifty pounds, *per annum*, for ever, to be laid out by them in the choicest and most useful books for the Public Library. This gift was accordingly invested in the purchase of a

Gift of Tobias Rustat.

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, 24 March 1647 [1648 N. S.], v. 512, 519, 609. Comp. Singer, *Life of Selden*, prefixed to the *Table Talk*, pp. xciii. xciv.

[2] Evelyn, *Diary*, etc., i. 304.

moiety of the manor and advowson of Ovington Bosoms, in the county of Norfolk, which moiety now produces one hundred and twenty-five pounds a year. As early as within five years of the gift (Oct. 4, 1671), Charles II, we are told, "viewed the public Library, and took special notice of the many fair volumes bought by the annual beneficence of Tobias Rustat, Esq."[1]

Acquisition of the Library of John Moore, Bishop of Ely.

But the greatest benefaction which the Library has ever received, is that of King George I. in the gift of the noble collection which had been gathered by John Moore, successively Bishop of Norwich and of Ely. Burnet, not disposed towards indiscriminate laudation, ranks this prelate among those who have honoured the Church and the age in which they lived, and designates his collection as "a most valuable treasure, both of printed books and manuscripts, beyond what one can think the life and labour of one man could have compassed; and which," he adds, "he is as ready to communicate as he has been careful to collect it." Strype, again, mentions the Bishop as "the possessor of a great and curious collection of MSS. and of ancient printed pieces, little inferior to MSS. in regard to their scarceness," who "hath also been very assistant to me, both in this work and in others."[2] The scurrilous gossip retailed by Gough as to Bishop Moore having "collected his Library by plundering the clergy of his diocese," and the like, may well be passed by. If traceable to its origin, it would probably be found to have had a contemptible one. After a fruitless

[1] Hewett, *Memoirs of Tobias Rustat* (Lond. 1849), 49-51.

[2] Strype, *Life of Aylmer*, pref.

negotiation had been opened with the Earl of Oxford for the purchase of the Library for incorporation with the Harleian, it was acquired by King George I. for the sum of six thousand guineas. The number of printed volumes was 28,965, and that of manuscript volumes, 1790; making a total of 30,755 volumes. Of the printed portion the folios were 6725, the quartos 8200, and the octavos 14,040.

In range of subjects this collection was varied. Rich in theology and in classics, it was also strong in British history. The specimens of early English topography were numerous and fine. Many of the printed books were enriched with the marginal notes of former and eminent possessors. Amongst the historical MSS. are included books of Tenures and Customs; collections of State-Papers and letters; valuable materials for Church History, and especially for the history and antiquities of the See of Norwich; an extensive series of Chartularies and leiger-books; some curious lives of Saxon Saints; Norden's collections on Berkshire topography; and a considerable number of genealogical MSS.

The Royal gift was made in September, 1715. In their Address of thanks, the Vice-Chancellor and Senate speak of it as "worthy to bear the title of the donor, and to be for ever styled 'The Royal Library,'" and they also returned their acknowledgements to Lord Townshend, then one of the principal Secretaries of State, for his good offices. In his reply Lord Townshend says: "I should be guilty of ingratitude to His

[1] Baker, MS. Note quoted by Hartshorne, *ubi supra*.

Majesty, and of injustice to you, did I suffer that to be ascribed to my interposition which was entirely owing to His Majesty's generous inclination to encourage his faithful University of Cambridge; .... nor was it possible that much solicitation should be necessary to induce him to furnish you with those materials of learning, which he was secure would become so many weapons in your hands to guard and maintain the faith of the Church of England, and the liberties of the British Constitution."

Some small merriment was excited by the circumstance, that just at the time when this Library was sent to Cambridge, a troop of horse marched to Oxford. Dr. Trapp's well-known epigram,

> The King observing with judicious eyes
> The state of both his Universities,
> To one he sent a regiment, for why?—
> That learned body wanted loyalty.
> To th' other he sent books, as well discerning,
> How much that loyal body wanted learning;

was felicitously replied to by Sir William Browne:

> The King to Oxford sent his troop of horse,
> For Tories own no argument but force.
> With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
> For Whigs allow no force but argument.

The earliest Library-keeper mentioned by name in the University-records is said to be William Moore, who died in 1659. On the receipt of the Royal gift a new office of "Principal Librarian" was erected, and Conyers Middleton was its first occupant. Among the more eminent of his successors have been Edward Law, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle, and Richard Farmer, Master of Emanuel.

Conyers Middleton made Principal Librarian.

Since the date of this memorable accession, the growth of the Library has been mainly dependent on (1) the Rustat Fund, already mentioned, and on the other similar funds bequeathed by William Worts and John Manistre; (2) on the Library-tax of six shillings a year levied, since the 7th of December 1825, on all members of the University, producing at present an annual sum of about two thousand and fifty pounds; (3) on the Copyright-tax.

Recent sources of augmentation.

The annual income of the benefaction of Worts is six hundred and eighty-four pounds (arising from an estate at Landbeach). Manistre's bequest was five thousand pounds "for the purchase of books." Part of that sum was so expended, and the remainder was invested in government-securities which produce one hundred and fifty pounds a year, applicable, of course, to the same purpose.[1]

The Royal gift, ultimately, involved a considerable addition to the building. Between the years 1745 and 1751, a subscription of very nearly ten thousand pounds was raised, towards which George II. gave three thousand pounds, and John Holles, Duke of Newcastle, one thousand. The new Library was opened in 1755. Eighty years later, a second new Library had to be built, also by a subscription (which amounted to £21,256, part of that sum being devoted to the Geological Museum and Lecture-Rooms), aided by grants from the Library fund. Of late years, these grants have necessarily tended to diminish the amount applicable to the purchase of

Successive enlargements of the Library.

[1] Power, *Evidence before Oxford University Commission* (1852).

books. But nevertheless the number of volumes annually added, has averaged about five thousand.[1]

The number of works received under the Copyright-Acts, says Mr. Power in his valuable Evidence before the Cambridge University Commission, during the seven years 1844—1850, has been as follows:—

Increment of books under Copyright-Acts.

A. D.	Complete Works.	Periodicals, etc.	Music.
	No. of Volumes.	No. of Parts.	No. of Pieces.
1844	2,508	3,400	512
1845	2,751	4,643	553
1846	2,682	3,874	449
1847	2,904	4,156	581
1848	3,431	4,324	532
1849	3,160	3,646	412
1850	3,449	3,732	649
Total	20,885	27,775	3,688
Giving for the average of seven years.....	2,983	3,967	526

Estimated money-value of the books thus procured.

"It is impossible," continues Mr. Power, "to form more than a very rough estimate of the money-value of the books thus received, as the lists forwarded to us from Stationer's Hall have no prices attached. It occurred to me that an estimate of the present value of this privilege might be made by summing up the prices of the works advertised in the London booksellers' catalogue-circular for one year, deducting one-third for new editions, which cannot be claimed, and adding for the value of the music at so much per piece. The pieces of music we receive, range in value from 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* to £1 or £1 10*s.*; but as the highest

[1] Power, Evidence, *ut supra*.

priced pieces are few in number, I think 5*s.* would be a fair average-price. Taking the year 1850, I find the sum of the prices of the advertised books amounts to £1846, from which one-third may be deducted for "new editions," leaving a sum of £1231, and giving, with the musical pieces, an estimated annual value for the books received, amounting to £1362."[1]

[1] Book III. Chapter IX. The Public Library of the University of Cambridge.

The Commissioners, however, in their General Report, express their opinion that a great part of these receipts under the Copyright-Act "are of little worth, and are better suited for a circulating Library than for one which is designed as a repository of the literature and science of all nations. ... They form a principal attraction to those who use the Library less for literary objects than for amusement."

There has repeatedly arisen some discussion as to the fate of a portion of the MSS. which, in his *History of the Waldenses*, Sir Samuel Morland states, with great particularity, that he presented to the University of Cambridge, by way of authenticating that work. The greater part of those which he mentions are duly preserved, but some of them—and these from their description of no small interest—have long since disappeared. They were not included in Nasmyth's Catalogue of the MSS., printed in 1794, and Mr. Power thinks it doubtful that they were ever received. Of the present state of the collection generally, Mr. Power observes: "It is particularly rich in Architecture, Antiquities,

Waldensian MSS. presented by Sir S. Morland.

Mr. Power's estimate of the strength of the University Library in the chief departments of literature (1852).

[1] Power, Evidence, *ut supra.*

Numismatics, and Natural History; in General History also, and in Classical and Mathematical publications, and in those of general Science, including Medicine, I do not think there is much deficiency: the topographical department is perhaps the least perfect,—but since our resources have been efficient, I do not think that any department has been neglected in the modern literature of our own country, or in that of France or Germany. The accessions to the Italian, Dutch, Spanish, and Portuguese books have been much fewer, partly from the circumstance that books in those languages are less in demand, partly because they are not so readily met with, nor so frequently presented to our notice. Still fewer are the accessions in Scandinavian and Slavonian literature.

MSS. and books kept in fire-proof apartments; but not classified.

"The manuscripts and books of great rarity and value have very recently been removed to compartments in the new Library, which is fire-proof throughout; and, by order of the Syndicate, are now placed under strict surveillance. The books are not arranged generally in classes, but only so far as is practicable in a large growing Library like ours. My predecessor commenced a system of classification, ... but it has not been proceeded with."[1]

The number of printed volumes at present (1858) contained in the Library is nearly 200,000. That of the MSS. was, in 1852, 3163 volumes. The average annual addition of the former has been officially stated at about 5000 volumes.

[1] Power, Evidence, *ut supra*.

In the printed department of the Library, the most noticeable features are the very fine series of early classics; the Aldines; the Bibles; and the productions of early English printers. Among the classics are the rare Ammianus Marcellinus (Rome, 1474); the Apuleius (Rome, *Sweynheym and Pannartz*, 1469); the Florence Homer; the Ferrara Seneca (1484); the Strasburgh *Speculum Historia* of Vincent of Beauvais (1473); the undated Ovid and Pamphilus, printed by Ketelaer and De Leempt; and the falsely dated "Oxford book," of 1468. The collection of early English Bibles is remarkable, and that of "Caxtons" splendid.

Notice of some of the rarities of the University Library.

Among the Manuscripts, besides those already mentioned, are large and valuable materials for British history, and a curious collection of early English poetry. A general catalogue of the whole of the University Manuscripts is now in course of publication.

The Regulations respecting the use of the Library will be found in a subsequent division of this book. The succession of Principal Librarians is as follows:—

Succession of the Principal Librarians.

(1) Conyers Middleton, D.D., 1725 to 1751.
(2) Francis Sawyer Parris, D.D., 1751 to 1760.
(3) Edmund Law, D.D. [afterwards Bishop of Carlisle], 1760 to 1769.
(4) John Barnardiston, D.D., 1769 to 1778.
(5) Richard Farmer, D.D., 1778 to 1797.
(6) Thomas Kerrich, M.A., 1797 to 1828.
(7) John Lodge, M.A., 1828 to 1845.
(8) John Power, M.A., 1845. [Present Principal Librarian.]

CHAPTER X.

THE MINOR LIBRARIES OF CAMBRIDGE.

> Those who die down, and leave behind them no indication of the places wherein they grew, are cognate with the gross matter above them. Those, on the contrary, who, ages after their departure, are able to sustain the lowest, and to exalt the highest,—those are surely the spirits of God, both when upon earth, and when with him.
>
> LANDOR, *Imaginary Conversations*, ii., 236.

Fitzwilliam Library.

THE Fitzwilliam Library was the bequest to the University of William, second Earl Fitzwilliam (in the peerage of Great Britain). Its number of volumes does not much exceed six thousand, but they are very choice; and attached to them is a magnificent collection of prints in 520 volumes and portfolios. It includes fine editions of the Classics; all the best books in polite literature, and a considerable number of those in History; but its special strength lies in the department of Fine Arts. There are a few extremely fine Manuscripts, and amongst them a series of musical works, chiefly of the great Italian composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here, too, is Queen Elizabeth's book for the Virginals.

The Commissioners of 1852 say of this collection that "very free and liberal access is given to strangers as well as to members of the University."

Ample funds for the augmentation of the collection were also bequeathed by Lord Fitzwilliam, but certain contingencies provided for in his Will have to lapse, before the University will enter into full enjoyment of the bequest. ... "When these funds," say the Commissioners, "shall become applicable to the increase of the collection, it might be desirable to devote some considerable portion of them to the purchase of richly illustrated works, ... which are better preserved and more advantageously consulted in a Museum, built and fitted up for their reception, than in a Library which does not possess ... the same conveniences at its disposal. Such an appropriation of its funds would also relieve those of the Public Library."

Recommendation of the Cambridge University Commissioners respecting the Fitzwilliam Library.

It seems to have been suggested as matter for consideration, whether it might not be of advantage to combine the illustrated books of the University Library with those of the Fitzwilliam collection. To any such transfer it was objected by Mr. Power: (1) That the Fitzwilliam Library contains very little room for fresh accessions; (2) that it can hardly be advisable to break up a more complete Library for the enrichment of one which is less complete; and (3) that most of the works of this class in the Public Library have been purchased from funds expressly bequeathed for the augmentation of that Library in particular.

Library of Trinity College.

The Library of Trinity College has an European *fame, as well for the intrinsic worth of the collection* as for the rare beauty of its dwelling, of which Isaac Barrow was the projector, and Christopher Wren the architect. As befits such advantages, its management has been both careful and liberal. The number of volumes exceeds 43,000; of which it is probable that more than thirty thousand are either classical or historical. Archbishop Williams, and his biographer, Bishop Hacket, were both benefactors. The latter erected a set of Chambers, called "Bishop's Hostel," at the cost of twelve hundred pounds, and directed that the rents should be expended in buying books. Dr. Robert Smith, the successor of Bentley in the mastership, left a considerable collection of books. But the two gifts which stand out most saliently in the annals of Trinity Library are those of Edward Capell, the eccentric Shakespearian commentator, and of Julius Charles Hare, a man beloved wherever he was known.

Capell was not a Cambridge man. Born at Troston in Suffolk, in 1713, he received his education in Bury School, and by the patronage of the Duke of Grafton was appointed to the office of Deputy-Inspector of Plays, which gave him two hundred pounds a-year, and the leisure that enabled him to devote twenty years to Shakespearian studies. He early began to collect the oldest and rarest copies of Shakespeare himself, together with a mass of black-letter lore, which was doubtless intended to elucidate the great poet, whom, in truth, it has too often veiled in a cloud of factitious obscurity.

Capell's gift of his collections on Shakespeare.

This Shakespeare collection was presented to Trinity College by Capell, in his life-time (11 June, 1779), on condition that it be "kept together, and that no manuscript or book belonging to it be taken out of the Library on any pretence whatever." It included sixty-four early editions of single plays (ranging in date from 1591 to 1655), and seven early editions of the smaller poems, as well as all the collective editions of the Plays which had been published up to the period of the gift. The English literature of Shakespeare's age is represented very copiously. Modern students of that literature ought certainly to honour Capell's memory, whatever they may think of his critical abilities, or of his claim to be designated, in the eulogistic language of a contemporary, as "the true restorer of Shakespeare." He died in 1781, with the reputation—such as it was—of having transcribed "with his own hand all Shakespeare ten times." His manuscript-catalogue is preserved with the collection. Steevens reprinted it for private circulation, "begging all his friends to keep it from the sight of any bookseller, for otherwise it may prove the means of raising Shakespeariana above £100 per cent." It will also be found, at length, in Mr. Hartshorne's *Book Rarities of Cambridge*.

Bequest of Archdeacon Hare.

Archdeacon Hare's bequest has made Trinity College singularly strong in German literatnre, more especially in its historical, theological, and philosophical sections. Hare began, as a collector, with classics and philology, but as his own pursuits and studies widened, the character of his Library reflected that expansion. Probably

no collection of like extent ever included a larger amount of intrinsic and permanent worth. At the Archdeacon's death, the number of volumes exceeded 12,000, according to the testimony of a writer in the *Quarterly Review,* who is evidently speaking from intimate knowledge.[1] But it would appear that those books only were added to the College Library which it did not previously possess. The number of these is stated, on the authority of the late esteemed Librarian Mr. Brimley—in a communication now before me—at 4300 volumes.

The Manuscript treasures of this Library are numerous. Amongst them are the famous MSS. of Milton (*Comus, Lycidas,* several draughts and plans of *Paradise Lost,* and some minor poems) which formed part of the considerable collection given by Sir Henry Puckering. It is a memorable illustration of the ineffable follies into which party-spirit may lead very accomplished and worthy men, that these Miltonic MSS. are passed over in total silence by the University-Librarian of that day (Laughton) in his elaborate catalogue, while he records with painstaking minuteness "*Anagrams on the names of all the Royal Family*," and "*Prince Henry's copy-books.*" An extensive collection of the letters of Sir Isaac Newton has become well known by means of recent publications. Here, too, is his own annotated copy of the *Principia.* The Manuscript department is also rich in classics, in early English historians and poets, and in biblical works. Among the latter is a very choice

[1] *Quarterly Review,* xcvii, 8, 9. (June, 1855.)

Evangeliary of the eleventh century, especially valuable as an early monument of the English school of illuminators. There are also three several MSS. of the *Apocalypse*, all most richly illustrated. The finest of these seems to be of the latter half of the twelfth century or of the earlier part of the thirteenth.[1] Almost every page has its picture, and some pages have five or six, full of original and dramatic expression. There are many other illuminated MSS. of great curiosity.

Library of St. John's College

The Executors of the princely foundress of St. John's College, John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, were the first contributors to its Library. The Lady Margaret herself, as Fisher tells us, "was right studious in bokes, which she had in grate number, both in Englishe and in Frenche," but it does not appear that any of these came to her College. "Fisher himself," says his biographer, "had the notablest Library in England, two long galleries full: the books were sorted in stalls, and a register of the name of every book at the end of every stall. All these his books, and all his hangings, plate, and vessels, ... he gave, long before his death, to St. John's College, by a deed of gift, and put them in possession thereof; and then by indenture did borrow all the said books, ... to have the use of them during his life; but at his apprehension, the Lord Cromwell caused all to be confiscated, which he gave to Moryson Plankney, of Chester, and others that were about him, and so the

[1] Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, iii. 326, 327.

College was defrauded of all this noble gift." George Daye (who had been Fisher's chaplain) bequeathed the Complutensian Polyglot. The Lady Mildred Burghley gave some books, as did also James Pilkington, Regius Professor of Divinity. Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, purchased the Library of Robert Crashawe, the poet, amounting to about 2000 printed volumes, and a hundred and sixty-two manuscripts, and presented the whole to the College. But the princely-minded Williams, Archbishop of York, was the greatest benefactor this Library has ever had. He gave upwards of two thousand pounds (of the money of that day) for the building of a new Library, and bequeathed to it (at his death in 1650) that second collection which he had had the courage and perseverance to form for himself, after his Library at Buckden had been wantonly destroyed, during his imprisonment in the Tower.

Benefaction of Archbishop Williams.

Lucius Carey, Lord Falkland, who prized the title of a "St. John's Man" above his courtly distinctions, though he said he was "both proud and ashamed of it, —ashamed that the fruits are unproportionable to the seed-plot,"—was a stanch collector, and gave some of his books to the Library of his College, as did also—among many others—Strafford; Sir Robert Heath, Chief Justice of England; John Bois, the helper of Savile "in the service of Chrysostom;" and Tobias Rustat, the liberal benefactor of the Public Library.

Other benefactions.

Evelyn, whose visits to Cambridge I have had occasion to notice before, tells us, in his *Diary* of 1654, that he thought St. John's Library already "the fairest of that University." Its subsequent acquisitions have not

been unworthy of so promising a beginning. John Newcome, Dean of Rochester, gave some fine early Classics, many of which had adorned the Library of the Harleys. Matthew Prior gave many choice books in French and Italian literature, which he had gathered during his ambassadorial travels. Thomas Baker, the ejected fellow of St. John's, bequeathed his curious Library to the College which he loved so well, notwithstanding what he deemed its hard usage of him. The amassing and study of books had been the chief enjoyment of his life. His finances were but scanty, and his complaints of the monopolizing tendencies of collectors of greater "purse-ability" (as Bodley calls it) are somewhat pathetic:—"I begin to complain," he wrote to Humphrey Wanley, "of the men of quality who lay out so much for books, and give such prices that there is nothing to be had for poor scholars, whereof I have found the effects. When I bid a fair price for an old book, I am answered, the 'quality' will give twice as much, and so I have done. I have had much ado to pick up a few old books at tolerable prices, and despair of any more." But he had nevertheless gathered nearly four thousand volumes, of which his College possesses upwards of two thousand; the others, being already in its Library, were sold by auction. Hence it is that "*Thomas Baker*, *socius ejectus*," etc., in his fine round hand, so often meets the eye in the old book-shops.

Baker's Legacy.

From these various sources St. John's has accumulated a rich and very diversified collection. The early printed English books form a most remarkable series; some of them are believed to be unique. Early Bibles

and works connected with the history of the Reformation are especially conspicuous. The Manuscripts are numerous and valuable. The total number of volumes exceeds 26,000.

Corpus Christi Library.

Fuller—somewhat too eulogistically perhaps—called the Library of Bennet or Corpus Christi College, "the sun of English antiquity, before it was eclipsed by the Library of Sir Robert Cotton." But there can be no doubt that in the materials of our British History, Corpus Christi Library is far richer than any other collegiate collection, either at Cambridge or at Oxford. And the praise of it is due to Archbishop Parker.

Archbishop Parker as a book-collector.

Parker had the advantage of being much earlier in the field than Cotton. He saw Wolsey in all his pride of place, and the monasteries yet standing, though with diminished greatness. When their Libraries were dispersed, indeed, he was as yet too poor to profit much by the opportunity at first hand. But his spirit and tastes were early developed, and found their proper field as his means increased. In 1568 he obtained a Council-letter, signifying the Queen's pleasure that the Archbishop, or his deputies, should be permitted to examine all the books and records of the suppressed houses. Still earlier, he had made earnest efforts to recover some of the books and MSS. of his predecessor, Cranmer; and by dint of "searching and prying," as he calls it himself, at length discovered that some such were to be found in the house of a certain Dr. Nevinson; but it needed a Council-letter here too, ere they could be recovered. As is well known, he kept a staff

of transcribers, illuminators, and printers in employment at Lambeth, and formed a valuable Library, part of which he bestowed eventually on the University; part in various gifts to smaller collections; but the greater portion he gave to Corpus Christi, "his nurse;" to the number, as appears by the Inventory of his estate, of thirteen hundred volumes of choice printed books,[1] and nearly five hundred volumes of manuscripts, of which there is an excellent Catalogue by Nasmyth.

These manuscripts, it was officially reported to the Commissioners on the Public Records, are "lodged in a room over the ante-chapel, under three locks; one key is kept by the Master or locum-tenens, the other two are kept by two custodes annually chosen from the Fellows. By the express order of Archbishop Parker, ... to the observance of which we are bound by oath, at admission to a Fellowship, no volume is permitted to go out of the precincts of the College, nor can the Master, Fellow, or any other person, enter the Library alone.[2] Persons, properly recommended, who wish to peruse or transcribe any article, are accommodated with a room by the Master or some of the Fellows."[3] The loss of twelve volumes would, by the express conditions of the Archishop's Will, involve the forfeiture of the collection, and also of the plate which he likewise bequeathed.[4]

Regulations established by the Archbishop.

[1] *Archæologia*, xxx. 30.

[2] .... "Ut neque socius aliquis solus eam adire potest, sed semper alio socio vel scholari comitatus, neque plusquam tres codices in cameram suam asportare, etc."

[3] *General Report of the Commissioners of Public Records*, 368. Strype, *Life of Parker* (Edit. of 1711), 518, 519. *Archæologia*, xxx. 30, seqq.

[4] Dyer, *Privileges of the University of Cambridge*, § Corpus Christi Coll.

Nothing is more common (in relation to such matters as these) than to meet with censures of the "foolish restrictions" of Corpus Christi Library; but probably such censures are loudest where knowledge is least, and would be considerably modified, if the utterer could realize in his imagination some of the sights which the Archbishop had seen with his eyes. It might then become apparent that, whether now wise or unwise, these regulations were, at least, originally framed, not to fetter learning, but to preserve it.

Library of Magdalen College.

The Collection to which the Library of Magdalen College mainly owes its reputation is almost as curious a medley of the grave and the gay, as was its founder. Shrewd observation, elastic but outwardly decorous morals, and plodding industry, enabled Samuel Pepys to secure, by a posthumous and most amusing garrulity, that lasting fame, for the hope of which much better men have often "scorned delights, and lived laborious days," without attaining what they longed for. With considerable power of work, and diversified experiences of life, Pepys combined a strong sense of the pleasantness of walking in the ways of his heart, and a large share of that self-complacency which enables a man to daguerreotype, as it were, both himself, and all that he can see of his neighbours, without fear or scruple. Yet he narrowly escaped the loss of the immortality which he must more especially have coveted. For a century and a quarter it was only as the collector of the Pepysian Library that he was remembered, although there lay the while, quietly reposing on its shelves, the *Diary* which

The Founder of the Pepysian Collection.

now every body has read, and which few read but once.

Pepys discharged the duties of his secretaryship to the Admiralty with vigour and fidelity. He seems to have had at heart the improvement of the English Navy, and to this it is owing, that the collection at Magdalen combines with its rich stores of early English poetry, its rare topography, and its curious monuments of the infancy of printing, some important materials for our national history.

Not the least characteristic part of the Pepysian Library is its series of prints. In assembling these he acted on the counsels of Evelyn. The accomplished author of *Chalcographia* advised him to be wary of any attempt to rival the famous Clarendon gallery of Portraits,—a scheme which at one time he appears to have entertained. Evelyn probably knew something about the methods pursued, even in those days, for the fabrication of "modern antiques," and he cautioned his correspondent against a too ambitious project, as certain to involve "a vast and unnecessary charge." If, he continued, "instead of this, you think fit to add to your title-pages, ... the heads and effigies of such ... as have been famous for arms or arts, in *taille douce,* and with very tolerable expense to be procured amongst the printsellers, I should not reprove it. I am sure you would be infinitely delighted with the assembly, and some are so very well done to the life, that they may stand in competition with the best paintings. ..... Nor would I yet confine you to stop here, but to be continually gathering as you happen to meet with other instructive types. For under this class may come in bat-

Evelyn's advice to Pepys, on the collection of prints.

tles, sieges, triumphs, jousts, and tournaments; coronations, cavalcades, and entrys of ambassadors; processions, funerals, and other pomps; tombs, trials, and executions, ... such as relate to History."

Magdalen College Library.

How extensively Pepys acted on this advice may be seen by the curious visitor to Magdalen Library. His collection of portraits is especially choice, and his illustrations of London topography very numerous. Evelyn not only gave him good counsel, but lent him manuscripts and maps in no small number. One of his letters, in particular, is accompanied by a long list of State papers, correspondence, and documents relating to the Navy, with this postscript, "These papers, mapps, letters, books, and particulars when you have done with, be pleased to take your owne time in returning." Pepys appears to have complied faithfully with the request, for in the margin of Evelyn's draught, the lender had subsequently written:—"Which I afterwards never asked of him."

The bustling Secretary, as it appears from the letter whence I have extracted Evelyn's views as to the formation of a collection of prints, early contemplated the perpetual preservation of his Library. After assuring him that by pursuing the course suggested, he would make his collection suitable to his "generous mind and steady virtue," Evelyn thus proceeds: "I know none living master of more happiness, since besides the possession of so many curiosities, you understand to use and improve them likewise, and have declared that you will endeavour to secure what with so much cost and industry you have collected, from the sad dispersion

many noble libraries and cabinets have suffered in these late times."[1]

How he worked out his purpose will be best seen from the following characteristic document, which is preserved amongst the Harleian MSS.:—

Pepys' directions for the preservation of his Library.

"For the further settlement and preservation of my said Library, after the death of my nephew John Jackson, I do hereby declare that could I be sure of a constant succession of heirs from my said nephew, qualified like himself for the use of such a Library, I should not entertain a thought of its even being alienated from them; but this uncertainty considered, with the infinite pains and time and cost employed in my collecting, methodising, and reducing the same to the state it now is, I cannot but be greatly solicitous that all possible provision should be made for its unalterable preservation and perpetual security, against the ordinary fate of such collections, falling into the hands of an incompetent heir, and thereby being sold, dissipated, or imbezzled: and since it has pleased God to visit me in a manner that leaves little appearance of being myself restored to a condition of myself *(sic)* concerting the measures for attaining these ends,—I must and do with great confidence rely upon the sincerity and direction of my executor and said nephew, for putting in execution the powers given them, by my fore-mentioned will, relating hereto, requiring that the same be brought to a determination in twelve month's time after my decease, and that special regard be had therein to the following particulars, which I declare to be my present thoughts and prevailing inclinations in this matter, viz.

1. That after the death of my said nephew, my said library be placed and for ever settled in one of our Universities, and rather in that of Cambridge than Oxford.
2. And rather in a private College than in the Public Library.
3. And in the Colleges of Trinity or Magdalene preferable to all others.
4. And of these two, ceteris paribus, rather in the latter, for the sake of my own and nephew's education therein.
5. That in whichsoever of the two it is, a fair roome be provided therein on purpose for it and wholely and solely appropriated thereto.
6. And if in Trinity, that the said roome be contiguous to, and have communication with, the new Library there.

[1] *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, iii. 302-309.

7. And if in Magdalene, that it be in the new building there and any part thereof, at my nephew's election.
8. That my said library be continued in its present form and no other books mixed therein, save what my nephew may add to them, of his own collecting in distinct presses.
9. That the said room and books so placed and adjusted be called by the name of *Bibliotheca Pepysiana.*
10. That this *Bibliotheca Pepysiana* be under the sole power and custody of the Master of the College for the time being, who shall neither himself convey, nor suffer to be conveyed by others, any of the said books from thence, to any other place, except to his own Lodge in the said College, nor there have more than ten of them at a time; and that of those also a strict entry be made and accompt kept, of the time of their having been taken out, and returned, in a book, to be provided, and remain in the said library, for that purpose only.
11. That before my said library be put into the possession of either of the said Colleges, that College, for which it shall be designed, first enter into covenants for performance of the foregoing articles.
12. And that, for a yet further security therein, the said two Colleges of Trinity and Magdalene have a reciprocal check upon one another, and that College which shall be in present possession of the said Library be subject to an annual visitation from the other, and to the forfeiture thereof, to the like possession and use of the other, upon conviction of any breach of their said covenants.

S. PEPYS."

Pepys' desire that his Library "should be continued in the present form," has been faithfully carried out. The books and prints are in the same bindings and covers; keep the same arrangement, and are contained in the same bookcases, which they occupied in his lifetime. Of late years, indeed, the collection has been removed from the room originally appropriated to it, into one expressly constructed for its reception in the new "Master's Lodge." But the order and appearance are the same. Yet "order," perhaps, is scarcely the word to be employed in this instance; for Pepys gave himself

no sort of trouble with classification. He collocated his books just as they came to hand, and had no scruple in ranging the "Lives of the English Saints" side by side with the loosest of those Carolinian comedies, the double meanings of which, when uttered by ruby lips, and pointed by the glances of lustrous eyes, he had been wont to gloat over in the theatre, and to imitate as well as he could in the green-room.

The curious collection of Scottish poetry known as the "Maitland MSS.," and the still more remarkable series of Ballads, the collection of which was begun by Selden, are by no means the only—are scarcely, perhaps, the chief—materials which the Pepysian collection will afford for the future historian of our popular literature. There are scores of volumes rich in matter of this sort, which he may use with profit, and which ought of themselves to suggest to some competent writer the desirableness of doing for England what M. Nisard has recently (to some extent) done for France, in his *Histoire des livres populaires, ou de la littérature du Colportage.*

The remaining Collegiate Libraries of Cambridge may be succinctly and sufficiently described in the words of the recent Commissioners of University Inquiry, but with some additions.

Queen's College Library.

The Library of Queen's College, say the Commissioners, is of considerable extent and value. A good catalogue of its contents, drawn up by the Rev. T. Hartwell Horne, was printed about twenty-five years ago; it has since received a bequest of more than 3000 books,

BOOK III. Chapter X. The Minor Libraries of Cambridge.

chiefly theological and mathematical, from the late President, Dr. Milner, Dean of Carlisle; it contains nearly 25,000 volumes. The library of Caius College contains more than 14,000 volumes and about 700 manuscripts; a good catalogue of the latter was drawn up by the Rev. John James Smith, late Tutor of the College, and the Rev. W. R. Collett, the present librarian. It is particularly rich in heraldic visitations and manuscripts relating to Civil Law. Mr. Collett has subsequently printed a catalogue of the rare and early printed books which are contained in it.

Cain's College Library.

Recent Catalogue of Collegiate Libraries.

The Commissioners express the great satisfaction they have felt in noticing the efforts which have been made of late years in this and other Colleges, to publish Catalogues of the Manuscripts and other treasures which their libraries contain. They think it to be the best proof that can be furnished that the Libraries are duly appreciated and valued; and are of opinion that if similar catalogues were printed and published of whatsoever is remarkable in the Libraries of every College, they would be found to be eminently serviceable in directing the inquiries of those who are engaged in works of research. Such Catalogues prepared and placed side by side with the Catalogues in the Public Library, would exhibit at one view the full extent of the literary treasures which the University possessed.

King's College Library.

The Library of King's College contains about 10,000 volumes, including, amongst many other rare and valuable books, the fine collection which was formed by Jacob Bryant.[1]

[1] *Report of the Cambridge University Commission,* ut supra.

Bryant had distinguished himself, both at Eton and at King's, and had early given indications of that passion for gathering books which so markedly characterized his life. As a collector, his tastes were comprehensive. Fine Classics; modern Latin poetry (in which his own powers were not inconsiderable); the modern literature of Italy; early English poetry; standard British authors, on almost all subjects; were included within his range. And his whole collection—with an exception to be noticed hereafter, in speaking of the Library at Blenheim—was bequeathed to his College. He had nearly attained the venerable age of ninety, when, too eagerly craning at a book on a lofty shelf, he met with the hurt which accelerated his death. This unusual length of days he had assiduously employed both in assembling books and in using them. They were days, too, in which a vellum Caxton could be bought for four guineas. Some of the early classics he had collected are extremely rare and choice.[1]

Emanuel Library.

The Library of Emanuel College contains about 17,000 volumes of printed books, and includes the Library of Archbishop Sancroft: that of Pembroke about 10,000 volumes; that of St. Peter's College about 6300 volumes; and that of Trinity Hall contains an excellent classical Library bequeathed by Sir William Wynne, who was formerly Master, as well as a large collection of

[1] Bryant's benefaction to King's Library has somewhat thrown its earlier benefactors into the shade. Amongst them was one of Queen Elizabeth's printers, Richard Jugge, and her Secretary Walsingham. Hobart, Cowell, Crouch, and Whichcote, also figure on the Roll.

books relating to Civil Law. To the Library of Catherine Hall, Bishop Sherlock, who was formerly Master, bequeathed a valuable collection of theological and other books. The Library of Clare Hall contains many valuable theological and classical works, and a large collection of Italian books, which was formed by Ruggle, the author of the Play entitled *Ignoramus*, which was acted with great effect before James I. when he visited the University. That of Christ's College has a good collection of theology. The Library of Downing College is only now in the course of formation.

Jesus College Library.

The Library of Jesus College is of considerable value. Some of its manuscripts came from the great monastery at Durham. Among the more noticeable are the poems of Lydgate, and a Latin Chronicle of English affairs, ending with the battle of Lewes in 1264.[1] It is from a MS. in this collection that I have printed the Rievanlx Catalogue in a preceding chapter.

[1] Halliwell, *The Manuscript Rarities of Cambridge*, 173.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF HUMPHREY CHETHAM, IN THE CITY OF MANCHESTER.

HUMPHREY CHETHAM signally improved himself in piety and in outward prosperity; ..... and ... (founded) as great a master-piece of bounty as our age hath afforded. ..... God send us more such men, that we may dazzle the eyes of the Papists with the light of Protestant good works!

FULLER, *Worthies of England*, ii. 224, 215. (Edit. of 1840.)

§ I. LIFE OF A MANCHESTER MERCHANT DURING THE CIVIL WARS.

BOOK III. Chapter XI. The Chetham Library at Manchester.

THE Manchester of to-day has no more striking contrast to offer to the eyes of the stranger who visits it for the first time, than that which presents itself on his turning from the busy thoroughfare called "Hunt's Bank," into the secluded monastic-looking court of the Chetham Hospital and Library, locally known as "The College." A moment before, the most conspicuous objects were dingy factories, with their tall chimnies (pouring forth smoke as dense as though no "Smoke Prevention Act" had ever been heard of), and streets crowded with passengers walking as if for dear life;

BOOK III. Chapter XI. The Chetham Library at Manchester.

and now nothing is visible but a long and low building of the time of Henry VI., entirely devoid of "modern improvements," and wanting only a few of the ecclesiastics of the Collegiate Church of that day (for whose residence it was originally built, on the site of a much older manorial hall of the La Warres, lords of Manchester), to make the spectator forget his own chronology. Here, if anywhere, he may well recall "the olden time," and from the once romantic rock on which he stands, may (if he be blest with a lively imagination) look upon the scene as Drayton saw it when he made the river Irwell proudy sing:—

> First Roch, a dainty rill, ...
> . . . . . .
> . . . . . And Irk, add to my store,
> And Medlock, to their much, by lending somewhat more;
> At Manchester they meet, all kneeling to my state,
> Where brave I show myself. . . . . [1]

But, alas! though the rivers still blend at his feet, all their beauty is for ever gone.

To Humphrey Chetham belongs not only the praise of founding a School and Library for public use, but that also of preserving from destruction almost the only relic of antiquity—save its fine "Old Church"—of which Manchester can now boast. But for Chetham, the Baron's Hall and the Priests' College would long since have given place to a Cotton Mill, or a Railway Station.

Monastic Character of the Chetham Building.

On entering the building, the visitor passes through the ancient refectory, or dining-hall, with its dais (be-

[1] *Poly-olbion*, Song 27.

yond which is a very handsome wainscotted room, (where, "once upon a time," Raleigh is said to have been feasted by Dr. Dee—of magical notoriety—at that period Warden of Manchester), and he then ascends, by a venerable staircase and a fine two-storied cloister to the library, which occupies what were formerly the dormitories of the priests. The books are chiefly kept in wall-cases extending along the entire length of a corridor,—somewhat of the shape of an L reversed,—and branching off into fifteen recesses, each with its little window and its latticed gate. So small are these windows, that they admit but a very "dim, religious light," quite in harmony with the character of the building. At the end of the library is another fine oak-panelled room with an oriel, lighted from stained glass, and containing furniture at least three centuries old. This is now the reading room (having superseded the recesses of the library itself), and a fit room it is for such a purpose. Original portraits—chiefly of Lancashire worthies—adorn the walls, and amongst them is a characteristic likeness of the "Founder." The dormitories of the boys, and the apartments of the officers, occupy the rest of the building. The school-room is of more recent erection, and abuts on the play-ground of the Free Grammar School.

Life of the Founder.

Humphrey Chetham is stated to have been the fourth[1] son of Henry Chetham, of Crumpsall (once a little hamlet about two miles north of Manchester, but now al-

[1] Comp. Whatton, in *History of the Foundations of Manchester*, iii, 142, and Canon Raines (a better authority), in the notes to Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, ii. 68.

most absorbed into that much-devouring and still hungry town), where he was born in July, 1580. In due time he was apprenticed to a linendraper or clothier of this town, and here also he established himself in business. His trading career appears to have been eminently and uninterruptedly prosperous. He combined the business of a money-lender (dealing largely in mortgages) with that of a wool-factor and "Manchester warehouseman"—as the term is now—on an extensive scale. He had, too, considerable transactions with Ireland in yarn and linen. But his chief traffic seems to have been in "fustians," which he bought at Bolton, and sold in London and elsewhere.

Having acquired considerable landed property in his native county, first (in 1620) at Clayton,[2] near Manchester, and afterwards (in 1628) at Turton, near Bolton; he soon attracted the notice of the money-seeking functionaries of Charles I., in the shape of a summons to pay a fine for not having attended at his majesty's coronation, "to take upon him the order of knighthood."[2] It will be seen hereafter that it was his lot throughout life to meet his chief troubles in the shape of greatness thrust upon him. The first public matter of moment in

Chetham's unwilling courtiership.

[1] At Clayton Hall he succeeded the Byrons, whose principal seat it was until they obtained the grant of Newstead Abbey. It was sold by Sir John Byron to "George Chetham, of London, grocer, and Humphrey Chetham, of Manchester, chapman," for £4700, together with the "impaled ground called Clayton Park, and the reputed Manor of Clayton." The moat still surrounds what is left of the house (which is but little, though well preserved), now the property, "by distaff," of Mr. Peter Hoare. Clayton, too, is almost swallowed up by one of the densest of the suburbs of Manchester.

[2] Chetham MSS.

which there is evidence of his having taken part, was the reform of abuses which had grown up—partly through alteration of circumstances, and partly by an unfortunate selection of dignitaries—in the Collegiate Church of Manchester.

Whilst this affair was yet in progress, he received intelligence that it was probable he would be nominated Sheriff of Lancashire for the following year; and he wrote to a friend then at court:—"Although the consideration of my unworthiness methinks, might correct the conceit, yet out of the observation of former times, wherein this eminent office hath falne verie lowe, I cannot presume of freedome, but I am confident out of your ancient professed friendship ... that if anie put me forward, you will stand in the waie, and suffer mee not to come in the rank of those that shall bee presented to the king's view; whereby I shall be made more popular (*i. e.* conspicuous), and thereby more subject to the perill of the tymes."[1]

The Writ for Ship Money.

But his reluctance was of no avail. In November, 1634, Humphrey Chetham entered on his office, and on the 13th of the following month received from his predecessor the first writ for SHIP MONEY ("That word of lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom," as Clarendon calls it), so that its execution devolved upon him at the very threshold of his new dignity. His notes upon the writ are still extant. They are not such as John Hampden would have made, had he stood in Chetham's place; but they are interesting for the contrasts they suggest between the Lancashire of the seventeenth

[1] Chetham MSS.

century and the Lancashire of the nineteenth:—"The first thing," he says, "is to consider how much moneys will purchase a shipp of such a burden, ... the second thing is to aporcion ... the same monies equally, ... and what part thereof the tounes within the county of Lancaster ought to pay, for if you shall tax and assesse men accordinge to their estate, then Liverpoole being poore, and now goes as it were a beginge, must pay very little. Letters patent are now sent for the same toune;[1] and if you shall tax men accordinge to their tradinge and profitt by shippinge, then Lancaster, as I verely thinke, hath little to do that waye."[2]

On this question of the apportionment of the levy, he consults his neighbour, Sir Cecil Trafford, of Trafford, who replies (3 January, 1635):—"I have perused our directions ... for the levying of men and money within this county, and compared it to Cheshire, and find that sometime Cheshire hath been equall to us, sometyme deeper charged, and sometime this county has borne 3 parts and Cheshire 2. Yet I cleerely hold equallity is the best rate betweene the countyes, though Cheshire be lesser, yet it is generally better land, and not soe muche mosses and barren ground in it."[3]

These questions once settled (Cheshire being rated at £400, including £100 for the city; Lancashire at £498, including £15 for Liverpool, and £8 for Lancaster), Chetham proceeded rapidly with his portion of the levy, and incurred charges amounting to £22, as to

[1] *i. e.* Letters soliciting charitable contributions, such as we now call "Queen's letters."

[2] Chetham MSS. [3] Ibid.

which he says, "I moved for allowance, but could gett none."[1]

In August, 1635, he received a second writ for Ship Money, by which the sum of £3500 was levied upon Lancashire alone; and in the letter accompanying the writ the Lords of the Council write that, "To prevent difficulty in the dividing the assessments upon the corporate towns, ... we conceive that ... Preston may well beare £50; Lancaster, £30; Liverpool, £20; Wiggan, £50; and so on."[2] The worthy Sheriff resolved that this time, at all events, he would not lose his expenses, and so levied £96, in addition to the £3500, to cover the charges both of the present and of the former levies.

This piece of precaution was eagerly laid hold of by some who were his neighbours, but not his friends. Formal complaint was made to Lord Newburgh, Chancellor of the Duchy, who told Chetham's agent in London (his nephew, George Chetham), that such a proceeding was neither warrantable nor safe:—"I tould my lord," writes the nephew, "it was conterary to your mind to transgress in any kind; if you had not been misled by others, you had not done this; and then Mr. Bloundell ... tould my lord the countree was more troubled and grieved to pay that which you levied for charges, than to pay the £3500... and (that he had) asked the opinion of a Judge, and the Judge said 'Ytt was a Starr Chamber bussines.'"[3]

The issue was, that the Sheriff was directed to repay the whole sum thus levied, excepting £3 15*s.* which had been abated to "poor people and non-solvents." Chet-

[1] Chetham MSS. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

ham, nevertheless, delayed compliance with this order, and sent a messenger express to London to seek its repeal, furnishing him with a statement of the actual disbursements—amounting to £50 3*s.* 2*d.* (besides the £22 formerly expended, and another sum of £8 7*s.*, spent in "the conveyance of witches from Manchester")—and with the instruction—"If I must returne the overplus which is remaining in my hands of the £96 back againe, gett me directions how I must pay it."[1] He had evidently a strong impression that the decision was unjust, and as strong an inclination to keep all he could. It appears, however, that it was enforced, and that he was compelled to bear all the charges himself.

Chetham in trouble about Armorial bearings.

Whilst he was yet employed in the collection of the Ship Money, he had the misfortune to get embroiled with the College of Arms on that old and inexhaustible source of quarrel, the alleged appropriation of another man's bearings. There seems to be no evidence that he used arms before his Shrievalty, but it is certain that he believed himself to be descended from the ancient Lancashire family of his name, and that the arms he assumed, had been assigned to him by Randle Holme, Chester Herald.[2] Chetham, as we have seen, was of opinion that the office of Sheriff in former time had fallen "very low;" nevertheless, his own elevation to it did not fail to excite jealousy and ill-will; and, unfortunately, there was indisputable evidence that the coat-of-arms, borne before him at the assizes, was "Chadderton's coat." Threatened with a prosecution before the

[1] Chetham MSS.

[2] Whatton, *Foundations of Manchester*, ii. 145.

Earl Marshal, he was advised to seek the friendly assistance of his presumed kinsman, Thomas Chetham, of Nuthurst, who formally recognised him as descended "from a younger brother of the blood and lineage of my ancestors of the house of Nuthurst." On application to the College of Arms, a long dispute ensued; but, ultimately, his zealous friends (of whom Richard Johnson was the most active) obtained the confirmation of the pedigree and arms which had been claimed. On transmitting the "trick" of arms, Chetham's correspondent writes:—"We could not give Sir Henry St. George ('Norroy') less than 10 pieces. We hope he is content, though he said he hath had £20 for the like."

The worthy Sheriff replies:—"They [the arms] are not depicted in soe good mettall as those armes wee gave for them; but when the herald meets with a novice he will double his gayne."[1]

From proceedings recorded in the Exchequer it would seem that Chetham did not get fairly quit of the accounts of his Shrievalty until March, 1640. In June, 1641, he was appointed "High Collector of Subsidies within the County of Lancaster", and by this appointment was drawn into a long series of difficulties and disputes with various authorities, both civil and military, during the strife between King and Parliament. Some of his correspondence with Fairfax, and with other parliamentarian commanders, is still preserved. Not the least curious amongst these documents are some letters which were interchanged between him and Robert Dukinfield, with respect to the maintenance of the garrisons

Chetham's Correspondence with the Parliamentarian Generals.

[1] Chetham MSS.

of Liverpool and Lancaster. "They are in extreme want of monies," says the Colonel, "and I will not suffer them to starve whilst I have charge of them." Chetham in vain represents that all the monies in his hands were long since exhausted, and entreats the Committee of Lords and Commons at Westminster "to satisfy Colonel Dukinfield out of the assessment of some other county." The rough Cromwellian soldier stuck to his declaration, that if Chetham did not pay the money within eight days, "I will send four troops of Horse into your county, that I can very well spare."[1]

Although this particular infliction seems to have been escaped by a timely compromise, there is evidence that our worthy benefactor had personally his full share of the hardships of civil war. Amongst some papers endorsed "*Severall notts of p'ticulers for the generall accompt of charges layd out for the warrs*," he writes:—"Having lent Mr. Francis Mosley £760, and requiring the same of him again, he directed me to take up half of the said sum of some of my neighbour shopkeepers in Manchester, and to give my bill of exchange for the same, to be paid by his partner at London, Mr. Robert Law, upon sight of the said bill, and the other half of my money to be paid likewise in exchange a month after that. In pursuance of which directions, before I could effect it, the said Mr. Mosley was proved a delinquent, and the said money intended for me, with the rest that he had in cash, in cloth, his debts, and book-debts, and all other his goods, by order of Parliament, were sequestered and seized for the public use; so, as hereby doth appear,

[1] Chetham MSS.

there went to the Parliament, of my money, £760; and were an accompt required of losses sustained by the enemy (my house being three times entered and kept for a certain time, until all my goods, both within my house and without, were either spoiled or quite carried away), I could give an accompt to a very great value."

It was also Chetham's lot to have a great many law-suits, some of which appear to have lasted until his death. One of these was occasioned by a dispute which curiously illustrates the disturbed state of the times.

In April, 1648, the minister of the parish of Newton (in which Chetham had property) wrote to inform him that his nephew Travis had headed a large party in "endeavouring to pull up Captain Whitworth's wear belonging to his mill."... "There has been great throwing of stones, to the hazard of several men's lives. Bulwarks and cabins for the defence of themselves in the way or manner of war ... have been made. Such a contention as this was never seen or heard of by any amongst us." "At length," he adds, "both parties were perswaded to yield thus far, until your mind and pleasure were known about it." But, more than four years afterwards, we find proceedings still pending in the Duchy Court, between "Whitworth, plaintiff; and Chetham and Travis, defendants."

Such incidents as this, and others previously mentioned, if taken by themselves, would seem to indicate in Chetham a somewhat too rigid working out of his motto, *Quod tuum tene.* Their true explanation, however, may, I think, be found in the fact that his munificent benefactions were the purpose of his life, not the

"Quod tuum tene."

compunctious prompting of his death-bed meditations. His charities had been acts before they became legacies. Not only are several wills still in existence which show that for a quarter of a century, at least, before his death, he contemplated the posthumous devotion of a large portion of his wealth to educational uses,—the character and scope of which widened as his means increased,—but there is also evidence that he maintained and educated many poor fatherless children during his life-time. He was therefore entitled to look upon himself as a trustee for the poor, and as engaged in the protection of their rights, whilst preserving (somewhat sternly it may be) the fruits of his industry from loss and waste.

His death occurred at Clayton Hall, on the 12th of October, 1653, in the seventy-third year of his age. He died unmarried, and by his last Will—made in December, 1651—left considerable legacies to relatives, friends, and servants. He had already in his lifetime settled large estates upon his nephews, one of whom succeeded him, both at Clayton and Turton.

The Founder's Will.

By this Will Chetham also bequeathed the sum of £7500 to be expended in the foundation and endowment (after the manner therein directed) of an Hospital for the maintenance and education of forty poor boys for ever, and in putting them forth apprentices when of fitting age, unless "otherwise preferred or provided for;" and he directs that if, in course of time, any surplus revenue should accrue from any investment made in pursuance of such bequest, it shall be "applied for the augmentation of the number of poor boys, or for the better maintenance and binding apprentice of the said forty

poor boys." He also bequeathed £1000 to be expended in books, "For or towards a Library within the town of Manchester for the use of scholars, and others well affected ... the same books there to remain as a Public Library for ever; and my mind and will," he adds, "is, that care be taken that none of the said books be taken out of the said Library at any time ... and that the said books be fixed or chained, as well as may be, within the said Library, for the better preservation thereof. And I do hereby give ... £1000 to be bestowed in purchasing ... some fit place for the said Library. ... Also, I do hereby give and bequeath the sum of £200 to be bestowed by my executors in godly English books, such as Calvin's, Preston's, and Perkin's works, comments or annotations upon the Bible, or some other parts thereof, or ... other books ... proper for the edification of the common people, to be chained upon desks, or to be fixed to the pillars, or in other convenient places, in the parish churches of Manchester and Bolton ... and the chapels of Turton, Walmsley, and Gorton, in the said county of Lancaster, within one year next after my decease.[1] ... And as touching and concerning all the rest, residue, and remainder of all my goods, chattels, plate,

[1] Many years, however, were to elapse before this bequest was carried into effect. Good Henry Newcome's patience was sorely tried before the "English Library" was fairly placed in the "ancient chantry, called Jesus Chapel," sold to the parish for that purpose (in 1665) by Henry Pendleton. Newcome seems to have taken the chief pains in the arrangement of the books, and he records in his Diary, under Dec. 11, 1661:— .... "I was crossed because my mind was so foolish to be set on such a thing as to be the chief doer in setting up the books .... in that we could not bring the thing to perfection as we desired."—Newcome's *Diary* (published by the Chetham Society), p. 30.

leases for years, household stuff, and personal estate whatsoever ... I do will and desire that all the said ... residue...shall be bestowed in books, to be bought and disposed of, ordered and kept in such a place, and in such sort, as the said other books are to be, which are to be bought with the said sum of £1000, formerly herein by me bequeathed, for the further augmentation of the said Library."[1]

The Testator, during his life-time, had been in treaty for the purchase of "The College" in Manchester, from the Parliamentarian "Committee of Sequestration for Lancashire," into whose hands it had come as part of the forfeited estate of James, Earl of Derby, that Earl having inherited it from an ancestor, to whom, almost a century before, it had been granted by King Edward VI. on the first dissolution of the Collegiate Church. The agreement between Humphrey Chetham and the Committee had even been drawn up and signed by several members, but on its being taken to another member, Mr. Thomas Birch, of Birch Hall, for his signature, that gentleman was pleased to endorse upon it certain conditions for Chetham's acceptance, which were thought to indicate distrust of his intentions, and which had the effect of defeating the project for a time.[2] The Will, however, directed the executors to make the purchase, if attainable on good terms, and it was effected accordingly in 1654.

[1] This portion of the Will is so incorrectly printed by Whatton as to be unintelligible. He seems to have copied the printed edition of 1791 without collation.

[2] Chetham MSS.

§. II.—The Merchant's Foundations under Trusteeship.

In the founder's Will twenty-four persons were named who were to be the first Feoffees or Trustees of the charity, and it was directed that when this number should, by death or otherwise, be reduced to twelve, they should elect other twelve "honest, able, and sufficient persons, inhabiting within twelve miles of ... Manchester," to complete their number. These Feoffees were incorporated by royal charter in November, 1665.

Incorporation of Chetham's Trustees.

Having obtained possession of "The College," the Feoffees removed thither the boys whom they had previously put out "to board" in the town, and set apart a portion of it for the reception of the Library. The selection of the books to be purchased, the Founder himself had confided to Johnson, Hollingworth, and Tildesley, being those of his Feoffees who were clergymen. On the 20th of March, 1662, Newcome diarises:—"This day y^e^ matter of y^e^ library was fully settled between y^e^ feoffees and y^e^ exequtors. .... a thing these many years in doeinge, and now done."[1] The first purchase of books had been made in August, 1655, and the expenditure of Chetham's original gift of £1000 was not fully accomplished until towards the end of 1663, when the Library possessed about 1450 volumes—chiefly works of Theology and History, some of which had been expressly imported from the Continent.[2] These first purchases included not

[1] *Diary, ut supra*, p. 69.

[2] It seems worth remark, that the Library does not possess a single book which was the Founder's; although in an "Inventorie of the Goods at Turton" (preserved amongst the Chetham papers) I have found this entry: "Books .... £20."

a few volumes of great intrinsic value, and now of extreme rarity, the prices paid for which contrast curiously (after due allowance is made for the difference in the value of money) with those which copies of the same books have sold for in our own day. Thus, Holland's *Heröologia*—which has fetched from 5 guineas up to nearly 27 guineas, according to condition—was bought for 14*s.*; Purchas' *Pilgrimes*—which has ranged from £15 up to £46—cost £3 15*s.*; Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*—sold in our day from £3 to £21—cost but 12*s.*; and his *Warwickshire*—which has brought, at auctions, from £9 to £18—27*s.* 6*d.* A multitude of similar instances might be cited. No donation to the Library is recorded until near the close of the century.

Appropriation of the Founder's Residue.

With respect to the proceeds and application of that "residue" of his personal estate which the Founder had directed to be bestowed in the augmentation of his Library, there is considerable difficulty in making a clear and accurate statement. Between Mr. Whatton's account (in the "Foundations of Manchester") and that given by the "Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities in England and Wales," in their Sixteenth Report, there are material discrepancies; and the "Chetham papers" which I have seen, do not enable me to reconcile these conflicting accounts. Mr. Whatton's statement runs thus:—"With respect to the residue of the Testator's property, they [the executors] took credit to themselves for the sum of £2556, as the value of an estate at Hammerton, and other places in the parish of Slaidburn, which they conveyed to the Trustees for the use of the Library; and they assigned to the Trustees by

the deed to which the account was annexed, in money and debts, the sum of £1,782 12*s.* 9*d.* as the remainder thereof."[1]

Statement of the Charity Commissioners on this point.

Thus, if this statement be correct, it would seem that the Library was entitled, in all, to the sum of £4338 12*s.* 9*d.* as the proceeds of the Testator's residue, over and above the sum of £1100 expressly bequeathed to it. In another part of the narrative Mr. Whatton says:—"The residue of the Testator's personal property, amounting to the sum of £1782 12*s.* 9*d.*, appears to have been laid out in the purchase of...[estates situate in the town and parish of Rochdale in Lancashire], in the years 1686 and 1691, though of this fact there are no particulars. The amount of the purchase-money paid for these estates was £1800. It is not stated from what source that money was derived, but the rents have always been carried to the account of the *Hospital*."[2]

The Charity Commissioners, on the other hand, thus report:—"The legacies for books and establishment of the Library were applied as directed by the Testator; but in the disposition of the residue of the personal estate, amounting to £2556, there appears to have been some misappropriation. A part of this sum was laid out in the Hammerton estate, in Yorkshire, and the remainder in the purchase of property in the parish of Rochdale, in Lancashire; and the rents of the former have been carried to the use of the Library, but of the latter to the account of the Hospital."[3]

[1] Whatton, in *Foundations of Manchester*, iii. 239.

[2] Whatton, *ut supra*, iii. 224.

[3] *Further Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry concerning Charities*, 24th June, 1826, as abridged in *An account of Public Charities in*

Both accounts, it will be seen, agree in the assertion —whether that assertion be correct or incorrect—that funds properly belonging to the Library have been misappropriated to the Hospital, but they differ materially as to the actual amount of the residue; and I am bound to admit that it is not only possible but probable that both might be in error as to any direct *misappropriation* at all. But if this be so, gross blame attaches to those who suffered the Royal Commissioners to be misled by evidence which was inaccurate, or who failed to supply them with evidence both accurate and ample. The Charity Report, it may be added, was first published in 1826, and Mr. Whatton's work nearly two years later.

Growth of the Library.

In the year 1693, the Library had increased by successive purchases (the whole cost of which, from the commencement, had then amounted to £2469), to 3543

England and Wales, 1828. p. 671. Comp. *Report of Select Committee on Public Libraries.—Evidence of T. Jones, Esq., B.A.*:—"1165.—Q. 'Did the Charity Commissioners make any report on Chetham's Library? A. Yes, they did; and a mistake has arisen from their Report that the money has been misdirected.' ["To the answer I gave in my evidence, I desire to add, that their Report originated the apprehension which is entertained in this neighbourhood, that the money left for the augmentation of the Library was employed for a different purpose, viz., for the benefit of the Hospital; that the documents which were laid before the Commissioners show that of the £1782, the residue of the Testator's property, due to the Library,—but of the disposal of which the commissioners announce that they could find no statement,—about £1100 were never received, but continued to the end *bad debts*; and that they also indicate the source from whence the money was derived which enabled the Trustees to purchase two estates, the consideration for which amounted to £1800, and the rents of which, *without any injury being done to the Library*, have always been carried to the account of the Hospital."] It is surely to be regretted that a mis-statement made by a Royal Commission of Inquiry should remain for more than *twenty years* uncorrected, and should be still unexplained.

volumes. About that date, the Rev. John Prestwich appears as a donor of "books to the value of £50 and upwards." Soon afterwards, Dr. William Stratford gave "books to the number of 300 and upwards;" but the whole number of volumes stated to have been presented, up to the year 1842, is only about 450, or little more than two volumes a year on the average. It was fortunate that Chetham's noble benefaction was not entirely dependent for its growth on the efficacy of his example.

Donations to the Library.

Until the year 1743 there is an uninterrupted register of purchases. In that year their total amount had reached £5127 19*s.* 9*d.*; so that, exclusive of the original outlay, there had been devoted to the acquisition of books upwards of £50 a year on the average, and the money appears to have been very judiciously expended. About 1740, several fortunate sales seem to have occurred in the neighbourhood. At one of these, two productions of the press of Wynkyn de Worde were purchased for five shillings and sixpence: namely, Fisher's *Exposycion of the VII penytentyal Psalmes* (1508), and the *Nova Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ* (1516). The former is so rare that no sale of it is recorded by Lowndes. The latter has fetched from £5 to £7. The excessively rare work of Father Parsons, *The Three Conversions of England*, cost fifteen shillings, and his *Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown of England*, —one shilling. Tyndal's *Practyse of Prelates* was bought for one shilling and sixpence, and his *Brief Declaration of the Sacrament*, for one shilling and sevenpence. The curious English version of Erasmus' *Enchiridion Militis*

Cheapness of choice books a century ago.

Christiani (1544) costs but sixpence; and the acme of cheapness seems to be attained in the purchase of Sir Thomas Smyth's Treatise *De Republica Anglorum*, Raleigh's *Prerogatives of Parliaments*, and Burton's *Protestation protested*, at the price of fourpence for the three.[1]

Of course, by way of set-off, we may find instances of books purchased (in the ordinary market) at prices far beyond their present value; as, for example, *L'Antiquité Expliquée*, of Montfaucon (best edition and with the supplement), which cost £30—a sum that would now more than purchase two such copies. The preponderance, however, is very much on the side of "good bargains."

The comparative progress and the diversified financial history of the two branches of this noble Charity, will be best and most succinctly exhibited if we trace it under the four distinct heads of—(1) Endowment; (2) Gross Income; (3) Outgoings; (4) Net Income.

Comparison as to the progress and income of the Library with those of the School.

First, as to Endowment: The Hospital was endowed with a sum of £7000 (or with rent-charges deemed equivalent thereto), in addition to £500 for the purchase of a building. The Library was endowed with the sum of £1000 (to be at once expended in books), and with the further proceeds of the Testator's residue —amounting, in the gross, if we are to take the testimony of the historian of the *Foundations of Manchester* (published subsequently to the investigations of Lord Brougham's Charity Commission), to no less a sum than £4338 12*s.* 9*d.*, in addition to £100 for the pur-

[1] *MS. Register of Purchases*, preserved among the Chetham MSS.

chase or adaptation of a building. In rouud numbers, therefore, the endowment of the Library was to the endowment of the Hospital as 43 is to 70, or somewhat more than *three-fifths*.

Secondly, as to the Gross Income: The Testator's will contains no directions as to the investment of the proceeds of his residue, but simply directs that they "shall be bestowed by my executors in books...for the further augmentation of the said Library," leaving the manner of such augmentation to their discretion, and that of his three Feoffees above-named. Accordingly, the deed by which the Hammerton Estate was conveyed to the Feoffees, in March, 1661, recites:—"That upon serious debate and consideration, it was conceived that it would be more beneficial for the advancement of the said Library that the sum of £2600 [which "they had *then* remaining in their hands"] should be laid out in the purchase of some lands or tenements, to the intent that the yearly rents and profits of the same should be employed, as well for the buying of books, yearly or otherwise, as also for the repairing, fitting, and ordering of the said Library, and the buildings thereto belonging, than to lay out the residue of the said personal estate at once."

The estate thus purchased, cost, as we have already seen, £2556, and, in 1811, it produced £715 per annum. It now produces but £500 per annum.

The Rochdale Estate, which both Mr. Whatton, and the Commissioners for Inquiry into Charities, as we have seen, assert (whether correctly or incorrectly) to have been purchased with part of the Testator's *residue*

—whatever the amount of that residue may have been —appears to produce £471 16*s.* 11*d.* per annum, notwithstanding the granting of building leases for 999 years, and the absolute sale and alienation of portions of this estate for sums amounting, in the aggregate, to £6875, which sum has been invested in stock, and produces an annual dividend of £272. The total present income of the Rochdale Estate is, therefore, £743 16*s* 11*d.*, the whole of which is carried, not to the account of the Library, but to the account of the *Hospital.*

The only income at present accruing to the Library, other than that of the Hammerton Estate, is the dividend of a sum of £1050, Three-and-a-Quarter per cents (in lieu of £1000 late Navy Five per cents), purchased in 1820, out of a balance which had accrued from the surplus of income beyond expenditure. The present income of the Library is, therefore, £534 3*s.* 6*d.* What, on the other hand, is the present income of the Hospital? It is thus stated by Mr. Whatton:—[1]

Rents of the Sutton Estate...	£1696	12	0
„ „ Rochdale Estate „	471	16	11
Ordsall Rent Charge..... „	102	0	0
Dividends on Stock..... „	337	15	0
Total...	£2608	3	11

It follows, therefore, that the income of the Library, as compared with the income of the Hospital, is as 53 to 260, or about *one-fifth.*

The Library funds unfortunate in their investment.

Apart altogether from the question of the alleged *diversion* of a part of the residue from the Library to the Hospital, it will be observed, that, by some mischance

[1] *Ut supra,* iii, 234.

or other, all the good fortune of a *profitable* investment has lighted upon the latter, and all the bad fortune of an *unprofitable* one, upon the former. The £1800 invested at Rochdale, for the Hospital, brings £740 a year; the £2500 invested at Hammerton, for the Library, brings £500 a year.

Again, the Sutton estate in Derbyshire, belonging to the Hospital (which at the time of its purchase is said to have produced about £350 a-year), brought in, between 1811 and 1820, £1100 a-year. It produced, at the date of the Commissioners' Report, and, at present, I believe, produces, £1696 a year. The Hammerton estate, belonging to the Library, produced, between 1811 and 1820, £715 a year. It now produces £500 a year. The one, during forty years, has *increased* fifty per cent; the other, during the same period, has *decreased* nearly thirty-three per cent.

Thirdly, as to the Outgoings, or what may be termed "dead weight" charges upon the income: Of these, the principal items are stated to be for the repairs of the College building, and of the farmsteads on the estate in Yorkshire; and for the expenses of . . . . . the Feoffees and Officers on the days of meeting. As to the repairs of the building itself, Mr. Whatton says:—"Of these expenses two-thirds were charged previously to 1818 to the account of the Hospital, and one-third to the account of the Library. They are now divided equally, the whole sum being carried, in the first instance, to the account of the Hospital, and credit taken for the receipt of one moiety thereof as from the Library." After stating that from 1818 to 1825 inclusive (eight years)

these ordinary repairs had cost £1380 17*s.* 9*d.*, he adds, "In 1822 there was erected at the Hospital a new wash-house and laundry, the cost of which was £411 4*s.* 6*d.*, one moiety of which was charged to the Library account in the same manner as the ordinary repairs.[1]

Of the cost of repairs to the farm buildings at Hammerton, an account was given in evidence before the Commons' Committee on Public Libraries in 1849, by which it appears that these repairs, together with the charge for some heating-apparatus, &c., for the Library itself, amounted in the five preceding years to £1245, or £249 a-year on the average. This sum appears to include the moiety for repairs to the College building (if any) during that period. Subsequently a very large expenditure has been incurred in the thorough repair and restoration of the building, which is now nearly completed.

There are, in addition to the foregoing, two other fixed charges against the Library towards the salaries of the steward and solicitor, amounting to £16 10*s.* a-year.

Fourthly, as to the Net Income available for the support and increase of the Library: It has been seen that the various charges on the income assigned to the Library, which have had to be met before a shilling has been available for its proper service, have, for a long series of years, amounted, at the least, to £290 a-year; there remained, therefore, barely £249 to defray the Librarian's salary, &c., to pay for bookbinding and other incidental expenses; to keep up the "works in progress" and periodical publications, already in the Library, and

to purchase new books. That poverty of the Library, in respect of recent literature, which I shall have in the next section to describe, is obviously, under such circumstances, no subject of surprise; and it is quite as natural that we should find a very large number of the old books in decayed and tattered bindings. Although the Librarian has the entire charge and care of a collection of upwards of 18,000 volumes, he has, until recently, had no assistance of any kind, save that of an occasional schoolboy or two. It appears, in short, that as respects all the appliances necessary for conservation or increase, the Library is scarcely a whit better provided than it was a century ago.

Poverty of the Chetham Library in recent literature.

Fortunately for the reputation of the Feoffees, the condition of the Hospital is very different. Its revenues are flourishing. The character of the School has been improved. The number of the boys maintained and educated, has been successively increased from forty to sixty, from sixty to eighty, and within the last few years, from eighty to one hundred. Had the Library but kept pace with the School, there would be small cause for dissatisfaction with the administration of Chetham's trust.

§ III.—Character and Contents of the Chetham Library.

Early in the eighteenth century, the Chetham Library was visited by several eminent men, some of whom have recorded their visits in their published works. Amongst the latter are De Foe; Dr. Stukeley, the antiquarian; and that "curiosity of literature" who is known as

BOOK III. Chapter XI. The Chetham Library of Manchester.

George Psalmanazar. De Foe writes:—"By the bounty of the said Founder is also erected a very fair and spacious Library, already furnished with a competent stock of choice and valuable books, to the number of near 4000, and daily increasing with the income of £116 per annum."[1]

De Foe's visit to the Chetham Library.

Dr. Stukely's notice is curt and characteristic. "The College," he says, "founded by *Chetham, a tradesman*, has a good Library.[2]

Psalmanazar is better worth quoting than either of the preceding:—"At Manchester I had, moreover, the opportunity of frequently visiting a noble Library, belonging to Chetham College, and well furnished with all manner of books that could be purchased for money: for it is endowed with £100 per annum to supply it with new ones as they come out; and yet, when I was there, they had about £400 in bank, and scarce knew how to lay it out, insomuch that they were thinking of purchasing some of the most curious MSS. This, I could not but observe to them, was ill-judged, considering the situation of it among tradesmen, who have neither taste nor knowledge for such valuable pieces ... and rather advised them to lay out that income in purchasing such valuable modern books as are yearly published, both in England and out of it; and which I thought would better answer the intention of the noble donor. They seemed to acquiesce in what I said, but whether they followed my advice or not, I never enquired since."[3]

Psalmanazar's visit and advice as to purchases.

[1] *Journey through Great Britain* (2d edition, 1738) iii, 177.

[2] *Itinerarium Curiosum*, Centuria ii, 29.

[3] *Memoirs ... of George Psalmanazar* (1764), pp. 343-344. His visit took place in 1761.

Very fortunately the Feoffees and Librarians did *not* follow the advice of the Historian of Formosa. And hence it is that the Library possesses a collection of MSS., few in number, indeed, but of great value. The records of their acquisition are sparse and meagre,—whether from the fear of critical censure, or from any other cause,—so that the history of some of the most curious of them cannot now be traced. Some description of the most noteworthy will be hereafter attempted. But it must also be remarked that the purchases of printed books appear to be very irregularly entered, subsequently to the year 1743. Such entries as appear relate chiefly to the acquisition of costly and valuable works in Topography and Natural History, especially between the years 1778 and 1787. At this period, for example, it is recorded that £58 was given for Boydell's Shakespeare; £20 7*s.* for Martin's *Universal Conchologist*; £26 15*s.* for a set of Hogarth's Works; and £27 10*s.* for "100 drawings of birds by Mr. Abbott, of Savannah, in Georgia," afterwards bound into volumes.

Radcliffe's Catalogue of the Chetham Library.

In 1791 a catalogue[1] of the Library was prepared and published by the Rev. John Radcliffe, M.A, the then Librarian (afterwards, I believe, Rector of Limehouse, near London). This catalogue is arranged under the following five principal classes:

I. THEOLOGIA.
II. JURISPRUDENTIA.
III. HISTORIA.
IV. SCIENTIÆ ET ARTES.
V. LITERÆ HUMANIORES.

[1] *Bibliothecæ Chethamensis: sive Bibliothecæ publicæ Mancuniensis ab Humfredo Chetham fundatæ Catalogus.* 2 vols., 8vo. March, 1791-2.

Under this arrangement, the first class includes Canon Law, but not Ecclesiastical History. Politics and Commerce form a subdivision of History; and Philosophy is the first subdivision of Sciences and Arts.

The total number of separate entries in these two volumes is, of printed works, 6679, and of MSS., 44. But, as collections of several treatises bound together, and collections of tracts on any one subject—whatever the number of pieces, or of volumes—respectively appear only as single entries, that number does not represent the total of distinct printed works which the Library then contained. These appear to have amounted to about 7160, and the number of *volumes* to 11,497. The catalogue was, in some respects, carefully compiled, and contains many useful notes and references.

To this catalogue a supplement was published in 1826, by the Rev. William Parr Greswell (the author of the *Annals of Parisian Typography*, &c.), who was especially employed by the Feoffees in its compilation. Mr. Greswell included in his task the preparation of indexes to the preceding volumes, as well as to his own, but (for what reason it is hard to guess) printed the index of each volume separately. The total number of entries in the supplement is, of printed works, 1255, and of MSS., 51. The total number of volumes contained in the original catalogue and the supplement together, is 14,276, the classification of which may be given as follows:—

	Volumes.
I. THEOLOGY	3,261
II. HISTORY	4,075
III. JURISPRUDENCE . .	681
IV. SCIENCES AND ARTS	3,403
V. LITERATURE	2,856
Total	14,276.

In these days—the venerable folio and the handsome quarto having alike become almost as truly *extinct* as the mastodon, or the megatherium—to know the mere proportions of the several sizes in a Library is enough to afford a sort of rough sketch of the age and character of the books of which it is composed. It may, therefore, be worth while to state that of these 14,276 volumes, no less than 9843 are folios and quartos, and only 4433 octavos *et infra*.

If not from time immemorial, at all events since the days of Mr. Radcliffe (the Librarian who compiled the first two volumes of the above-mentioned catalogue, and who, wearied by a vain attempt to re-arrange the Library, returned to the old collocation of the books), the recesses, as well as the compartments of bookshelves on the opposite wall, have been distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, one letter being assigned to each side of a recess. These recesses are conventionally termed "Classes." The old arrangement ran thus:—

CLASSES: A & B. Biblia Sacra.
C. Concilia.
D & E. Patres et Scriptores Ecclesiastici.
F. Annotationes in Novum Testamentum.
G & H. Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum.
I & K. Dictionaria et Lexica.
Historia Naturalis, etc.

L. De Disciplinâ Ecclesiasticâ, etc.
M. Theologia Practica.
N. Theologia Polemica.
O. Historia Ecclesiastica.
P. Historia et Antiquitates.
Q. Historica Britannica.
R. Historia Gallica, Germanica, et Italica.
S. Historia, Geographia, et Inscriptiones.
T. Historia Græca et Romana, etc.
U. Philosophia: Mathematica.
W. Philosophia: Physica et Metaphysica.
X. Philosophia: Lexica et Grammatica.
Y. Philosophia: Mythologia et Critica.
Z. Classici Græci et Latini.
Aa. Historia Naturalis.
Bb. Medicina.
Cc. Jus Civile.
Dd. Jus Anglicanum.

Supplementary to these were certain cases, or wall-shelves, thus arranged:—

Ee & Ef. Medici et Botanici.
Gg. Lexica et Bibliothecæ.
Hh. Numismata et Itinera.
Ii. Historia Profana.
Kk. Historia et Antiquitates Britannicæ.
Ll. Historia et Antiquitates variarum Gentium.
Mm. Theologia Polemica et Practica.
Nn. Philologia Sacra.
Oo & Pp. Scriptores Ecclesiastici.
Qq. Libri Liturgici.

In lieu of this very unsatisfactory classification, the present Librarian has made some improvement by arranging the books thus:—

I. Bibles, Biblical Criticism, and Jewish Antiquities.
II. Interpreters (including the Fathers); works on the authenticity and credibility of the Bible, and Doctrinal Divinity.
III. Doctrinal, Controversial, and Practical Divinity (including the Fathers).
IV. Controversial Divinity and Ecclesiastical History (including the Councils).
V. Ecclesiastical History (including the Fathers).
VI. Liturgical and ritual books.
VII. Theology (continued).

VIII. The Schoolmen.
IX. Dogmatic and casuistic writers (including the Reformers).
X. Bibliography and Literary History.
XI. Catalogues of Libraries.
XII. Works of Philology, Literary History, Memoirs of Societies, Bibliographical Curiosities, and Illustrated works.
XIII. Metaphysical and Political works; the Topography and History of the counties of Lancaster and Chester.
XIV. Political works; Physical Science.
XV. Natural philosophy; Medicine..
XVI. Transactions and Memoirs of learned Societies, and foreign Academies, relating to Mathematics, Physics, Manufactures, and the Arts.
XVII. Topography, History, and Antiquities.
XVIII. History and Antiquities.
XIX. Classical Literature and Criticism.
XX. Polite Literature and Polygraphy.
XXI. Law.
XXII. Topography, History, Antiquities, and Public Records (including the Byzantine historians and other collections).
XXIII. Literary History and Reviews.

The weak point of this fine old Library lies in its almost total want of recent literature. Its old books are excellent, but they need to be better supplemented by new ones. The collection– which at one period was the best Public Library in England, those of the Metropolis and of the two Universities alone excepted—has (only for a time, I trust) dwindled into comparative insignificance, because it has kept no sort of pace with the growth of literature. From 1825 to 1845, only 1250 volumes *of any kind* were added to it, or but 60 volumes yearly, on the average, both by purchase and donations together.

By the exertions of the present learned and zealous Librarian, Mr. Thomas Jones, a marked improvement has been begun, but his task has been a difficult one. By dint of unwearied application to the principal publish-

ing societies of the United Kmgdom, and to many individual authors—more especially to such as are of the clergy of the Church of England—he has succeeded in obtaining, during nine years, 950 volumes by donation. Whilst, on the other hand, by earnestly pressing on the attention of the Feoffees the importance of completing *some* of the many valuable but imperfect works already in the Library, as well as of adding a few of the most indispensable recent works, he has obtained by purchase, during the same period, about 990 volumes, at a cost of £412. This, however, shows a yearly outlay on books (exclusive of that on the binding and repairing of old works) of but £45 a-year; whilst, almost at the very foundation of the Library, at least £50 a year (equal to a much larger sum of our present currency), if we may trust the statements of De Foe and Psalmanazar, was available for that purpose.

But whether those statements be in detail accurate or inaccurate;—whether we are to take them as extracts from the note-books of honest travellers, or to class them with the imaginary biographies of the one author, and the fabulous history of the other;—it has, at all events, been made perfectly clear that the growth and progress of the Library of our benefactor have kept no sort of pace with the growth and progress of his Hospital.

The plain fact is, that the Library has, in past times, been starved in order that its more fortunate foster-brother might the better thrive. Minds of all degrees can see the importance and value of a SCHOOL, especially if the children in it be tricked out in a conspicuous

livery, and plentifully be-ticketed and be-badged. But the worth of a LIBRARY is not so salient. The dead worthies, who in close serried ranks occupy its shelves —often in wrappings which savour but too strongly of the grave—are to some ears dumb, and to some eyes unlovely. Here, in a special sense, it is always true that the ear hears and the eyes see but what they bring. Were it otherwise, the contrast, in point of prosperity, between "Hospital" and "Library," whilst under the same management, would be a marvel.

The best chance of improvement in the condition and public usefulness of the Library lies in its severance altogether from the Hospital. And this, I believe, could be so effected as at once to carry out all the intentions of the Founder far more efficiently than they have been carried out hitherto; to exonerate the Trustees from a portion of their trust to which their resources have ceased to be adequate, and to confer a great and lasting benefit on the City of Manchester.

The means of improvement lie close at hand. Under the "Public Libraries Act," Manchester has for six years possessed a Free Public Library, supported by rate, the practical working of which will be fully narrated hereafter. But its bearing on the present topic may here be illustrated, in a sentence or two, by comparing its results with those of the older Library now in question.

The average daily number of readers, since the opening, in the Reference Department of the former Library, has exceeded two hundred and fifty. At the Chetham

BOOK III. Chapter XI. The Chetham Library of Manchester.

Library, the average daily number of readers, seven years ago, was twenty-five, it has now dwindled to less than ten. In brief, it may be said, that more use has been made of the books in the Free Library, within six years, than has been made of those in the Chetham Library within a Century; yet the first-named collection lost during those six years less than twenty volumes from its Lending-Department and none from its Reference Department, and the other has lost one hundred and fifty,[1] as stated in the evidence given by the present Librarian to the Public Libraries Committee of 1849.

If these facts could be placed before a resuscitated Humphrey Chetham,—shrewd, business-like, energetic, and beneficent, as we have seen that he was,—who can doubt the view he would take of them. If, moreover, we could tell him that those "Godly English books, such as Calvin's, Preston's, and Perkins' Works, and Comments or Annotations upon the Bible," which he directed to "be carefully chained upon desks, or fixed in other convenient places in the churches of Manchester and Bolton, and in the chapels of Gorton and Walmsley, FOR THE EDIFICATION OF THE COMMON PEOPLE," have almost entirely disappeared, not by wear or bad usage, but by the neglect and the cupidity of churchwardens,—long since in their graves,—can any one believe that he would hesitate a moment to transfer his Library to the keeping of the whole town, through its responsible authorities, and, by such transfer, to MULTIPLY TENFOLD its utility?

Wisdom of combining the Chetham Library with the City Library of Manchester.

[1] This number applies to the whole period of the Library's existence. None of the loss, I believe, has been sustained very recently.

Nor is this all. The same step which would relieve the books of their antique dust, and change their torn and rotting covers into sound and respectable bindings; which would complete many a valuable but now imperfect series of volumes, and fill up many a gap in every class, by adding to it the best recent works in the several departments of knowledge, would also enable the Feoffees to carry out efficiently that enlargement and improvement of the School, or "Hospital," which they and their predecessors have honourably begun. It would not only afford them the means of at least trebling the original number of the boys to be maintained and educated (already, as we have seen, more than doubled by successive augmentations), but, which is of much greater importance, it would enable them to improve the character of the education afforded, and thus to achieve far more in that good work of preparing boys of humble, but respectable parentage, to become honest, industrious, and prosperous citizens, which the Founder had so much at heart.

Advantages of a Union between the Chetham and City Libraries.

Obviously an Act of Parliament would be needed to effect any such separation of the Chetham Library from the Chetham Hospital, as is here suggested. But that the Corporation of Manchester, were such a proposal submitted to it, would be willing to join the Feoffees in obtaining such an Act, and would undertake to maintain the Library for the free and perpetual use of the public, either in connection with the Library already belonging to the City, or separately (if that were deemed preferable), can, I think, be a matter of no sort of doubt to those who are conversant with the manner in which

that Corporation has hitherto discharged its public trusts. The Feoffees might be amply represented in a joint Committee of management. The advantage to all classes of the citizens which would result from the proposed transfer, would fully justify Parliament in empowering the Feoffees to devote all their funds to the support of their School, should that step, on deliberate consideration, appear to be expedient. The Chetham books might be preserved intact, as a collection, and yet for all useful purposes be incorporated with the existing Free Library, and might thus remain a public and perpetual memorial of the Founder. The fine old building—the preservation of which, I for one would not, on any consideration, consent to imperil—would become wholly available for the uses of the School, which is at present much in want, but entirely without prospect, of increased accommodation. Manchester would possess both a better "Chetham Hospital," and a better "Chetham Library," than it has at present; and thus the wishes and intentions of its liberal benefactor would be more efficiently realized than they ever can be under the arrangements which now obtain.

It may, however, be locally objected that the Chetham Library itself is scarcely worth the trouble and cost proposed to be incurred, since it is so generally said to consist, for the most part, of "old Theology." The answer to this objection—waiving altogether the very doubtful appreciation it seems to involve of the real value of the "old Theology" referred to—is that the popular notion on this head is but a popular mistake.

General character of the Chetham Library.

Of the whole number of printed volumes—more than 18,000—which the Library now contains, upwards of 5000 are historical; nearly 4000 relate to the Sciences and Arts, and almost as many to the class Literature, including under that head collective and encyclopædical works. The number of volumes in the class Theology is about 4000, and includes a noble series of editions of the Bible, and of commentaries, and other biblical apparatus. The historical section of the Library includes a very fine series of the Chroniclers and older historians of Continental Europe, especially when these have been brought together into national collections, as, for example, those of Muratori, for Italy; of Bouquet and his successors, for France; of Langebeck, for Denmark and Iceland; and of Struve, Freher, Wegelin, Eccard, Offelius, Schilter, Pez, and others, for Germany, and the neighbouring countries. It also possesses a fine series of illustrated books in various departments, especially in the Fine Arts, in Natural History, and in Archæology. The *Incunabula* are not numerous, but there are many books both curious and choice of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in almost all sections of literature.

Of collections of TRACTS, the most remarkable is one on the Romanist Controversy of the time of James II., extending to 416 pieces, and containing a considerable number not included in Peck's well-known catalogue. Attached to the collection is a copy of this catalogue, with copious MS. additions by Thyer (the editor of Butler's Remains), and by the present Librarian.

There is also a small but extremely curious collection on the "Essentialist" Controversy of 1717-22, to the anonymous tracts in which Dr. Deacon (the non-juring "Bishop" of Manchester of that day, who gave them to the Library) has attached the writers' names; and also a volume which contains some very rare tracts of Christopher Angell ("a Grecian, who tasted of many stripes and torments, inflicted by the Turks for the faith which he had in Christ Jesus"), of W. Roe, of Reuter, of Marc Antonio de Dominis (Archbishop of Spalatro), and others, on an earlier phase of the Popish conflict than that just referred to.

§ IV.—Some Account of the Chetham Collection of Manuscripts.

The Manuscripts.

The Manuscript collection is a most valuable, though little known, portion of the Chetham Library. It comprises only 137 volumes, exclusive of the "Chetham Papers" (which are kept in the "Archives," and are yet unbound), but there is scarcely a volume that has not its intrinsic and distinctive worth. Thirty-one of these MS. volumes are Oriental, and 106 European. The former are chiefly Arabic and Persian, and include a fine MS. of the famous heroic poem on the ancient History of Persia, called *Sháh Námeh*, by the great Persian poet, Ferdausi; and an epitome (also in Persian) of the Hindu Epic entitled *Mahabharata*. There is, too, a splendidly illuminated Persian MS., containing many portraits and many curious pictures illustrative of the poetry as well as of the manners and customs of Persia. But these Oriental MSS. I am quite incompetent to describe.

The European MSS. may be classed thus:

(I.) LIBRARY COLLECTION.

(1.) The General Collection of Manuscripts.

	No. of Volumes.
1. Historical MSS.	35
2. Genealogical and Heraldic MSS.	12
3. MSS. relating to taxation in Lancashire and Cheshire	4
4. Theological and Ethical MSS.	24
5. Scientific MSS. (including several on medical subjects)	11
6. Common-Place Books, and other *Collections* on various subjects	9
7. Poetical MSS.	9
8. MSS. relating to the Library itself	2
Total	106

(II.) CHETHAM PAPERS.

(2.) The Chetham Papers.

	No. of Documents.
1. Inventories of Chetham's personal estate; Schedules of debts owing to him, accounts relating to trade, bonds, receipts, &c., from 1616 to 1650	56
2. Letters to Chetham, chiefly relating to mortgages and matters of trade. 1629 to 1650	28
3. Letters of News, and copies of State Papers, &c., enclosed in them. 1628 to 1648	10
4. Original writ for Ship-Money; Correspondence and accounts relating to the collection of Ship-Money and to the office of Sheriff. 1634 to 1639	45
5. Correspondence relative to the prosecution of Dr. R. Murray, Warden of Manchester, and C. Forward	133

	No. of Documents.
Transfer . .	133
to the new charter for the Collegiate Church; with Copies of Charters, Petitions, &c. 1634 to 1635	7
6. Letters and Papers relative to the Collection of Money for the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. 1634 to 1635. . .	10
7. Correspondence relative to Chetham's armorial bearings. 1635	7
8. Letters and Accounts relating to the collection of Subsidies. 1641 to 1642 . . .	32
9. Further Letters and Accounts relating to Chetham's appointment, in 1643, as Treasurer of Lancashire; Correspondence with Fairfax and other Parliamentary Commanders and Committees on the support of the Army, &c. 1643 to 1648 . . .	26
10. Accounts for "Charges laid out for the Wars." 1642 to 1646	24
11. Letters in relation to the purchase of "The College." 1649 to 1660.	2
Total . . .	260

The Historical Manuscripts in the Library include a valuable fourteenth century copy (No. 6712) of the *Flores Historiarum*, compiled by Matthew of Westminster, with a continuation to the year 1326. This manuscript was formerly the property of the Library of Westminster Abbey, as appears by its inscription, "Liber Ecclesiæ S. Petri Westmonasterii," and was presented by Nicholas Higginbotham, of Stockport, in

1657.[1] There are also manuscripts of Higden's *Policronicon*, in English (No. 8037)—apparently of the fifteenth century; of the *Chronycle of Scotland* (6708), by Robert Lindsay; (Sir Walter Scott's "Honest Pitscotie")[2] of the *Records of Dunkeld* (6693), from 1500 to 1649 (better known by the title of Bishop Guthry's *Memoirs*);—a copy, stated to differ from the printed one, of "A view of the state and condition of Ireland," from 1640 to 1652 (No. 6701), which appears to have been used (without acknowledgement) by Borlase in the compilation of his *History of the Irish Rebellion*; and an unpublished continuation (6692) by Digby Cotes, of his translation of the *Bibliothèque des auteurs Ecclésiastiques* of Ellies Dupin, to which the translator has prefixed a very elaborate account (also unpublished) of Dupin's life and works; a *Relatione del viaggio fatto dal Signor Girolamo Lando, Ambasciatore della Ser'ma Republica di Venetia in Inghilterra* (6706); and an original MS. by Henry Knyvett (6703), entitled *Project for the defence of England against foreign invasions*, addressed to Queen Elizabeth in 1596.

The two last-named MSS. are especially curious and valuable. The narrative of Lando enables us to fill up

[1] This MS. is much injured, apparently by damp. But, besides its beautiful illuminations, it has historical worth for additions to the text and various readings. It does not appear, however, that it has yet been collated. The late Mr. Rodd said, that if it were in the market he would gladly give £100 for it.

[2] This Lindsay MS. (which was presented to the Library by Mr. Wm. Stirling, of Glasgow) is stated, in the *Bibliotheca Chethamensis*, to be the *original*. Lord Lindsay, however (who once purposed to re-edit the Chronicle for the Bannatyne Club), assured the present Librarian that this assertion is erroneous. The original he believes to be lost, and the best MS. he states to be that belonging to Captain Wemyss, of Wemyss Castle.

a gap in those "Relations" of Venetian ambassadors to England, which were drawn up by way of report to the Venetian Government, in accordance with the usual and politic practice of that State. This relation is brief, and begins with the date of Oct., 1619. In the best account of the Venetian embassies to England—that prefixed to Mrs. Sneyd's translation of the earliest narrative of this kind known to exist (printed for the Camden Society)—Lando is entered as ambassador from 1620 to 1622, with the remark, "No relation known."[1] Of Henry Knyvett, the writer of the "Project for the defence of England," very little is recorded. Queen Elizabeth, however, mentions him with commendation in her letter to Lord Grey of Wilton, on the 14th April, 1560,[2] as one of those "trusty and faithful servants," who had earned her "comfortable thanks for their service," at the siege of Leith, calling him "Knevet, of whose hurt we be very sorry." The special interest of this MS. lies in the writer's clear and vigorous appreciation of the advantages which would result from a complete and accurate Census of the Population,—advantages which some of the North American States, by the wisdom of their rulers, enjoyed early in the eighteenth, but which England had to wait for until the beginning of the nineteenth, century. Knyvett's chief object was (of course) a military one, but he seems to have been by no means insensible to some of the other uses to which a "general muster," as he calls it, might be

Knyvett's recommendation of a Census of Population, addressed to Q. Elizabeth.

[1] Anonymous *Relation of the island of England*, p. 20.

[2] Hayne's *State Papers*, p. 289.

turned. He thus describes the experiment he had tried in his own locality—Charlton, in Wiltshire:

"By virtue of my precepts to the Constable of the Hundreds of the Division, where I dwell, in Wiltshire (the least of six), containing four little Hundreds, the names of all the people, both young and old, together with the number of houses... within the circuit thereof inhabiting and being, were within three or four days, without any other muster or trouble to the people, brought unto me, whereof I have made a book herewith to be showed unto your Majesty, if it please you to behold it; containing 3698 young striplings, under the age of 18 years, 3676 able men for service from 18 to 50, and 1316 old men above 50.... Notwithstanding," he adds, "such former musters as to good purpose have already been taken (which out of good experience I know are weakly performed and imperfectly left), I hold it very necessary that yet once again a general muster be more exactly made throughout your Majestie's dominions; ... of which musters and enrollments I would have perfect books made for every the said several divisions, according to the form and manner of one which I have made for the division wherein I dwell, and serve your Majesty."

This MS. appears to be the copy actually presented to the Queen. It is bound in red velvet, the capital letters are illuminated, and the penmanship is of singular beauty.

The oldest of the "Miscellanies," or as they would now be called, "Common Place Books" (No. 8009), supposed to be of the fifteenth century, and chiefly devoted

to early English poetry, contains also a curious historical MS. in English (but perhaps a translation), minutely relating the famous interview between Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and the Emperor Frederic III., which took place at Treves, in October, 1473, and the abrupt breaking up of which, whilst it precipitated the measures that brought the rash Duke to his fall, did not prevent the aggrandisement of the House of Hapsburgh, by the rich inheritance of Mary of Burgundy. The narrator of the interview was evidently an ecclesiastic, and an eye-witness, and addresses his chronicle, "To my lady of Comynes, the best and dearest of my spiritual daughters," &c.

Local MSS.

The Historical and Genealogical MSS. which relate to Lancashire and Cheshire, are both choice and numerous. They include: 1. Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis; or an history of the towne of Manchester*, written in the beginning of the Civil Wars (6700); 2. Kuerden's Collections for an intended *History of Lancashire* (2 vols., 6702), full of information, but entirely undigested, and written in an execrable hand—but for which they would probably have been still more extensively used than they were by Mr. Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*. 3. The *Antiquities of Cheshire* (8043), better known as the *Adlington MS.*, and believed to have been compiled by Thomas Leyghe, of Adlington Hall, in the time of James I. 4. A very full and curious *Minute Book of the Meetings of the Manchester Presbytery* (8044), from the year 1646 to 1660. 5. A *Visitation of Lancaster*, made in the year 1567 (6719). 6. A collection of *Lancashire Pedigrees* (8017), made by that accomplished and indefatigable antiquary

and draughtsman, the late Thomas Barritt, of Manchester, and enriched with copious additions and notes by the late Earl of Derby (to whom the volume had been lent by Barritt), as well as with numerous portraits, emblasonments, and "tricks" of arms, rubbings from monumental brasses, impressions of ancient seals, drawings and prints of old buildings, and many historical and biographical memoranda. 7. Six volumes, chiefly containing the armorial bearings of Lancashire and Cheshire families, and drawings of ancient castles, halls, and other buildings, and remains of antiquity, also by Barritt, and copiously illustrated by his notes and extracts. 8. A transcript of a very ancient *Customary and Rental of the Manor of Ashton-under Lyne* (8027), formerly belonging to Sir Ralph Ashton, of Middleton, with notes by Barritt; and three volumes (8030, 8033, 8036) of transcripts from Lancashire documents, partly MS. and partly printed in rare books, preserved in the Record Office and in the British Museum. 9. A transcript of the "*Life of Adam Martindale* (8044), the original of which is amongst the Birch MSS. in the British Museum. 10. Three *Taxation Rolls*, and two *Books of Rates* for Lancashire, all of the seventeenth century; and 11. the original *Minute Books of Manchester Sunday Schools*, from 1784 to 1839.

Amongst the Theological MSS. the following appear to merit special mention:—

Theological MSS.

1. A New Testament (6723) of the later Wycliffe version, with the usual Prologues; written about 1430, and presented to the Library by the Rev. John Clayton, M.A., in 1732. 2. A Bible, of the Latin Vulgate, most beauti-

fully written and illuminated, early in the fifteenth century (2 vols. 6689). 3. A Hebrew Pentateuch, of good penmanship, but of recent date, on three rolls. 4. A Roman Missal (8067) with an almanack, containing four large, and sixteen small, paintings of exceeding beauty. 5. A Roman Psalter with the Gregorian chants,—an ancient illuminated MS. from the Monastery at Godstow. 6. *S. Augustini Opera quædam* (6682), a fine but imperfect MS. of the fourteenth century;—and, 7. an extensive series of theological Common-Place books, and of controversial treatises (partly original) by two former Librarians—the Rev. Nath. Banne, M.A., and Robert Thyer, the well-known editor of Butler and of Milton.

To this class, by subject, but to that of Poetical MSS. by form, belongs a fourteenth century copy of that curious specimen of early English rhyme, *The Prick of Conscience*, by Richard Rolle, better known as the Hermit of Hampole—a precursor of Wycliffe both as a Church reformer, and as a translator of the Scriptures. Whether Warton be right or wrong in his depreciation of Hampole as a poet, it is certain that this book (like his other treatises in English) has great value for the philologist. Should the poem, on this account, ever be reprinted, the Chetham MS., although imperfect, will deserve collation.

Poetical MSS.

The MS. Miscellany, also written in the fourteenth century (numbered 8009,)—already mentioned for an historical tract which it contains—comprises several early English poems and romances of excessive rarity.

Amongst these are an unique MS. of *Torrente of Portyngale* (printed a few years ago by Mr. Halliwell); *Lives of St. Anne, St. Catharine, and St. Dorothea*; an English version of the *Distiches of Cato*; several poems relating to the Blessed Virgin; and an early copy of that most curious tract entitled *A Boke of Kervyng* [carving], *and Nortur* [nourishment], which begins thus:—

> "*In nom. patris*, God kep me *t. filii* for cherite,
> *Et spiriti sà* where I be both by land and be see,
> An owsser [usher] I am, as ye may se,
> To a prynce ryall of hi degree."

This "usher to a royal prince" dilates, at great length, on all the arrangements for the service of the table, and on the respective merits of all kinds of food. The following stanza may serve as a specimen:—

> "Butter is an holsom mete firste and laste,
> Ffor he wyll helpe poyson away to caste.
> Also he norisheth a man to his taste [?]
> And with bred he will kepe his mowith fast."

The volume also contains copies of the metrical romances, *Bevis of Hampton* (142 pages), and *Ipomadon* (288 pages), and one or two minor pieces.[1]

Passing over many Poetical MSS.—by no means unworthy of notice, but the description of which would occupy too much space—I come to one (8012) of the time of James I., of high interest to the lovers of our noble and heart-stirring Elizabethan poetry. This also belonged to Dr. Farmer, and, like the former, contains

[1] This volume was purchased for 14 guineas, at the sale of the celebrated Library of Dr. Richard Farmer, who had recorded upon the fly-leaf his purchase of it at Dr. Monro's sale, for £29, "before the present binding." The loss of the worthy Doctor's executors, on this item, was amply compensated for on most of the others, as I shall have occasion to show in a subsequent chapter.

several historical tracts as well as poems. The bulk of the poetical portion of the volume consists of songs, sonnets, epitaphs, and epigrams; and also of an extensive collection of rhymed psalms. The hand-writings are various, and apparently of very different dates. One of the pieces is a caustic answer, evidently in a hand of the time, to the celebrated poem, called *The Lie*, and has gone far to fix its authorship on Raleigh, by showing that it was assigned to him in his life-time; another is entitled, *Sir Philip Sydney lying on his death-bed*, and appears never to have been published entire." As it may possibly throw some light on a point connected with that famous death-bed, which has often excited curiosity and speculation, I quote it at length—first prefixing a few sentences, from the successive biographers of Sydney, which bear on the subject:—

1. FULKE GREVILLE (the "Servant of Queen Elizabeth, Counsellor of King James, and friend of Sir Philip Sydney"), [about 1600]:—... "Afterwards he called for musick, especially that song which himself had intitled *La cuisse rompue*, partly (as I conceive by the name) to show that the glory of mortal flesh was shaken in him, and by that *musick* itself to fashion and enfranchise his heavenly soul into that everlasting harmony of angels whereof these concords were a kind of terrestrial echo."[1]

(2.) ZOUCH [1808]. "'An ode,' which was composed by Sir Philip Sydney, 'on the nature of his wound,' discovered a mind perfectly serene and calm... it is deeply to be regretted that this ode is not now extant."[2]

[1] *Life of Sydney*, as quoted by Collins, *Sydney Papers*, i. 107.
[2] *Memoirs of Sydney*, 2d edition, 158.

(3.) GRAY [1829]. "Sir Philip Sydney ... was able to amuse his sick bed by composing 'An ode,' unfortunately now lost, 'on the nature of his wound,' which he caused to be sung to solemn music, as an entertainment that might soothe and divert his mind from his torments."[1]

(4.) BELTZ. [1840]. "Dr. Zouch has alluded to *three* compositions by the accomplished sufferer during his confinement at Arnheim. Of these 'An ode on the nature of his wound,' and a long 'Epistle to Belerius,' a Latin divine, both said to have been *of the purest Latinity*, are yet undiscovered. For the existence of the former I am not aware of any original authority."[2]

(5.) PEARS [1845]. "The ode which he composed on *La cuisse rompue*, and the music to which it was sung at his bedside, are things entirely at variance with modern notions of decency and seriousness, and yet they were quite in harmony with Sir Philip's character, and the age in which he lived."[3]

THE ODE.

"It is not I that dye: I do but leave an inne,
Where harboured was with me all filthy kind of sinne.
It is not that I dye: I do but now begin,
Into eternal joys by faith to enter in.
Why mourne ye then, my [servants,][4] friends, and kin?
Lament ye when I lose;—Why weepe ye when I win?

[1] *Life of Sydney (Miscellaneous writings)*, 56.

[2] *Last achievements, illness, and death, of Sir Philip Sydney*, in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii, pp. 27-37.

[3] *Life of Sydney*, prefixed to his *Correspondence with H. Languet*, lxxvi.

[4] "Parents" in the MS., but obviously a mistake of the transcriber. This blunder Mr. Hannah (the only writer, so far as I am aware, who has ever referred to this MS.) has declared to be "a plain proof of forgery." He adds "that an imperfect copy is found in Winstanley's *Poets*, 1684, p. 86," and that he therefore subjoins "a better version of them," but prints only the first six lines, supposing, I infer, that what follows, on the verso of the page, had no connection with it. *Poems by Sir Henry*

Weary of sinne, but not of sinninge,
Striving to gaine, but never winninge,
Seeking an end without begianinge,
Thus dŏe I lead my life.
My wayes are pitfalls, smoothly hidden,
My passions resty coults unridden,
My pastimes pleasures still forbidden,
My peace is inward strife.
My meditation, thoughts unholly,
My resolution yielding folly,
My conscience Sathan's monopolly,
Sinne doth my soule inherit.
My penitence doth ill persever,
My faithe is fraile, hope constant never,
Yet this my comfort is for ever,
God saves not man for merit."

Whether these verses be genuine or spurious; whether they be or be not the "Song" sung at Sydney's bedside at Arnheim; whether or not Lord Brooke's *meaning* has even been rightly understood by the subsequent biographers (which I believe to be very questionable),—there can, I think, be no sort of doubt that they are worthy of preservation, were it only for the circumstance that they were attributed to Sydney by a contemporary, and that their tone and sentiment are entirely in harmony with what we know of the solemn scene with which they claim to be connected?[1]

§ V.—The Halliwell Collection of Broadsides.

I have yet to mention the extensive collection of Ballads, Proclamations, and other "broadsides," which

Wotton ... and others (1846), p. 69. His conjecture, however, may be right, although his reason for it seems insufficient. A man's acquaintance with English poetry should be wide, indeed, to warrant him in speaking very confidently on the authorship of such verses as these, found in one of the innumerable MS. miscellanies of the sixteenth century.

[1] Compare, for example, the passage in Giffard's narrative (which Dr. Zouch has printed from *Cottonian MS. Vitellius*, c. 17, 382):—Among

was presented to the Chetham Library by Mr. Halliwell, in 1851. If there be truth in Selden's opinion that *more solid things do not show the complexion of the times so well as Ballads*, and the like ephemeral productions of the passing day, this collection must be deemed a most valuable acquisition to the Library. It consists of 1309 poetical broadsides, and other fugitive pieces, including a few in MS.; and 1091 broadsides in prose, many of which are of great curiosity. There is a printed catalogue of the whole, forming a goodly quarto.[1]

The Halliwell Ballads and other Broadsides.

But the worth both of the collection and of the catalogue is materially diminished by the utter absence in either of classification, chronological arrangement, or method of any kind whatever. Verse and Prose, Theology and Gallantry, Messages to Parliament and Epilogues to the last new Play, Elegies on deceased Patriots and "Lines on a chimney-sweep," are intermingled, pell-mell, and the despairing student is courteously informed in the Preface, that, "the Catalogue having been gradually compiled, and a classification found to be almost impracticable, it was *finally arranged* to print it without any regard either to arrangement of subject or chronological order." And, it should be added, "the arrangement" of the pieces and volumes themselves is precisely similar to that of the catalogue.

other things, he uttered this,—that "godly men, in time of extreme afflictions, did comfort themselves with the remembrance of their former life, in which they had glorified *God*. It is not so in me. I have no comfort that way. All things in my former life have been vain, vain, vain." (Zouch, *ubi supra*, 276.)

[1] *Catalogue of Proclamations, Broadsides, Ballads, and Poems*, presented to the Chetham Library by J. O. Halliwell, Esq., (London 1851).

Attempting to reduce this chaos into some kind of order, I find that the collection may be roughly classified thus:—

I. POETRY.

Ballads (including 124 on political subjects) and miscellaneous verses	1262
Complimentary Verses	33
Prologues and Epilogues	14
Total	1309

II. PROSE.

Political broadsides	653
Pieces relating to Trade and Commerce	420
Proclamations	192
Speeches and Messages to Parliament	55
Pieces relating to the Jacobite war in Ireland	72
Biographical broadsides	57
Theological broadsides	24
Scientific broadsides	12
Law Cases, Trials, &c.	148
Broadsides relating to Charities	27
Prospectuses of Books	62
Speeches, "Characters," and other pieces not relating to Politics	69
Total	1791

Unlike the Pepysian collection at Cambridge, or the Roxburgh collection, now in the British Museum, this series contains but few ballads, or other broadsides in "black letter." Its greatest curiosities are to be found amongst the pieces which relate to Politics and to Trade, and these would be trebled in value, were they more

accurately described in the catalogue. Such an entry, for example, as "336, The Church Scuffle," without the addition even of place or date, gives none of the information for which a reader may reasonably look; but if the four words ["*between Sacheverell and Whiston*"] were supplied, the title would become intelligible at a glance. Of what possible utility, again, is such an entry as "Ordo Curiæ," without a word to show to what court it relates, or a figure to indicate its date? On such points as these, no sort of rule appears to be followed —not even that of supplying no information at all. In one place the writer of the catalogue is at the pains to point out that the words "The King" mean "King Charles II.;" but in many others he leaves such titles as "Mr. S. O., his speech," or "A letter in vindication of L. N.," without any attempt to supply the words ["Speaker Onslow"] or ["Lord Nottingham"], which would render such good service to the reader, who may be laboriously wading through a chaotic mass of matter with which he has no concern, in hope to light on some of those useful biographic materials which collections of this kind are sure to contain. Thus, too, whilst the great majority of the pieces are without any date at all, the reader is now and then misled by such a note as that of "Time of Charles II.," which is appended to a broadside, relating to Sacheverell's famous trial, in 1710. These imperfections, however,—much as students must regret them,—in no wise impeach the gratitude which is Mr. Halliwell's unquestionable due for so valuable a gift.

Utter absence of order and of accurate description in this Collection.

There are also in this Library other collections worthy of some mention. But the present chapter has already far

exceeded the limits I proposed to myself in commencing it. I therefore pass these over without further notice. Enough has been said abundantly to justify the assertion that the Chetham Library is a noble monument of its Founder's munificence and public spirit, notwithstanding the hindrances to its proper development, which have arisen from its pinched means, and its unfortunate position as an appendage to the Hospital.

That the separation of the two institutions would conduce to the prosperity of *both*, I am deeply convinced. There is conclusive evidence that Chetham intended his Library to be for the benefit of the whole "Town of Manchester." In his day, that object was best attained by providing a learned Library "for scholars," and an English Library "for the edification of the common people" In our day, such a divarication in a provincial city has ceased to be either useful or practicable.

If further illustration were needed of the advantages to be expected from that incorporation of the two Libraries which I advocate, it will be afforded by the statement, that of works in those classes which have been particularized as indicating the *wealth* of the Chetham Library—invaluable as they are—and of Manuscripts, the City Library is, as yet, very deficient; whilst, with modern collections, and more recent authors, the Chetham Library is almost equally unprovided.

The former (as respects its Reference Department), with every passing year, is becoming more and more a Library FOR ALL CLASSES, both of readers and students; because, great as are its deficiencies in such books as have been mentioned, as well as in books of many other

classes, it possesses the foundation of a noble collection, as well of British History,[1] as of the literature of Commerce. The latter is becoming less and less useful, with every passing year, to *any* class, either of readers or of students; because, rich as are its stores, every month sees it falling more and more into the rear of the science and the literature of our own age.

The City Library is yet in its cradle; but many of its limbs are acquiring consistency and vigour. The Chetham Library can look back upon a long career of usefulness, to which many have borne testimony; but this usefulness is lessening, not increasing. Assuredly, if they be combined, the energetic vitality of the one will speedily invigorate and fructify the accumulated stores of the other.

The following is a list of the successive Librarians from the foundation of the Library:—

1653. Rev. Richard Johnson, M.A., Fellow of Christ's College, Manchester.
1675. William Harrison, B.A., *on death of Rich. Johnson.*
1680. Humphrey Livesay, *on removal of W. Harrison.*

[1] In the formation of the Manchester City Library, special attention has been paid to the general History of the British Empire; but its *Topography* is very meagrely supplied. Books in this class are, as is well known, very costly. Yet our Free Libraries ought eminently to aim at becoming *local storehouses*, in which every sort of information respecting at least the county to which they belong—whether historical, statistical, or merely descriptive—should become accessible to all inquirers. In this way that desire of our old antiquary, Bale, that every county should have its special Library, might be nobly realized. The Chetham Library has some fine collections of this kind, both printed and manuscript; but these are falling into just the same sort of *arrear* that I have noticed in other departments. In not a few cases, the books that would best elucidate the MSS., (and *vice versa*), must be sought elsewhere.

1684. Thomas Pendleton, *on death of Humphrey Livesay.*

1693. Rev. N. Banne, M.A. [afterwards Rector of St. Ann's, Manchester], *on death of Thom. Pendleton.*

1712. Rev. James Leicester, *on resignation of N. Banne.*

1719. Rev. Francis Hooper, B.A., *on death of J. Leicester.*

1726. Rev. Robert Oldfield, *on resignation of Francis Hooper.*

1732. Robert Thyer, B.A. [Editor of "Butler's Remains" and of other works], *on resignation of Robert Oldfield.*

1763. Rev. Robert Kenyon, *on resignation of Robert Thyer.*

1787. Rev. John Radcliffe, M.A., *on death of Robert Kenyon.*

1792. Rev. John Haddon Hindley, *on resignation of* John Radcliffe.

1804. Rev. Thomas Stone, *by infirmity of John Haddon Hindley.*

1812. Rev. John Taylor Allen, *on resignation of Thomas Stone.*

1821. Rev. Peter Horderne, *on resignation of John Taylor Allen.*

1834. Rev. George Dugard, M.A., *on resignation of Peter Horderne.*

1837. Rev. Campbell Grey Hulton, M.A., *on resignation of George Dugard.*

1845. Thomas Jones, B.A., *on resignation of Campbell Grey Hulton* [Present Chetham Librarian].

What the reader has now before him, on the history and condition of Chetham's Library, has been, in substance, heretofore published, and not, as I have reason to know, without some useful results. But the

minor though praiseworthy improvements which have been introduced, leave the main question precisely as it stood in 1854. The Chetham Library is still utterly without the means of keeping pace with the growth of literature. The Union which I advocate, is plainly for the advantage of the Community which Chetham intended to benefit, and the day will doubtless come when the Trustees will see that to effect it will be to do honour both to him and to themselves.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CATHEDRAL LIBRARIES OF ENGLAND.

Open your gates, ye everlasting Piles!
Types of the Spiritual Church which God has reared;
Not loth, we quit the newly-hallowed sward
And humble altar, 'mid your sumptuous aisles
To kneel, or thrid your intricate defiles,
Or down the nave to pace in motion slow;
Watching, with upward eye, the tall tower grow
And mount, at every step, with living wiles
Instinct,—to rouse the heart and lead the will
By a bright ladder to the world above.
Open your gates, ye monuments of Love
Divine! Thou, Lincoln, on thy Sovran hill!
Thou, stately York! And ye, whose splendours cheer,
Isis and Cam, to patient Science dear!

WORDSWORTH, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, pt. iii, 42.

THE English Cathedral Libraries are assuredly not private Libraries. In a proper, though limited, sense of the word, they may fairly be termed "public." In the great majority of instances, too, there now exists a liberal disposition on the part of the respective Chapters to make them, to use the words of the Dean of Rochester, "serviceable to others beside ourselves." In this respect, there has been a noticeable advance of late years, though for a long period, as I believe, it has been practicable to obtain access to most of them, for any purpose that could fairly be termed literary. Undoubt-

edly, there are still exceptions, but their number is inconsiderable. And here, as in other cases, it will sometimes be found, upon inquiry, that abuse of a privilege in one generation leads to exclusion from it in another.

But here, too, extremes meet. A caustic Edinburgh Reviewer has recently made us acquainted with the fact, that in the year 1852 the Library of one of our richest Cathedrals sustained serious loss, not from the carelessness or wantonness of unappreciating readers, but from the extreme assiduity of some neighbouring jackdaws, who had acquired an expensive taste for lining their nests with Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. One of the Minor Canons, it seems, more observant than his fellows, had frequently noticed these winged archæologists flying over his garden, with what looked like rolls of paper in their beaks, but could obtain no clue to the mystery until one of these rolls chanced to drop at his feet. On examining it, he had the agreeable surprise of discovering that it was a portion of an ancient volume in Anglo-Saxon.[1] The Library whence it came may certainly be described as much too accessible, but was evidently not suffering from excessive publicity.

A Cathedral Library, assiduously frequented by jackdaws, A. D. 1852.

The literary wealth of the Cathedral Libraries is both large and varied. Many of them include the remnants of collections of great antiquity. To several important bequests have been made, from early times down to the eighteenth century. The materials of National History which they contain, are not inconsiderable, notwithstanding Bishop Nicolson's summary dictum, that "our

Literary value of the Cathedral Libraries.

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, xcvii, 165 (Art. *Cathedral Reform*, Jan. 1853).

English Cathedrals have no great stores."[1] But no accurate estimate of this or of any other section of their contents can be formed, until systematic catalogues shall have been made of the whole of them.

Library of Canterbury Cathedral.

The Library of the venerable Cathedral of Canterbury contains a remnant of the monastic collections. Among the MSS. which have thus been preserved, are a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, in Latin; St. Augustine *De Verbis Domini*; the *Correctorium totius Bibliæ* of Greathead (or Grosteste), Bishop of Lincoln; and a volume, containing many tracts, logical, grammatical, and theological; many curious records and account-books of the monks, and a treatise *De prærogativis Archiepiscoporum Cantuar.*, written in the early part of the fourteenth century. The collection of Charters and Deeds is extensive,—those called *Chartæ antiquæ* amounting to between four and five thousand,—and it has a catalogue in manuscript. The MSS. and the printed books relating to Kentish Topography are both choice and numerous. Somner's collections are here preserved, and they, too, include transcripts of rare manuscripts relating to Kent, and to Canterbury more especially, as well as many Anglo-Saxon books.

This Library suffered much injury during the Civil Wars, and probably still more during the last apathetic century from careless guardianship. But of late years it has been rigidly watched, carefully repaired, and catalogued. The Dean and Chapter are able (according to Mr. Botfield) to expend about six hundred a-year on

[1] *English Historical Library*, Edit. of 1776, preface.

its maintenance and augmentation; and its general appearance reflects great credit upon them.

The collection of printed books is valuable and of varied contents. Divinity is, of course, the staple, but it is also rich in the older works on English History, and respectable in Classics.

Accessibility and maintenance fund of Canterbury Library.

The late Dean of Canterbury described it as "open to the clergy in general and other residents in the town, two days in the week."[1] It is placed in a fine old oratory, in which, could it be better warmed, it would be delightful to read. According to the Report of the Cathedral Commissioners (of 1854), the number of volumes is about 5000. Books, they add, may be borrowed by leave of the Dean and Chapter. According to ancient custom, the Archbishop at every visitation gives forty pounds for the purchase of books. Catalogues were printed in 1743 and in 1802. In his preface to the latter, Mr. Todd, its editor, describes the Library as "rich in manuscript materials relating to the civil and ecclesiastical history of the country, and to Saxon literature in general."[2]

Among individual works of special interest may be named: (1) a trophy of war in the form of a MS. of

[1] Dean of Canterbury, Lyall, 31. Jan. 1849 [*MS. Correspondence*].

[2] It was by a misconception that in the article "*Libraries*" in the eighth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (now passing through the press), I have contrasted this statement with the official Return to the inquiries of the Commissioners on the Public Records (1837, *Appendix to General Report*, p. 286). On more careful examination, I see that Dr. Spry, the writer of that Return, intended by the words,—"It is not believed that there is anything in the collection likely to be of the least public interest,"—to allude only to a supplementary collection then recently arranged.

Notice of some special rarities in this Library.

Cicero's Epistles, which the donor [?], Edward Witherpool, "found in the Lybrary off owre Ladye's Church in Bulleyn,..25 Sept. 1544," according to his note on the fly-leaf; (2) a Diary of the life of Isaac Casaubon, in his own hand *(Isaaci Casauboni Ephemerides)*, containing critical as well as autobiographical matter; (3) a *Registrum Monasterii S. Augustini* which Dr. Farmer had picked up at a London book-stall; and (4) a fine copy of the rare *Psalter* of Archbishop Parker, printed by John Daye.

The Biblical collection is considerable, but it does not appear to contain any earlier edition of our English Bible than Cranmer's, of November, 1540; and there are many good books in the section of Philology.[1]

Library of Westminster Abbey.

The fine Library of Westminster Abbey is stated by the Cathedral Commissioners to be "*accessible only to Masters of the School and to Minor Canons.*"[2] I will narrate its foundation in the words of Bishop Hacket, and the reader can then compare the purpose with the practice, and draw his own conclusions..... "To enlarge

Its foundation by Archbishop Williams.

the boundaries of learning," says the good Bishop, "Archbishop Williams [when Dean of Westminster, 1620-41] converted a waste room, situate in the east-side of the Cloisters into Plato's Portico—into a goodly Library, model'd it into decent shape, furnished it with desks and chains, accoutred it with all utensils, and stored it with a vast number of learned volumes: for

[1] Botfield, *Notes on the Cathedral Libraries* (1849), 5-48. *First Report of the Commissioners on Cathedral and Collegiate Churches* (1854), App. I.

[2] *First Report*, etc., *ubi supra*.

which use he lighted most fortunately upon the study of that learned gentleman, Mr. Baker of Highgate, who in a long and industrious life had collected into his own possession the best authors in all sciences, in their best editions, which, being bought at £500 (a cheap pennyworth for such precious ware), were removed into this storehouse. When he received thanks from all the professors of learning in and about London, far beyond his expectation, *because they had free admittance to suck honey from the flowers of such a garden*, as they wanted before, it compelled him to unlock his cabinet of jewels, and bring forth his choicest MSS. A right noble gift in all the books he gave to this *Serapeum*, but especially the parchments. Some good authors were conferred by other benefactors, but the richest fruit was shaken from the boughs of this one tree, which will keep green in an unfading memory in despite of the tempest of iniquity. As Pliny the younger wrote, in an epistle upon the death of his son, *quatenus nobis denegatur diu vivere, relinquamus aliquid. quo nos vixisse testemur;*—so this work will bear witness to posterity that he lived, and that he lived beneficently. I borrow that assurance from honour'd Mr. Selden in his Epistle before the History of Eadmerus, dedicated to the founder of this Library, to whom he writes in these words:—*Egregius peritissimusque literarum censor, et fautor indulgentissimus et audis, et verè es. Quippe qui doctrinam suo merito indies cupientissimus honestas: et sumptuosam instruendis publico usui Bibliothecis operam impendis: Præmium ita studiosis et armarium etiam sine exemplo solicitus parandi.* Yet what an ill requital did these unthankful times make him when they

removed that worthy scholar, the Bibliothecary whom he had placed, Mr. Richard Gouland, whom he pick'd out above all men for that office, being inferiour to none in the knowledge of good authors, superiour to any for fidelity and diligence, [and] of so mortified a life that he could "scandalize" none but with innocence and piety,"[1] &c.

Of the scanty remains of the older Library, originally deposited in one of the chapels, we have no account. The present Library contains at least 11,000 volumes. It has had many gifts at various periods, and probably was much more accessible to students a century and a half ago than it is now. "*Il se trouve dans le Cloistre*," says the author of the *Délices de la Grande Bretagne*,—speaking of Westminster, in 1707,—*une bibliothèque publique, qui s'ouvre soir et matin pendant les séances des Cours de Justice.*"[2] The collection is well selected and well catalogued. Among the Bibles are the Polyglotts of Ximenes, Arias Montanus, and Walton; an excellent series of Latin versions; and a respectable one of English versions. The English Divines are admirably represented, and the Library is rich in British history and in Church history generally. Of the Greek and Latin Classics it has a choice assemblage. The English miscellaneous literature is but poor. Among the special rarities is the Oxford-book of 1482,—Joannes Latteburius, *In threnos Jeremiæ, capitulis cxv*,—on vellum. It

Testimony of a topographer to the accessibility of Westminster Library in Queen Anne's days.

[1] Hacket, *Scrinia reserata*, p. 47 (Lond. 1693).

[2] Beeverell, *Délices*, &c., 847.

is perfect, and not, as Herbert describes it, partly on vellum and partly on paper.[1]

The locality of the Westminster Library has been charmingly depicted by Washington Irving:—"There are," he says, "certain half-dreaming moods of mind in which we naturally steal away from noise and glare, and seek some quiet haunt where we may indulge our reveries, and build our air-castles undisturbed. In such a mood I was loitering about the old grey cloisters of Westminster Abbey, enjoying that luxury of wandering thought which we are apt to dignify by the name of reflection; when suddenly an irruption of madcap boys from Westminster School broke in upon the monastic stillness of the place, making the vaulted passages and mouldering tombs echo with their merriment. I sought to take refuge from their noise by penetrating still deeper into the solitudes of the pile, and applied to one of the vergers for admission to the Library. He conducted me through a portal rich with the crumbling sculpture of former ages, which opened upon a gloomy passage leading to the Chapter House, and the chamber in which Domesday Book is deposited.... The door was double locked and opened with some difficulty, as if seldom used. We ascended a dark narrow staircase, and passing through a second door entered the Library.

Washington Irving's visit to Westminster Library.

His description of Westminster Library.

"I found myself in a lofty antique hall, the roof supported by massive joists of old English oak. It was soberly lighted by a row of gothic windows at a considerable height from the floor, and which apparently opened upon the roofs of the cloisters. An ancient

[1] Botfield, *ut supra*.

picture of some reverend dignitary of the Church in his robes, hung over the fireplace. Around the hall, and in a small gallery, were the books, arranged in carved oaken cases. They consisted principally of old polemical writers, and were much more worn by time than use. In the centre of the Library was a solitary table, with two or three books on it, an inkstand without ink, and a few pens parched by long disuse. The place seemed fitted for quiet study and profound meditation. It was buried deep among the massive walls of the Abbey, and shut up from the tumult of the world. I could only hear now and then the shouts of the school-boys faintly swelling from the cloisters, and the sound of a bell tolling for prayers, that echoed soberly along the roofs of the Abbey. By degrees, the shouts of merriment grew fainter and fainter, and at length died away. The bell ceased to toll, and a profound silence reigned through the dusky hall. ..... I could not but consider the Library a kind of literary catacomb, where authors, like mummies, are piously entombed, and left to blacken and moulder in oblivion."[1]

Library of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Of the ancient Library at St. Paul's Cathedral, the surviving fragments are very scanty. Amongst them are the following manuscripts: The *Rules and Ceremonies of the Monastery of Syon*, a *Liber vocatus Remediarium*, and a *Missal*. The existing Library consists almost entirely of the munificent gift of Henry Compton, Bishop of London, a man of the true Pauline stamp,—"poor, yet making many rich,"—who at his death, in 1713, bequeathed to this Cathedral his entire and valu-

[1] *The Sketch-Book of Geoffrey Crayon* (Edit. of 1823), 227-229.

able collection. Biblical literature; Theology, generally; Greek and Latin Classics; and British History, are all represented here by a good selection of the chief books. In the first-named department, this Library can boast of one of the two known copies of Tyndale's *New Testament*, of 1526. (The other is in the Baptist Library at Bristol.) This treasure is worthily followed by the subsequent editions of the same version; by the second edition of the *Pentateuch* of the same translator; and by a splendid series of English Bibles, commencing with that of 1537. The collection of detached portions of the Holy Scriptures in English is also remarkable. In this department, the Library owes much to the taste and judgment of Humphrey Wanley, whose Bibles were purchased by the Dean and Chapter, in 1726, shortly before his death.[1]

The number of volumes is stated by the Cathedral Commissioners at about eight thousand. "*Accessible*," they add, "*only to Members of the Chapter.*"[2] In the answers to the questions of the Commission, I find the Chapter liberally suggesting—perhaps whilst sitting beneath the portrait of their benefactor—"Sion College Library may be *supposed* to supply the City Clergy." It can hardly be imagined that any grudge against Sion College should have been nursed for two centuries; otherwise it would seem that this allusion glanced at the fact that in the days when Puritanism was triumphant,

[1] *Life etc. of Pepys*, ii, 356.

[2] *Report of the Commissioners on Cathedral and Collegiate Churches* (1854), p. 4.

Contributions levied on the old Cathedral Library for the increase of Sion College Library.

the old Cathedral Library had been plundered for its neighbour's enrichment.[1] But, in all probability, most of the spoil perished in the great fire. In respect of liberality of management, the Sion College Library now stands in marked contrast to the foundation of the generous-minded Compton. And, in truth, the words in which the Royal Commissioners describe the "accessibility" of the Library of St. Paul's are paralleled only once, even as respects Cathedral Libraries, throughout their Report.

Library of Rochester Cathedral.

The Library of Rochester Cathedral contains a few curious MSS. of considerable antiquity, some of which are clearly traceable to the old monastic collection. The printed books are also few in number, but they include a comparatively good selection of Theology and Church History, and some volumes of great rarity. Among these are the first English Bible (1535), clumsily concealed by a long departed bookbinder between the folio *Book of Common Prayer* and the *Psalms* of 1629, and just as unskilfully entered in the old catalogue as "*Holy Bible, with the Book of Common Prayer prefixed*, 1629."[2] The copy is perfect, the title-page and map excepted. Of the Bible of 1539 there is a perfect copy. Here also are good copies of the Polyglotts, both of Ximenes and of Walton, and a fine *Missal*, of Salisbury use, printed by Regnault, in 1534. The Library is open to the Clergy of the Diocese, and every member of the

[1] The Library of the Chapter was carried first to Camden House, and thence brought to the College, in 1647.—Stowe's *Survey*, by Strype, i, 156.

[2] Botfield, *ut supra*, 392.

Chapter contributes towards its augmentation on his appointment.[1]

Library of Chichester Cathedral.

Chichester Cathedral Library numbers but about 2500 volumes. Although it has no sort of endowment, the books are in good condition and well arranged. Theology and Church History, as usual, form its principal contents, but there are also very creditable groups of works in English History, and in Classics. At some time or other, special attention has been bestowed on numismatology. Bishop Mawson appears to have been the chief benefactor. It is on record that by his exertions an inconsiderable and neglected collection of books was raised into a respectable public Library.[2]

And of Ely Cathedral.

"The Library of Ely Cathedral," wrote the present Dean, in 1849, "contains about 4300 volumes."[3] It was chiefly bequeathed by Bishop Patrick; by Dean Maplетoft; and by the Rev. Ralph Perkins, who died in 1751. It includes a good collection of the Fathers, and of old English Divines, and is particularly rich in books and tracts relating to the Nonjurors. There is no endowment for purchases, but of late years the Chapter has devoted to that purpose certain fees which amount to about forty or fifty pounds a-year. It is well lodged in a room constructed for the purpose out of the East Aisle of the South Transept, and is accessible "to the Cathedral Clergy, and through them to other applicants."[3]

[1] *Report of Cathedral Commissioners, ut supra.*

[2] Otter, *Life of Dr. E. D. Clarke,* 11.

[3] Dean of Ely, 23 May, 1849 [*MS. Correspondence*]; *Report, ut supra,* 14, 177.

The collection is deficient in Classics, but has some good books in British History. It makes no pretension to the possession of rarities in any class, but within its limits is a good and serviceable collection, of which there is a printed catalogue

Dr. White Kennett, at first Dean, and afterwards Bishop, of Peterborough, is virtually the Founder of its Cathedral Library, as we now see it. He was an antiquary, and a ripe and good one, but belonged to that more vigorous section of the fraternity, whose members can decipher with patience, and preserve with reverence, the monuments of the Past, without insisting that the Future shall be compelled to shape itself after the bygone model.

Bishop Kennett's foundation of the existing Library of Peterborough.

As the account of what he did for Peterborough Library is usually given, it would seem to imply that, besides augmenting the Cathedral collection, he contemplated the erection of a separate "Historical Library." But I believe the extant evidence leaves this uncertain. In the *Biographia Britannica*, the matter is thus narrated: "To this purpose [of forming an "antiquarian and historical" Library], he had long been gathering up pieces, from the very beginning of printing in England, to the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. His collection, amounting to about 1500 volumes, and small tracts, was placed in a private room at Peterborough, in the view of being daily supplied and augmented, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Sparke, a member of that Church, of very good literature, and very able to assist in the design; and there is a large written

catalogue of them, thus inscribed: '*Index librorum aliquot vetustorum quos in commune bonum congessit W. K., Decan Petriburgh. MDCCXII.*' In it, there are most of the printed legends of saints; the oldest rituals, and liturgies; the first printed statutes and laws; the most ancient homilies and sermons; the first editions of the English Schoolmen, postillers, expounders, &c., with a great many fragments of our ancient language, usages, customs, rites, tenures, and with such other things as tend to illustrate the history of Great Britain and Ireland, and the successive state of religion and learning, in them. In a letter to a friend, dated at Peterborough, July 27, 1717, the Dean writes thus: '*I have improved the collection, I have been long making for an historical antiquarian Library, consisting of the oldest books relating to English writers, and affairs; I have considerably increased my catalogue of the lives of eminent men.*"[1]

Relics of the older Library of Peterborough.

The old collection of the church of Peterborough appears to have been almost wholly destroyed during the troubles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A few volumes have survived, of which the chief are an illuminated Bible, an Evangeliary, and the Chronicle of Hugo Candidus (long ascribed to Robert Swapham). The last-named book bears, on a fly-leaf, a curious memorandum of its rescue, in 1643, from the hands of a soldier who was carrying it off, and who, in consideration of ten shillings, gave it a protection under his sign-manual:—"I pray let this Scripture Book alone, for he hath paid me for it, therefore I would desire you to let it alone. By me Henry Topclyffe, souldier under

[1] *Biographia Britannica*, § Kennet (White), iv, 2829.

Captain Cromwell, Colonel Cromwell's son; therefore I pray let it alone. Henry Topclyffe."[1] The Cathedral Commissioners state the total number of volumes in this Library as about 3000; which, they add, are "occasionally lent to strangers; but are not otherwise accessible."[2] On this point the Dean himself wrote in 1849: "Its contents, with the exception of some few volumes of rarity and great value, are freely lent to any of the neighbours who may apply for them under the sanction of the Dean, or of any one of the Canons."[3] There is no special maintenance fund, but the Chapter makes a grant occasionally.

Library of Lincoln Library.

The Library of Lincoln is bibliographically famous for the books which it does *not* possess. The chief spoliator was so proud of his booty that he took pains to commemorate the transaction, as well as to turn it to profit. Among the choice volumes enumerated in *The Lincolne Nosegay, beynge a brefe table of certaine bokes in the posession of Maister* Thomas Frognall Dibdin, *Clerke, which bookes be to be sold to him who shal gyve the moste for ye same,* are Caxton's *Dictes and Sayinges of Philosophres* (1477); his *Chronicles of England* (1480); and his *Cathon* (1473); Pynson's *Newe Cronycles of England and of France* (1516); the Edinburgh *Bible* of 1579; and a most curious series of tracts in early English Poetry. These all formed part of the collection of the munificent restorer of the Library, Michael Honeywood (Dean of Lincoln,

[1] Botfield, *ut supra,* 381.

[2] *Report of Cathedral Commissioners, ut supra,* 127.

[3] Dean of Peterborough, 3 Feb. 1849. *[MS. Correspondence.]*

about the middle of the seventeenth century), in whose time fire had destroyed great part of the ancient collection.

Dr. Dibdin was neither the only nor the first dilapidator of this Library. Long before his day it seems to have been the practice of the vergers to allow visitors of a certain order,—unhappily not yet extinct amongst us, though it may be hoped they are kept a little more in check,—to cut out from the MSS. shewn to them, illuminated initials, and the like; of course, for a "consideration." The example spread. The visitor may now see a long MS. list of books, sold by order of the Dean and Chapter, besides those mentioned above. As Mr. Botfield expresses it, "the guardians of the Temple slept, and Mammon prevailed." At the time of his visit, Mr. Garvey, the then Librarian, answered Mr. Botfield's inquiries for certain books entered in the catalogues, but not visible on the shelves, by the statement, "The Dean and Chapter thought it expedient to sell all the Caxtons, and other early prints, and to replace them with more modern works of which they stood in need."

Other assaults on the integrity of Lincoln Library.

It must be explicitly stated that the money obtained by the sale of the bibliographical treasures already mentioned was faithfully expended on the Library, and became the means of importantly augmenting it in the sections of British History, and of General Church History. It would be more difficult to show that the augmentation could not have been effected without the alienation of Dean Honeywood's collection. It can need no argument to prove that by such a step the Chapter violated its trust, nor that a precedent like this might

easily be turned to the destruction of Libraries under pretence of improving them.

Taken as a whole, the Lincoln Library is still a fine one. It has a noble series of Bibles, an extensive assemblage of our national masterpieces, in the good old tomes which the eyes of the authors may have rested on, and an admirable selection of books in most of the departments of British History. In this class, as in that of Theology, the spoilers' hands appear to have been stayed; for both of them include not a few works combining rarity with intrinsic worth. The Greek and Latin Classics, and the chief of those of Italy, are very fairly represented, and there is a good series of Lexicons. The total number of volumes was recently counted to be 4451.[1] There is, say the Commissioners, no endowment. "The Library," they add, "is accessible to the diocesan Clergy on application." It is contained in a spacious gallery, a hundred and four feet in length, and seventeen feet in breadth.

The Lincoln collection still a valuable one.

Norwich Cathedral Library is for the most part a modern collection, formed by Frank Sayers, M.D., and by him presented to the Chapter. It is not under the Cathedral roof, but is preserved in an apartment adjoining one of the Prebendal houses in the Close. There are no manuscripts, or none worthy of mention; and the strength of the collection lies in the standard works of English Theology and of British History. These are well kept up by a small but regular appropriation from

Library of Norwich Cathedral.

[1] Botfield, *ut supra;* 283.

[2] *Report,* &c., *ut supra,* 22.

the Chapter funds. The Cathedral Commissioners state the number of volumes to be 4350.[1] The worthy Dean, Dr. Pellew, described it in 1849 as a "very respectable Library, which the Dean and Chapter ... endeavour to make useful to the Clergy and to literary persons, by allowing the use of books on easy conditions."[2]

Library of Hereford Cathedral.

At Hereford we see a Cathedral Library which is in almost every respect the antithesis of that of Norwich. Nowhere else in England can the visitor behold so good a specimen of the monastic Library of byegone days. It is preserved in the beautiful Lady Chapel. The books occupy their old shelves, and most of them retain their antique bindings, and their precautionary chains, fastened to a bar of the same length as the shelf, and locked at each end. The curious projecting book-cases are eight in number, and are thus appropriated:—

I. & II. Biblical and Patristic Literature; Councils.
III. Church History and Lexicography.
IV. Miscellaneous Theology; Civil History and Classics.
V. Jurisprudence; Sciences and Arts.
VI. Miscellaneous Literature and Archæology.
VII. & VIII. Manuscripts.

The number of volumes does not much exceed two thousand. The early printed books are comparatively numerous. Amongst them is a fine Terence, without date, place or name of printer; in rude Roman characters, extending to 246 leaves, with thirty-five lines to

[1] *Report, ut supra,* 25.
[2] Dean of Norwich, 2 Feb. 1849. *[MS. Correspondence.]*

a full page. With this is bound up a MS. of a portion of the same author in an old English hand, and at the end of the volume is the inscription: "*Liber est sui Olkeym Lloid.*" A similar inscription is inserted, in the old monkish fashion, under a plate of horn, in the binding. Lloyd was a Canon of the Church, and the donor of this and of many other books.

In addition to a valuable series of theological books, Hereford Library has many excellent and some rare works on our National History. Its manuscripts are extremely curious. They include a few Classics and many works on Church History, but the bulk of the collection is theological. Several have a special interest of a traditionary kind. Thus, for example, in a volume of tracts by Richard Hampole, Henry Champernoun, and William de Saint Amour, we read, "*Hic liber pertinuisse videtur ad Hugonem Latimerum, Episc. et Martyrem;*" and in a very ancient codex of the Pauline Epistles, "*Liber Sa. Guthlaci de prioratu Herefordie.*"

Library of Worcester Cathedral.

Worcester Cathedral possesses an excellent assortment of theological works, well arranged in its fine old Chapter House. The early historians of England are in goodly number, and there is a remarkable collection of tracts on Church History, and on cognate subjects. It also includes more than two hundred manuscripts, some of them of considerable interest. Like the Cathedral to which it belongs, this Library suffered by the rude hands of some of the civil war troopers. Aubrey tells us that "Captain Silas Taylor garbled the Library,.. whence he had the original grant of King Edgar,..

printed in Selden's *Mare Clausum*. I have seen it many times. ... He offered it to the King [Charles II.] for £120, but His Majesty would not give so much." At length, adds the gossiping chronicler, his creditors seized his effects; "I told one of the Prebends, but they cared not for such things. I believe it hath wrapt herrings by this time."[1]

According to Mr. Botfield, the present number of volumes amounts to nearly 6000.[2] But the Cathedral Commissioners state the number as but 3600, which, to judge from the appearance of the collection in 1856, must be nearer the truth. It is liberally accessible. The means of increase are small; accruing chiefly from fees on installations, and on burials in the cloisters.

Library of Salisbury Cathedral.

The building which contains the small but interesting Library of Salisbury was erected by Bishop Jewell. Most of the books were the bequest of Bishop Gheast. The number of volumes in 1852 was 2872, and amongst them are early printed books in unusual abundance as compared with most other Cathedral collections. The copy of Caxton's *Golden Legend* is imperfect. The Service books of "Salisbury use" (1527 and 1528) are very fine. The Divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are well represented. Nor is it of small interest to English visitors to look on the twenty books, here preserved, which once belonged to Isaac Walton, all of which bear his autograph, and were probably[3] bequeathed

[1] Aubrey's *Lives*, 557.

[2] *Report*, &c., *ut supra*, 25.

[3] I say "probably," because there is no express mention of them in his Will (printed by Nicolas, *ubi supra*, 124-127), although there is a bequest to the Library of £100 in money.

by his son Isaac, a canon of Sarum.[1] The MSS.—as is most fitting at Salisbury—include several fine missals. There is also a valuable codex of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and another of the *Institutes* of Justinian, with the *Glossa Accursianâ*.

Until a recent period, this collection was greatly neglected. Pains have now been taken to remove the reproach. The collection is generally accessible on application.[2]

Winchester Cathedral.

Winchester Library, as we now see it, is mainly the bequest of George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, towards the close of the seventeenth century, to his Cathedral Church. Although he held the See for more than twenty years, his liberality and public forethought were so great that he almost verified Charles the Second's prophecy to him on his elevation:—"You will never be the richer for it." The visitor is sometimes shewn, in the manuscript catalogue of the collection, the record of its gift in 1682, two years before the bequest took effect. It is there described as a "Catalogue of all the books in his Lordship's Library, bequeathed by his will to the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity of Winchester, and which the longer he lived, he declared by his letter, should be the more and not the fewer." The books thus

Bishop Morley's bequest.

bequeathed appear to occupy the same cases which contained them in the Bishop's palace of Wolvesey. The series of Bibles—as respects both texts and versions—is a noble one; and there is a good assemblage

[1] Nicolas, *Life of Izaak Walton* (1836), 155, 156.

[2] Botfield, *ut supra*, 405-416.

of works on British History as well as on the General History of the Church. Many of Isaac Walton's books are here, and not a few of them are enriched with his notes or autograph. The bulk of his Library was bequeathed to his daughter, the wife of Prebendary Hawkins,[1] by whose bequest they probably came eventually to the Chapter. The total number of volumes is about 3500. The liberality of access is exemplary.

Illuminated MS. of the Latin Vulgate, of 12th century.

Amongst the manuscripts may be particularized a fine Biblical codex,—the Latin Vulgate, on vellum,—with miniatures which appear to be of the twelfth century.[2] This MS. is in three large folio volumes; is written in two columns, and in a strong minuscule letter. The ornamentation is of beautiful design, of rich and well-graduated colouring, and usually of delicate execution. Towards the end of the work, the pictures are unfinished, and throughout it occur, here and there, the usual indications of the old vergers' system in the elision of illuminated initials. But the MS. is still a noble one.

Library of Wells Cathedral.

The Library of Wells Cathedral, like that grand fabric itself, has been but recently redeemed from the neglect of a generation or two. It is of ancient foundation, and is preserved in an apartment over the cloisters. It includes a very fine copy of Walton's Polyglott *Bible*, with Castell's *Lexicon*; the Polyglott of Arrias Montanus; a good series of the Fathers, and of the Divines of the

[1] Zouch, *Life of Izaak Walton* (1823), 90, 91; Nicolas, *Life of Walton* (1836), *ubi supra*,

[2] But on this point opinions differ. See Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, iv, 353.

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a valuable collection of tracts on subjects of Theology and Church History. British History is fairly represented, and there is a respectable group of Classics, amidst which the five volumes of the Aldine Aristotle, in beautiful preservation, shine like a "mountain of light." On opening them, the first thing that greets the eye of the book-lover is the autograph "*Sum Erasmi Roterodami*," and in one of the volumes there appears immediately beneath it this distich:—

> "Hæc ego dona dedi Wellensi Bibliothecæ
> Turnerus nomen cui Guilielmus erat."

Character and career of Turner, Dean of Wells, in the sixteenth century.

Turner, whose "Life and Remains" have an incontestable claim to rank among the true *Desiderata* of English literature, was Dean of Wells, at intervals, from about the year 1552 to his death, in 1568. He had, both in early and mature life, his full share in the imprisonments and exile of that fierce time, but was one of the strong-nerved men who know how to pluck the rose "Safety" from the nettle "Danger." He was the first of English botanists, and in his banishment he cultivated not alone those studies of nature which were always his chief delight, but that rising science of medicine for which Italy and Germany were then the best schools. The skill he had acquired won for him on his return the favour of the Protector Somerset, and launched him on the path to Church preferment. Few men of any period, perhaps, have united to the versatility and independence of thought, to which locomotion is often favourable, a larger amount of that faculty of steady labour, which possibly it as often weakens. Eminent as zoologist,

botanist, physician, and divine, largely occupied with the Romanist controversies of his day, and taking his fair share of professional duties;—he had yet energies to spare,—at one time for the risks of membership in a Tudor House of Commons; at another for biblical translation, and antiquarian editorship. In that Cathedral Library, for instance, to which (as we have seen) he was a benefactor, he found a good manuscript of William of Newburgh's *Historia gentis nostræ*, and caused it to be printed at Antwerp. Other like but unpublished labours may yet, I believe, be found in our old Libraries. And the tradition of his good example may well have had its effects on the pursuits of his grandson, Peter Turner, Fellow of Merton, who, though little known as an author, was the valued correspondent of Ussher and of Selden, and laid a foundation for the *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

Present state of the Library of Wells.

Wells Library has no endowment. The number of volumes is 2348. They have received small augmentation since the middle of the last century; but though in that respect neglected, they appear to have been well preserved. The collection is accessible on application. "We are anxious," wrote the Dean, in 1849, "to render it as useful as possible, and are endeavouring to devise a plan which, with a due regard to the safe preservation of the books, may enable us to extend their use."[1]

Library of Gloucester.

In the fourteenth century, Richard de Stowe gave to the "Church at Gloucester" various works, amongst which were the Book of *Genesis*, in verse; two *Psalters*; several treatises on the Sacraments; Boetius *De Conso-*

[1] Dean of Wells, 31 Jan. 1849. [*MS. Correspondence.*]

latione; Yponosticon; and Laurentius Dunelmensis Monachus *De veteri et novo Testamento.* But none of these is mentioned by Leland, as attracting his notice during his monastic quest. Nor does it appear that any relics of the old Benedictine Library have survived. The present collection is a modern one, fairly selected, though small, and is well arranged, in open cases, in the spacious Chapter House. The number of volumes is 2650, which are "accessible to all respectable inhabitants." A new catalogue has been lately prepared.

The Library of the neighbouring Cathedral of Bristol was destroyed in the disgraceful riot of 1831.

Library of Exeter.

Exeter Library is both precious and venerable. Were it but decently catalogued, it would become famous. For a long period it was kept in the Lady Chapel where it suffered somewhat from damp and neglect. The printed books are now preserved in the Chapter, House. The manuscripts "are kept in deal presses, under lock and key, in an upper chamber—where they still suffer from damp—attached to the Cathedral." The necessity of such a separation, in order to the safe keeping of the precious treasures which these manuscript volumes contain, may possibly have existed, but is far from being either obvious or probable; and assuredly the practice ought not to continue (even if the dampness of the room be remedied), save for good reason shewn.

No other Cathedral in England can produce to the visitor a book given to it by its first Bishop. The volume of Saxon poetry, presented by Bishop Leofric, is in excellent preservation. It is but one of many Saxon

MSS. of the highest interest which may here be seen. Amongst them is a transcript of so much of Domesday Book as relates to the counties of Cornwall, Somerset, and Devon, of very high antiquity, and possibly, as some think, strictly contemporaneous with the famous record of the Exchequer. In support of this opinion, and in proof that the Exeter Domesday must have been written from actual survey, the fact is adduced that it invariably includes entries of the live-stock maintained on the various lands described; particulars which do not appear in the Exchequer Domesday. By a circumstance too fortunate to be of frequent occurrence, a leaf which had been abstracted from the Exeter book in the middle of the sixteenth century was restored to it in the nineteenth. It was found by Mr. Trevelyan, a descendant of Willoughby, Dean of Exeter, in the time of Henry VIII., amongst his family papers. Amongst the other choice manuscripts are English Chronicles, Psalters, Missals, a multitude of small tracts on various subjects, and many records connected with the Church of Exeter itself. None of these have ever been adequately described.

In addition to a very considerable assemblage of theological works, the printed portion of the Library is rich in British History, and includes not a few books and tracts of much rarity. The total number of volumes is about 5000. There is no special endowment, but the Chapter annually grants twenty pounds for purchases. General access, say the Cathedral Commissioners, is permitted by leave of the Chapter.

[1] Botfield, *ut supra*, 132-158; *Report, ut supra*, 16. Conybeare, *Account of an Anglo-Saxon MS.* etc. in the *Archæologia* (1812), 180, seqq.

Library of Lichfield.

Lichfield Cathedral owes its chief literary treasures to the liberality of Frances, Duchess of Somerset, who bequeathed to it, in 1672, nearly 1000 volumes, including many of the highest value. Foremost amongst these is the famous Evangeliary of St. Chad, supposed to have been written in the eighth century, and of which Mr. Nares says in the MS. Catalogue:—"Tradition reports it to have been in the handwriting of St. Gildas, but when it is observed that it abounds with gross errors both in orthography and in grammar, it becomes impossible to believe it the work of any learned scribe. The characters are round and fair, having a strong affinity to the Saxon letters, and the Saxon words and names occurring in the margins plainly shew that the book had been in much use for administering oaths under the government of that people. It is illuminated with very rude miniatures." Whilst, on the other hand, many of the initials are, in Dr. Waagen's opinion, "of peculiar beauty of invention, and of that artistic workmanship peculiar at that early time to the Irish. By far the most important object is a page entirely covered with ornamentation, which, in distribution of space, beauty of pattern and colours, and precision of execution, may be compared to the finest specimens I have seen. Much of it, however, is defaced by the wear and tear the volume has undergone." Here also is a fine manuscript of Chaucer, with illuminations; together with several early English poetical tracts; a discourse "of the first invention of money;" another discourse "of the ordering of an army," addressed to King Edward VI.; and several historical pieces of interest. All these are enumerated

in the list of Lichfield Codices, sixty-five in number, which was drawn up by Dr. John Wills for the *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*. To a work entitled *Relations of the Kings of Spain and Portugal*, this list affixes the note "Lately lost." Several of the manuscripts are traceable to the monastic collection.

Among the printed books the chief rarities are Caxton's *Morte d'Arthur*,—a fine though imperfect copy; and Cranmer's *Bible* of 1540. The visitor is shewn the old borrowing register in which occur entries to Samuel Johnson, whose encomiums of several books with which (very probably) he here formed his first acquaintance, will be familiar to the readers of Boswell. The number of volumes is about 3000. They are preserved in the upper chamber of the Chapter House; are, as in Johnson's time, made accessible to the townspeople, under proper regulations; and are occasionally augmented by the subscriptions of the Dean and Chapter.[1]

These are all the Cathedral Libraries within the Province of Canterbury which have importance enough to warrant detailed notice. We come now to the Province of York; beginning with its Metropolis, which possesses a fine collection, well preserved in the beautiful room that was once the chapel of the Archbishop's palace.

Library of York Minster.

At the date of the publication of the *Catalogi librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ* (1697), York Minster possessed at least sixty-five MS. Codices,—some of which had been brought from Rievaulx Abbey,—con-

[1] *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*, ii, 32; Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, iv, 405, 406; Botfield, *ut supra*, 259-267; *Report of the Cathedral Commissioners*, *ut supra*, 21.

taining about a hundred and twenty separate treatises. Most of these are theological, but amongst them are a few historical pieces and two MSS. of Cicero. The most important accessions to this department are the collections on Church affairs of Mr. Torre.

The collection of printed books is extensive and choice. It includes a considerable portion of the Library of Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York (from 1606 to 1628), presented by his widow, of whose munificence the Chapter has thus recorded its grateful acknowledgement upon her tomb:—..."*One excellent act of her's, first derived upon this Church, and through it flowing upon the Country, deserves to live as long as the Church itself. The Library of the deceased Archbishop, consisting of above three thousand books, she gave entirely to the publick use of this Church. A rare example that so great care to advance learning should lodge in a woman's breast.*" To this important gift, Dr. Marmaduke Fothergill, early in the eighteenth century, added a valuable collection of books, 1522 in number, rich in liturgic and ritualistic works; and other additions were made by a lady—the widow of the Rev. Dr. William Burgh—who imitated the example of Mrs. Matthew. These various gifts increased the Library to nearly six thousand volumes. Subsequent accessions have raised the number to 8000. The Library possesses a leasehold endowment of eighty pounds a-year; and, until a recent alteration of the prebendal estates, each prebendary gave, by ancient custom, a donation of books on his installation.

Liberality of the widow of Archbishop Mathew.

The books on British History are numerous and excellent, as are also the series of Bibles and Commenta-

ries, and the works of the Fathers of the Church. Among the special treasures of the collection are a copy on vellum of the second edition of Erasmus' New Testament; six works from the press of Caxton; *The ordinarye of Chrysten men*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde (1506); Higden's *Polychronicon*, printed by Treveris (1527), and the *Dives et Pauper*, by Pynson (1537). With great liberality, the Library of York is made accessible to the Public on five days in the week.[1]

Library of Chester.

The Library of the Cathedral of Chester is in a very unsatisfactory condition. It is impossible to look at it for a moment without perceiving that it has been sadly neglected. The remark which occurred to Mr. Botfield ten years ago still holds literally true of some of those good old oak presses, which speak of a forethought now evidently a stranger to the place,—"We seek for books' and find only a stone." Praiseworthy as it is to preserve and to exhibit even these mutilated fragments of the past, they are here out of their place.

Yet Chester Library is one of the few Cathedral collections, concerning the strictly public character of which it is impossible to raise a doubt. Dean Arderne expressly bequeathed, in 1691, all his books and part of his estate as "the beginning of a public Library ... for the Clergy and City." The Dean and Chapter receive rents from this bequest, and yet they return to the inquiries of Her Majesty's Commissioners the answer:—"There is no express endowment." Bishop Keene, in

[1] Drake, *Eboracum*, 512; Gough, Additions to Camden's *Britannia*, iii, 306; Botfield, *ut supra*, 502-507; *Report, ut supra*, 26, 27.

1771, added some valuable books. But the total number of volumes at present in the Library seems not to exceed 1100.

Carlisle Library.

The Dean and Chapter of Carlisle possess a collection of 3200 volumes, rich in Theology, and including some good books in British History. The Library is open to the Public. Laymen, wrote the late Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Hinds, in 1849, when filling the Deanery of Carlisle, "are allowed to use the books freely; but as they are principally on Theology, their use is almost confined to the Clergy." They occupy a small room which adjoins the Chapter House.[2]

Durham Library.

The Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham is the finest of the English Cathedral collections. It is nobly lodged in the ancient refectory of the monastery, a well-lighted apartment, more than one hundred feet in length. This, however, as the receptacle of the Library, will soon give place to the much more spacious dormitory—in length nearly 200 feet—which the Chapter has recently restored, at an expenditure of £3000. In the Durham Library are appropriately preserved not a few of the old monastic manuscripts. Many of these are so copiously and characteristically illuminated as to afford, in Dr. Waagen's opinion, conclusive proof that "a school of miniature-painting existed at Durham for several centuries of the Middle Ages, which devoted itself

[1] *Report*, etc. *of the Cathedral Commissioners*, 12, 139; Botfield, *ut supra*, 53-73.

[2] *Report, ut supra*, 10, 120; Botfield, *ut supra*, 49-52; Dean of Carlisle, 3 Feb. 1849 [*MS. Correspondence*].

more to the practice of beautiful decoration than to the representation of scenes with figures; by which means, however, a rare degree of taste and an admirable technical manner were developed." The most important of the MSS. of this class are the volumes marked 'A. ii, 17,' containing the *Gospels* of St. John, Luke, and Mark, and probably written in the eighth century; 'A. ii, 30,' *The Commentary of Cassiodorus on the Psalms*, the scription of which (like that of the Evangeliary mentioned in the second chapter of Book II.) is attributed to Beda, of similar date; 'B. ii, 13,' a *Psalter* with the Commentary of St. Augustine, written towards the close of the eleventh century; 'B. iii, 32,' a *Hymnarium* of the eleventh century, entirely Anglo-Saxon in the character of its miniatures; 'A. i, 10,' *Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, of the middle of the twelfth century; 'A. ii, 1,' a large folio MS. of the Vulgate in four volumes, written in two columns and in a bold minuscule letter, apparently towards the close of the twelfth century; and 'A. ii, 19,' *The Epistles of St. Paul* with a gloss, of similar style and date. All these and many more almost equally deserving of specific mention, are remnants of the fine Library of the Benedictines. As is well known, many other splendid volumes were taken away from Durham, at the period of the first dissolution. The restoration of the Library fabric was the work of Dean Sudbury. A liberal contribution of books was one of the many charities of Bishop Cosin.

[The MSS. of Durham Library illustrated with miniatures.

The printed portion of the Library is both more various and more uniformly well furnished than is usual in Capitular collections. While, on the one hand, it

possesses excellent groups of books in the leading divisions of Theology and History; on the other, it is scarcely less rich in the ancient Classics, in Lexicography, and in the masterpieces of our national literature.

Printed rarities of the Durham Library.

Amongst the choicer curiosities of printing may be mentioned the undated Editio princeps of Tacitus by Vindelinus de Spira (*... pressit Spira premens artis gloria prima suæ*); the Strabo of the same printer (1472); the Aldine Plutarch of 1509 (a very fine copy); Boethius, *De consolatione*, from the Cologne press of John Koelhof (1482); three tracts printed by Caxton (*Orologium Sapiencie, VII Proffites of Tribulacyon*, and *Rule of Saynt Benet*), and two printed by Wynkyn de Worde. All these early fugitive pieces, however, of our English press are more or less defective, and it is rare to meet with them otherwise.

Liberality of access.

The Dean of Durham, writing in 1849, says: "We expend annually £200 on the support and increase of our Library. We admit to the use of it all persons who can fairly be considered as responsible, without any distinction whatever. Permission to borrow books when once accorded, continues valid whilst the rules continue to be obeyed."[1] By the wise appropriation of the liberal sum accorded from the Chapter funds, the books have increased within ten years from little more than 7000 volumes to upwards of 12,000.

Care like that evinced at Durham for the Present and the Future is in true harmony with the munificence of the open-handed Deans and Prelates—the Sudburys

[1] Dean of Durham, 1849. [*MS. Correspondence.*]

and the Cosins of a byegone age. So long as likemindedness shall characterize even but a moderate proportion of the Chapters of England, the admirers of the dead level of mediocrity in all things will cabal in vain against their dignities or their possessions. For churchmen of that mould will certainly be able to discriminate between the wise modifications which the natural "vicissitudes of things" necessitate, even in the best of human institutions, and those empty clamours which the demagogues of the hour so well know how to elicit from popular impatience and unreason. Stern resistance to ignorant agitation is just as duteous, and just as admirable, as is timely concession to the conclusions of circumspect opinion.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL LIBRARY AT LAMBETH.

Bishops and Priests, blessed are ye, if deep
(As yours above all offices is high)
Deep in your heart the sense of duty lie;
Charged as ye are by Christ to feed and keep
From wolves your portion of his chosen sheep:
Labouring as ever in your Master's sight,
Making your hardest task your best delight,
What perfect glory ye in heaven shall reap!—
But, in the solemn office which ye sought,
And undertook premonished, if unsound
Your practice prove, faithless though but in thought,
Bishops and Priests, think what a gulf profound
Awaits you then, if they were rightly taught
Who framed the Ordinance by your lives disowned!

WORDSWORTH, *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, iii, 16.

BOOK III. Chapter XIII. The Library at Lambeth Palace.

IT was at a favourable time for his purpose that Archbishop Bancroft determined to found a permanent Library for his own use and that of his successors in the see of Canterbury. His best qualities and his worst had this in common, that both alike tended to the acquisition of books. His scholarship, and his aptness for controversy, made them necessary to him, whilst his strong aversion to the growing influence of the Puritans won for him the vast powers of a censor general of the press. However rigorous the measures which he adopted to check unlicensed printing and unauthorized importations, he seems carefully to have preserved one copy at

Circumstances under which Archbishop Bancroft laid the foundation of Lambeth Library.

least of the books that he suppressed. Long before his elevation to the Metropolitan see he had virtually exercised the archiepiscopal power. His successor, Archbishop Abbot, much as he differed from Bancroft on many points, followed his example in building up the Lambeth Library. So that to Bancroft may fairly be ascribed the merit of having formed the collection which, better than any other in England, mirrors the eventful Church History of the latter half of the sixteenth century, and of the earlier portion of the seventeenth.

Subsequent benefactions.

Archbishop Laud, notwithstanding his great liberality to the Oxford Libraries already noticed, made some additions to this collection, as did likewise Archbishop Sheldon, on its return to its old abode. Subsequent Prelates—Tenison, Secher, and (after a fashion of his own,) Manners Sutton, more especially—largely increased what had been so well begun.

Until a recent period, the Archiepiscopal Library occupied those old galleries above the cloisters, in which it had probably been commenced. Here the want of warmth and comfort tended greatly to limit in practice the facilities accorded for consulting it. A well-known antiquary,[1] indeed, was wont to say that in winter none but Captain Parry or his crew could possibly make use of the collection. It is now lodged and admirably arranged in the noble hall, built or restored by Archbishop Juxon, who has thus been doubly its benefactor, although he had not the satisfaction of witnessing the

[1] The late Sir N. Harris Nicolas.

BOOK III. Chapter XIII. The Library at Lambeth Palace.

recovery for which he had laboured. And the very aspect of the place invites to study.

The Manuscript portion of the Library is copious and varied. It is so arranged as to commemorate the principal collectors or donors; the main divisions being as follows:—

Present arrangement of the MSS.

I. Codices Lambethiani.
II. Codices Whartoniani.
III. Codices Carewani.
IV. Codices Tenisoniani.
V. Codices Gibsoniani.
VI. Codices Manners Suttoniani.

In the first division the gifts of several Archbishops are included. The second, third, and fourth, are all due to the munificence of Archbishop Tenison, who had purchased the manuscript collections both of Henry Wharton, and of George Carew, Earl of Totness, the latter being rich in materials for Irish History. The papers bequeathed by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, are chiefly ecclesiastical, and of them also some of the most valuable had been collected by Tenison. Bishop Gibson—known to readers of our English satirical literature as "Dr. Codex"—was a hardworking antiquary, as well as a vigorous champion of the Church; although his historical productions have been somewhat overshadowed by those more widely-bruited labours which made his opponents call him a Pope,—provoking even from Sir Robert Walpole, one of their own number, the rejoinder,—"and a very good Pope too."

The manuscripts which bear the name of Archbishop

Manners Sutton might with greater propriety, perhaps, have been otherwise designated. When the student first reads—as he may read in the *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, and elsewhere,—"The manuscripts purchased and given by Archbishop Manners Sutton are principally the collection of the late Professor Carlyle, brought from Syria, or out of the Patriarch's Library at Constantinople, or collected in the islands of the Archipelago," he little imagines that the collection so spoken of was made by a Government Commissioner, and that the expenses of the mission were defrayed out of public funds. Mr. Carlyle himself, it must be premised, to the great loss of Oriental scholarship, died shortly after his return from this mission. His labours were honourable to himself and advantageous to the country. His narrative, so far as we are here concerned with it, runs thus: .... "In the collegiate house belonging to the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, we found a very well-furnished Library, including a considerable number of manuscripts. .... The Patriarch behaved to us with the utmost liberality, ... allowing us to take any of the manuscripts we might wish to send to England, *for the purpose of being examined and collated.* Such as we thought interesting or curious were forwarded to London, together with the MSS. from the Princes' Islands, and are now in the Library at Lambeth."

Acquisition of MSS. at Constantinople, subsequently deposited in Lambeth Library.

It must, of course, be inferred that by some subsequent arrangement the MSS. which at first, as it seems, were borrowed, were ultimately purchased. The only point on which stress need be laid is that Dr. Hunt, the narrator of Mr. Carlyle's researches, and the com-

panion of his journey, after expressly stating that "the general belief in the existence of unexplored literary treasures in Turkey induced *the English Government to appoint a person well versed in classical, biblical, and Oriental literature* [*the Rev. Mr. Carlyle*] *to accompany Lord Elgin's Embassy in 1799;* ... and adding, "the plan originated with Mr. Pitt and the Bishop of Lincoln;" proceeds to say: "He visited all the monasteries of the Greek monks or caloyers of the Princes' Islands in the Sea of Marmora. . . . There were many copies on paper and vellum of different parts of the *New Testament*, written apparently in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The most beautiful of these he bought from the monks. . . . They are *now deposited in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Library at Lambeth.*" I cannot find any evidence that the MSS. in question were refused by, or had been offered for purchase to, the British Government on behalf of the Public.

Not long after the publication of these passages in the *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, a writer in the *Westminster Review*, known to be describing his personal experience in the matter he treated of, took occasion thus to express himself:—"The Library in the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth is said to be of great value. Visitors have been turned back with civil incivility; an order to see the Library has been scanned with the curious eye of an advocate seeking for a special demurrer, a flaw, a variance, an irregularity; it has been held to be an order to see some particular Librarian who was not then there; or to enter at some times, or under some circumstances, other than those then existing." ...

It is the strange incongruity between the storing up at Lambeth of the products of a public mission—or of some of them—and the scanty facilities at the same time grudgingly doled out to literary men for occasional access, that chiefly makes it worth while to record practises which have long since been improved upon. But, on other grounds, it is right to bear in mind that the name of Manners Sutton has no claim to figure on the roll of the benefactors of learning, beside the Bancrofts and the Tenisons of other generations. Indiscriminate eulogy is but detraction in a mask.

Acquisition, in 1660, of the Parliamentarian surveys of Church Lands.

For like reasons it is important to notice that some of the most valuable of the English MSS. at Lambeth are held by the Archbishops of Canterbury by authority of Parliament, and in trust for the Public. The circumstances are these: In the first hubbub of the Restoration, certain persons made a turbulent entry into the office (situated in Broad Street, London) of the Commissioners of Church Lands, where the records, books, and surveys, relating to Bishops' and Deans' and Chapters' Lands, were kept, for His Majesty's service and the Public, putting the officers out of possession, sealing up the doors, breaking open the locks of several rooms where the Records were, ... and daily ransacking among them, to the great prejudice of thousands of persons concerned therein." Such was the information given to the House of Commons on the 6th of August 1660, and entered on its Journals: The House at the same time making order that the delinquents should return all such surveys and other records to the office aforesaid; and

subsequently (16 May 1682) further ordering "that all such surveys, records, and writings concerning the Archbishopricks, and Bishopricks, and Deans and Chapters, which are in their hands, be delivered unto ... the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, who is desired to take care for the preservation thereof." Power being given to him to return, at his discretion, such documents as might appear to belong more fitly to the Bishops and Chapters concerned. The documents remaining at Lambeth are of great value. They are partly originals, and partly contemporaneous and attested transcripts. But authenticated copies of both are alike admissible as evidence in Courts of Justice, under a decree of the Court of Exchequer, enrolled in 1775.

Nature of the Parliamentary surveys.

These surveys describe with great fullness the nature, extent, value, and the then present condition of Church property. They were taken at first, by the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and afterwards by that of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, between the years 1646 and 1650. They contain, incidentally, many curious particulars as to the distribution of population, the state of ecclesiastical polity and discipline, and even materials for the individual biography of notable clergymen. Lambeth Library is also rich in other documents of literature, but of different periods, and otherwise acquired.

Printed books, too, seem at this period to have been transferred to Lambeth Palace as a place of public deposit, if we may trust Aubrey's account of the disposal of part of those of Sir John Birkenhead, the writer of *Mercurius Aulicus*, and one of those few rough-weather

Royalists who were allowed to bask in the sunshine of the Restoration.

The general collection of manuscripts is well furnished in the historical department. It includes a series of Papal bulls, many Royal letters, and an extensive collection of State papers and other documents, ranging in date from the reign of Henry VI. to that of Charles I. Lord Burghley's papers, as we have seen already, are widely scattered. Some of them are to be met with here. Manuscripts, relating more especially to the history of continental Europe, are in considerable number.

Historical MSS. in Lambeth Library.

The Biblical MSS.—others than those mentioned in connection with the Turkish mission of 1800—are many and choice. Amongst them a Latin version of the *Apocalypse*, elaborately illuminated, and an early French version and exposition of the same book, are remarkable. There are fine copies of the Commentaries of St. Augustine on Genesis; of St. John Chrysostom on Matthew; of Beda on several books; and a noble series of Psalters, Missals, and Martyrologies.

The Biblical MSS.

A curious volume of papers, some of which had been drawn up by and others had belonged to Archbishop Laud, is here preserved, after having been literally snatched from the fire. By some chance, it had been concealed beneath some private documents in a box which Archbishop Tenison had directed his Executors to burn without opening. By accident, the box burst on the fire in time to discover and to save the volume. Besides papers in the autograph of Laud, it contains others by Archbishops Sheldon and Sancroft, and by

BOOK III. Chapter XIII. The Library at Lambeth Palace.

Chillingworth. Here, too, is the Correspondence of Anthony Bacon, in sixteen volumes, and some of the letters of his illustrious brother. Some noticeable MS. Voyages and Travels also occur. But to attempt even the briefest indication of all the MS. treasures at Lambeth would be a formidable task. The bulk of the collection has been well catalogued by the late Rev. H. J. Todd, the editor of Chaucer.

The collection of Printed Books.

The department of Printed Books extends over nearly all sections of literature. Here, however, as in the Cathedral Libraries, Theology and British History are the richest classes. Next to these comes the ancient literature of Greece and Rome.

About the middle of the last century, the number of printed books is said to have been 14,522 volumes, and that of MSS. 617. The number at present (1858) is, of the former, upwards of 25,000 volumes, and of the latter about 1200.

The printed Bibles.

The series of printed Bibles includes the Polyglotts of London and Antwerp; the Naples *Pentateuch* of 1491; the Soncino *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*, of 1485; the Hebrew *Bible* of Stephanus (1543); both the Strasburgh Greek *Bibles* of 1526; an extensive series of editions of the Vulgate; and a noble collection both of critical editions and of early versions in almost all the languages of Europe and of the East. Those in English begin with the first *Bible* (Coverdale's of 1535), and with the third revision of the first (complete) *New Testament* (Tyndale's of 1536); include a superb presentation copy of the Cranmer Bible (*Richard Jugge*, bound

in five volumes); and a choice copy of the first edition of the Genevan *New Testament* (*Conrad Badius,* 1557); and end with an extraordinary series of Psalters, Mr. Botfield's list of which looks exhaustive, though it contains but a selection from the whole number preserved at Lambeth. All the important English Liturgies appear, of course, in similar completeness. The Fathers of the Church; the great controversialists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and the illustrious array of English divines of all periods are well collected, but the muster of the later foreign divines is scanty.

The Historical Works.

The general History of the Church appears to be almost as well represented as are our national annals. Those political tracts which form so indispensable and so costly a portion of any Library deserving to be called historical, have here been cared for, not alone when they had to be collected for licensing purposes, but, in later days, when the task must needs have been toilsome.

The Lambeth copy of Archbishop Parker, *De antiquitate Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, is filled with notes in the handwriting of John Parker, the Archbishop's son. In it there also occur important illustrative documents. As is well known, there are many variations[1] amongst the few extant copies of this rare book, usually regarded as the first ever printed in England expressly for private circulation. The present copy appears to be complete. It was missing from the Library for nearly forty years prior to its recovery (by the gift of Trevor, Bishop of Durham), in 1757.

[1] Mr. Martin thinks that not even any two copies are alike. *(Bibliographical Catalogue of Books privately printed,* 5.)

Castrated copy of the works of King Charles I.

Another volume (but one of much less value) has a curious story. About the year 1672, a copy of *The Works of King Charles I.* was seized on board of an English ship, and delivered to the "Holy Inquisition," by whose order it passed into the hands of certain English priests, "to be perused and corrected according to the rules of the *Index Expurgatorius*. Thus corrected it was given to Barnaby Crafford, English merchant there, and by him it was given to me [Zachary Cradock, the writer of this MS. note on the fly-leaf of the volume],.. and by me, as I then received it, to the Library at Lambeth, to be there preserved." Cradock had been preacher to the English congregation at Lisbon, and his gift was made on his return to England, in 1678. It would be curious to contrast the terrible criticisms of Milton with those of the inquisitorial censors. The latter, however, shone chiefly in simple erasure.

The first fourteen chapters of *The Acts of the Apostles*, in English metre with musical notes, by Christopher Tye (printed by *Nicholas Hill* for *William Seres*, Lond. 1553, 12mo.), is another curiosity. Dr. Tye describes his version as intended for students "to synge and also to play upon the lute, very necessarye after theyr studye to fyle their wyttes, and also for all Christians that cannot synge to reade the good and godlye storyes of the lyves of Christ hys appostles." It has a metrical dedicatory preface to King Edward VI.

Archbishop Secker's bequest.

Archbishop Secker's bequest added to the Lambeth Library some specific collections of importance. Among these may be mentioned a series of sermons of great extent and of a most catholic comprehensiveness. It

included the leading Nonconformist divines of various denominations, as well as those of all sections of the Church of England. Another characteristic feature of this bequest is a series of tracts, ranging in date from 1715 to 1768, which abounds in materials for the history of that momentous period in our national annals. Mr. Nichols, the esteemed Historian of Leicestershire, shortly afterwards made a useful addition to this Library in the same department.

The Catalogues are numerous, but, for the most part, unprinted. Bishop Gibson's forms the basis of that still in use, as respects the general collection. It was largely augmented by his successors, Drs. Wilkins and Ducarel. An elaborate catalogue of the tracts was also drawn up by Dr. Ducarel, in 1773, in three folio volumes. Of the *early* printed books in the Library, Dr. Maitland published two lists, in 1843 and 1845. Mr. Todd's catalogue of the MSS., printed in 1812, has been previously noticed. There is also an elaborate MS. Catalogue of the Records and Charters contained in the collection, which fills a long series of volumes.[1]

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons;* 6 August 1660; 16 May 1682; Topham's *Account of the Manuscripts at Lambeth* in *the Reports from Select Committee on the Public Records of the Kingdom* (1800), 387-389; Hunter, *Report on the Parliamentary Surveys*, etc., printed in the *General Report of the Commissioners on the Public Records* (1837), 392-413; *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (1819), 93-106; Botfield, *Notes on Cathedral Libraries* (1849), 189-258; Walpole, *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey* (1817-1821), i, 87-89, 181-221; Singer, *Life of Selden* (1847), 93-94; *Westminster Review* (July, 1827), viii, 110; Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vi, 394; Aubrey's *Lives*, 247; Ducarel, *History of Lambeth Palace*, 74-76; Maitland, *History of London* (2nd edit. by Entick, 1775), 1287; Nicolson, *English Historical Library*, preface.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE ENGLISH INNS OF COURT.

Si quis minus sapiens et indoctus, sedem judicandi conscendere, et honestatem judicandi sibi præsumserit, ex alto corruit, quia volare satagit, antequam pennas assumat, et qui tali potestatem judicandi dederit perinde erit, ac si gladium ponerit in manu furientis.

BRACTON, *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ libri quinque*, c. x, 108.

There is no volume relating to Jurisprudence which may not on some occasion be called to our assistance, from the ancient text of Bracton and the *Mirror*, down to the latest pamphlet discussion. For such is the infinite shape which business assumes, that questions may arise which require research the most widely remote from the common line of study, and remove the practitioner, perhaps, to some unexplored corner.

The American Jurist.

§ I.—THE LIBRARY OF LINCOLN'S INN.

LINCOLN'S Inn Library is the oldest of the existing Libraries of London. It dates from 1497, when John Nethersale, a member of the Society, made a bequest towards the building of a Library for the benefit of the students of the laws of England. The building thus founded (or aided) appears to have been completed in 1508.

But no vigorous measures for the adequate collection of books seem to have been taken until the expiration of a century from the date last mentioned. In 1608, a Minute is recorded to the effect that "because the Library is not well furnished with books, it is ordered that for the more speedy doing thereof, every one that shall henceforth be called to the Bench in this Society shall give twenty shillings towards the buying of books for the Library; and everyone henceforth called to the Bar, thirteen shillings and fourpence, all which sums are to be paid to Mr. Matthew Hadde, who for the better ordering of the said Library was then made Master thereof." The office thus erected is now held by every Bencher in annual rotation.

Library contribution imposed in 1608.

Among the earliest benefactors of the Lincoln's Inn Library occur Ranulph Cholmeley, Recorder of the City of London, in the reign of Edward VI.; John Briscoe; Miles Corbet; and Sir Roper Owen. Dr. Donne and Archbishop Ussher honoured it with presentation copies, "*ex dono authoris.*" William Prynne repeatedly augmented the collection, as well with the old authors whom he loved, as with the multifarious productions of his own indefatigable pen. But the donor whose gift has almost cast into the shade all preceding benefactions is Sir Matthew Hale. In his last Will that illustrious judge wrote thus:—

[1] Herbert, *Antiquities of the Inns of Court*, 303; Spilsbury, *Lincoln's Inn*, 126, 127. There are several subsequent entries, directing disbursements to be made by Hadde, for the purchase and binding of various books, as, for example, of *Fleta*, of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and the like.

Bequest of Sir Matthew Hale.

"As a testimony of my honour and respect to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, where I had the greatest part of my education, I give and bequeath to that honourable Society the several manuscript books contained in a Schedule annexed to my Will. They are a treasure worth the having and keeping, which I have been near forty years in gathering with very great industry and expense. My desire is that they be kept safe and altogether in remembrance of me. They are fit to be bound in leather, and chained and kept in archives. I desire they may not be lent out, or disposed of; only if I happen hereafter to have any of my posterity of that Society that desires to transcribe any particular book, and gives very good security to restore it again within a prefixed time, such as the Benchers of that Society in Council shall approve of, then, and not otherwise, only one book at one time may be lent out to them by the Society. They are a treasure not fit for every man's view, nor is every man capable of making use of them. Only I would have nothing of these books printed, but entirely preserved together, for the use of the industrious learned members of that worthy Society."

Contents of the Hale MSS.

The collection thus bequeathed includes a considerable series of State papers and Records, many of which were transcribed from the original rolls by Chief Justice Hale's direction, and some of them by his own hand. The Reports, legal Common Place Books, and other professional MSS., are, of course, numerous. There are several early Chronicles and antiquarian *Collectanea* of various kinds. Many precious volumes compiled by

Selden are here preserved. They include portions of his Correspondence, and a fragment of an intended autobiography. Amongst other valuable matter, there are here materials for important additions to the *Titles of Honour*. There are also transcripts from the historical collections of Archbishop Ussher. Among the miscellaneous papers is a catalogue of MSS. obtained for the Library of the King of France by a French ambassador at Constantinople, which was transmitted to Selden from Paris by Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

Other MSS. in the Lincoln's Inn Library.

Besides the Hale MSS., this Library includes those of Serjeant Maynard, of John Coxe, Esq., a Bencher of the Society, and of Serjeant *Hill*; as well as many others which have accrued by occasional gifts or by purchase. Of some of the minor accessions, the mode of acquisition cannot now be traced. This, for example, is the case with a volume which finds itself in somewhat unwonted company,—a collection of early English metrical romances, apparently written in the fourteenth century. The only token of former possessorship traceable in this MS. is the signature in an Elizabethan hand, "Anthony Foster," a name (it may be remarked) which was stigmatized in the once famous "Father Parson's green coat," and is now undesirably immortalized in *Kenilworth*.

The manuscripts given by Mr. Coxe were accompanied by a valuable Library of printed books, amounting to about 5000 volumes, and embracing a diversified range of subjects. The next place to Sir Matthew Hale and Mr. Coxe, in the roll of benefactors, belongs to Mr. Charles Purton Cooper, another Bencher of Lincoln's

Inn, and for several years Secretary to the late Commissioners on the Public Records.

Gift of Mr. C. P. Cooper.

Mr. Cooper had for many years collected—in addition to a general Library of considerable extent—the vast literature of the Civil Law; the Codes and legal compilations of the chief European countries, and of the United States of America; and the best commentaries and practical treatises on Continental Jurisprudence of all periods, and on that of the United States. This legal collection extended to nearly 2000 volumes, and was, in 1843, presented to the Society of Lincoln's Inn. Additions to it have been already made by purchase, and will doubtless continue to be made from time to time; so that eventually this Library will possess an unrivalled series of books on such subjects.

Among the recent miscellaneous purchases is a volume, by a famous author and on a famous subject, which is believed to be unique. It forms the General Introduction to Prynne's "Records," or *Exact History of the Popes' intolerable usurpations upon the Liberties of the Kings and Subjects of England and Ireland.* The three volumes which compose the body of the book itself are of extreme rarity, in a complete shape, a large portion of the impression having been burnt in the Fire of London. Of the introductory volume the author speaks as "not yet completed, swelling to an entire tome;" and it was supposed to have entirely perished, until a copy was found to be in the Library of the Duke of Buckingham, at Stowe. It was never completed, but ends abruptly at page 400, in the middle of a sentence. The three completed volumes had been given to Lin-

coln's Inn by the donor himself. The present Bench wisely determined, on occasion of the sale of the Stowe Library, in 1849, that, whatever its cost, the Introduction should rejoin its companions. Three hundred and thirty-five pounds was the prize which had to be paid for the two hundred fragmentary leaves.

The present contents of the Library exceed 28,000 volumes. Few collections in the world are more handsomely housed. It is approached by a noble vestibule and corridor. A fine window of stained glass faces the visitor on his entrance, and claims the first expressions of admiration. He then finds that he is in a hall, ninety feet long,—the oriels included,—forty feet broad, and forty-four feet high, with an open oak-roof of striking originality in design, and filled with book-cases brought out into projecting piers, so as to form recesses of dimensions so restricted as not to injure—as such recesses often do—the proportions of the apartment. Light iron galleries run in double tier, so as to give convenient access to the upper books. Spiral staircases at each corner give access to the lower tier, and stone-staircases at the end of the room to the upper tier. The warming is by hot-water pipes carried along the floor, beneath iron gratings. The Library, like the new Hall which forms so remarkable an adornment of the finest square that London can boast of, was designed by Mr. Hardwick, and was completed in 1845.

The building allotted to Lincoln's Inn Library.

The arrangement of the books reflects much credit on Mr. Spilsbury, the present able Librarian, who has himself described the sequence of the several classes in these terms: "On taking a survey of the Library from

Arrangement of the books.

the last oriel ... the treatises on English Jurisprudence may be observed in the first recess on the left. In the next are the Reports of Cases argued in all the Courts of Law, with the decision of the judges, from the reign of Edward II. This division also contains a large collection of American Reports, some treatises on American Law, and on the Law of India. The shelves of the next division are occupied with the *Journals of the Houses of Parliament* ... and a complete collection of Cases heard on appeal before the House of Lords, from the year 1664. In the next recess is contained a collection of the *Statutes of the Realm*, ... works relating to the English Constitution and Parliament; and a large collection of Trials. In the last recess on this side are found sets of the *Annual Register*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, and works in various branches of English literature. On the opposite side of the room, again beginning from the last window, the first recess is occupied with the books on Foreign and Civil Law, presented by Mr. Cooper. The next is divided between Foreign Law and Foreign History. The middle recess is appropriated to English History and Topography. The next recess contains Greek and Latin Classics; Encyclopædias; Dictionaries and other works in Philology and Bibliography. The last recess is devoted to Theology. The Upper Galleries contain the remainder of the works on Law, and the great historical collections, such as Grævius, Muratori, and the like. The MSS. occupy two small rooms which are entered from the South Gallery.[1]

[1] Herbert, *Antiquities of the Inns of Court* (1804), 303, seqq.; Spilsbury, *Lincoln's Inn, with an account of the Library* (1850), 111-322;

An elaborate catalogue of them was compiled, in 1836, by Mr. Hunter, and printed by the Commissioners on the Public Records. Of the printed books there is a good catalogue, in manuscript, compiled by Mr. Spilsbury. For literary purposes access may be obtained to the Library, without difficulty, on proper application.

§ II.—The Libraries of the Middle and Inner Temple.

The Library of the Middle Temple was founded by Robert Ashley, Esq., by Will, dated 27 September, 1641. He bequeathed his own collection; the proceeds of the sale of part of his personal estate; and the sum of £300, in money. A century afterwards (1738), the Library contained about 4000 volumes "in most branches of literature, but more especially in Law and Parliamentary affairs." The chief benefaction it had received was that of William Petyt, the eminent legal antiquary, who bequeathed fifty pounds for the increase of the collection. More recently it has been augmented by the liberality of the late Lord Stowell. The present number of volumes is stated to be about 20,000. A printed catalogue appeared in 1845. The manuscripts are few and of small importance.

The Library of the Middle Temple.

The Library of the Inner Temple is not so well furnished with printed books as that of the Middle Temple, but it is much richer in manuscripts. As we have seen

General Report of the Commissioners on the Public Records (1837), 352—391; Burnet, *Life of Sir Matthew Hale*, Appendix; *Catalogue of books on Foreign Law, founded on the Collection presented by C. P. Cooper, Esq., to the Society of Lincoln's Inn* (1849), passim.

already, it had once had the opportunity of acquiring the noble collection of Selden—the most illustrious member this Society can boast of—but lost it; much to the gain of learning, in the increased accessibility afforded by the Bodleian. The principal treasures are the MSS. collected by Petyt, the benefactor of the sister Society.

Petyt bequeathed to the Inner Temple, as to its neighbour, the like sum of fifty pounds. His collection he bequeathed to the Public, but left the precise method of carrying his purpose into effect to the discretion of his Executors. To secure the preservation of the manuscripts, he also gave the sum of a hundred and fifty pounds towards building or buying a suitable receptacle. It was by the resolve of the Trustees that both books and money were assigned to the Society of the Inner Temple, on condition that a room should be built or provided for their reception, and that the Public should have free access. To this portion of the Library, therefore, students are admissible as of right. The Petyt collection was transferred in 1707. Daines Barrington, in his valuable work, entitled, *Observations on the Statutes*, has borne high testimony to their value.[1]

Terms of Petyt's bequest of his MSS.

The Libraries of the other Inns of Court are comparatively unimportant. That of Gray's Inn is the most respectable of them.

[1] Herbert, *Antiquities of the Inns of Court*, 267, 268; Maitland, *History of London* (Entick's edition), 1287.

CHAPTER XV.

THE OLDER LIBRARIES OF ENGLISH TOWNS, AND THEIR MANAGEMENT BY MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

> .... Hyde, Clifford, and Danby .... found a Parliament full of lewd young men, chosen by a furious people, in spite to the Puritans, whose severity had disgusted them. .... Many knew not what they did, when they made the Act for Corporations, by which the greatest part of the nation was brought under the worst men in it, drunk or sober.
>
> ALGERNON SYDNEY, *Discourses on Government* (Hollis' edition), p. 502.

SEVERAL of the ancient Corporate Towns of England possess Libraries, which were originally founded—either by the munificence of individuals, or by a public and joint-stock contribution,—and then entrusted to the guardianship of the respective municipalities. Most of these Libraries date from the early part of the seventeenth century. At that period, studious and even learned men were occasionally seen to take their share in the business of Town Councils. Others, sitting with them, who laid no claim to distinction of this sort, were forward to show their respect for it. No very elaborate argument was thought necessary to prove

Several Town Libraries founded early in the 17th century.

that all the townspeople had a common interest in the provision of facilities for study; or that this common interest was wholly independent of gradations in social position.

But this recognition of a common want which we find to have been made in several towns at nearly the same period, was soon checked in its natural results by the political strife then fast gathering head. The temporary lull in the great struggle, which occurred between the death of Cromwell and the call of William of Orange, is too full of public infamy to admit of surprise that the municipalities of the day had little attention to bestow on trusts of this kind. Algernon Sydney has truly depicted the then state of things, in his incisive way, by the statement that "the greatest part of the nation was brought under the power of the worst men in it." A fact so pregnant leaves small room for wonder that scarcely one of these Municipal Libraries was even decently cared for.

Outchecked by the Civil Wars, and profligacy of the Restoration.

Neglect by Corporations of their literary trusts.

Norwich, Leicester, and Bristol may here serve as sufficient examples of the treatment of Town Libraries by Corporations of such a stamp. Each of them possessed a Library founded within the first third of the seventeenth century. It would be hard to decide which has the pre-eminence in neglect of its advantage, but, as will be seen hereafter, Norwich, at least, has had a near prospect of distancing, in the present generation, the supineness and puerility of a past one.

§. 1. The City Library of Norwich.

This Library was commenced in the year 1608, during the mayoralty of Sir John Pettus. It seems to have enlisted very general good will in its favour. The donation-book records, in all, the names of no fewer than a hundred and forty-four donors. Most of the gifts, however, were small. The most important bequests appear to have been those of the Rev. Richard Ireland, in 1692, and of the Rev. Thomas Nelson, in 1714.

The distinguished but eccentric antiquary Peter Le Neve (Norroy) is said to have directed the preservation in Norwich, for public use, of his extensive and curious collections on the topography and antiquities of the county. There is some obscurity about the precise circumstances which impeded his purpose. Bishop Tanner, one of his Executors, says expressly: "Part of his Will relates to the putting his papers into some Public Library at Norwich." Subsequently, the Bishop writes to Dr. Rawlinson: "There was an ugly codicil, made a few days before his death, in favour of his wife, upon which she set up a claim for several of his Norfolk collections, and hindered the execution of that part of his Will." ... "But I have hopes," he adds, "that she is coming into better temper, and will let us perform our trust without entering into a Chancery suit." The lady, however, persisted. The Library, or great part of it, was sold by auction, in 1731. Some of the Norfolk MSS. had already passed, with the fair widow herself, into the possession of "Honest Tom Martin of Palgrave,"

and he seems to have bought more of them at the sale. Others were purchased by the Duke of Norfolk. Some MSS. of a different class were bought by the Earl of Oxford, and now form part of the Harleian collection in the British Museum. Martin's books were dispersed, in their turn, and several of them are in the Chetham Library at Manchester.

Book Rarities of Norwich.

Amongst the old books in the Norwich Library are the Polyglott Bibles of Antwerp and London; Taverner's English Bible of 1549; many fine specimens of early English Topography; choice copies of Hakluyt, Purchas, and of many of our national Chronicles. In short, though small, it is a curious and valuable collection. But the Corporation of a byegone day betrayed its trust by permitting it to pass into the custody of a private Society, and the Society thus illegitimately favoured has tried hard to induce the present Corporation to follow in the old track.

Under the provisions of a recent Act of Parliament —the "Public Libraries Act,"—the history of which will be found in a subsequent chapter,—a majority of the Corporation has, after much discussion, determined to repair the *laches* of its predecessor by reclaiming the two thousand volumes thus temporarily alienated, but has met with sturdy opposition on pretexts the most futile. The opponents may tell their own story, which to an observant reader carries its refutation on its face. It is framed, as a Memorial to the City Council, in the following terms:—

To the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of Norwich, in Council assembled.

The Memorial of the Committee of the Norwich Public Library

Sheweth,—That at a quarterly assembly of the Corporation, held June 19th, 1815, a certain Report of the Library Committee was agreed to, and consent given for the City books to be taken to the Public Library under the direction of the said Committee.

That your memorialists have learned with deep regret that it is contemplated to apply to the Council for power to remove the City books to the Free Library.

That upon the faith of their tenure of these books, as long as the conditions imposed were satisfactorily complied with, various sums of money, to a considerable amount, have from time to time been expended by your memorialists from the funds of the Public Library in their preservation.

That the books of the City Library have been embodied in the catalogues of 1825 and 1847, under the same scientific arrangement as the books which are the property of the Public Library, distinguishing those which are the property of the Corporation by a prominent and appropriate designation; and that therefore by the removal of the City Library, the catalogue, to which your memorialists have recently published the first appendix, will be rendered quite useless, and an expense, otherwise unnecessary, will be incurred.

That although the books of the City Library were recently found in a very dusty condition; yet that during the 40 years they have been in the custody of your memorialists, they have suffered no deterioration from damp, loss, or otherwise.

That the contiguity of the Public Library to the Guildhall affords the greatest convenience of application to the Town Clerk for permission to take out books from the City Library, and of the access of the Library Committee of the Corporation to inspect their property.

That it is in contemplation to place a fire in the room appropriated to the City Library, and further to improve it by the insertion of a large bay-window, which will make it a light and cheerful place for all who need reference to these ancent and valuable books.

That your memorialists venture to point out the entire unsuitableness, in their judgment, of works in learned languages, on abstruse subjects or in black letter, to the objects of the Free Library.

And your memorialists therefore pray that the books of the City Library be allowed to remain, as heretofore, in their keeping.

Signed on behalf of the Public Library Committee.

Norwich, Nov. 10th, 1856. G. W. W. FIRTH, President.

On so puerile a production it were idle to waste words. One remark, however, may be appropriate in anticipation of the history and objects of the Act of Parliament in pursuance of which the Free City Library of Norwich has been created. No Institution established under that Act can with justice address itself to any "class" of the population in particular. Rate-supported Libraries are *ipso facto* "Town Libraries." Their cost is defrayed by rate-payers of all degrees. It is the imperative duty of every Town-Council so to manage them as to make them conduce, in the utmost possible measure, to the researches, the pursuits, and the profit of *every* class of the townspeople. For some readers it may also be desirable to add that the so-called "Public" Library by whose managers this Memorial is drawn up, is Public in name only.

The decision of the Council may, I believe, be regarded as conclusive of the matter, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made to rescind it. As will be inferred from the recital, the indirect importance of the question thus raised, in its relation to the future working of the "Public Libraries Act" of 1855, is considerable, however comparatively trivial the immediate point in dispute.

§. 2. The City Library at Bristol.

City Library of Bristol, founded by Robert Redwood.

The City Library of Bristol is in origin nearly contemporaneous with that of Norwich, and its ill fortunes under Corporate management have been very similar. It was founded by Robert Redwood, an eminent citizen,

in 1614.[1] The first recorded proceeding on the subject is to be found in the following Council Minute:—"Convocatio Domus Consilii xv. die Decembris 1613. It is this day agreed that, if Mr. Roberte Redwoode will give his Lodge adjoyninge to the Towne Hall, neere the Marsh of Bristol, to the Mayor and Commonalty, to be converted to a Librarye, or place to put bookes for the furtherance of Learninge, then the same shal be thankefully accepted, and that then there shal be a dore made through the wall on suche sorte as shal be thought convenient by the Surveyors of the Landes of the Cytie, ... and that such bookes as shal be gyven to the Cytie by the reverende Father in God, the Lord Archbishop of York, or any other well-disposed person, for the furnishinge of a Library, shal be thankefully accepted, and preserved in the place aforesayed."

The next entry occurs in the Mayor's Register Book of 1614. It records that "this year was erected and builded the Library in the Marsh; Doctor Toby Matthew and Robert Redwood were the founders thereof, and Richard Williams, Vicar of St. Leonards, was the first .. Keeper thereof." The precise extent of the aid accorded by Archbishop Matthew does not appear, but it was obviously liberal. He was the son of a Bristol mercer, and had been born on Bristol Bridge, which in the sixteenth century was covered with houses. His gifts were described by himself as intended "for the benefit of his native city by the dissemination of know-

Benefaction of Archbishop Matthew.

[1] *Letters from .... the Bodleian*, ii, 104; Blomfield, *Essay towards a Topographical History of Norfolk*, iv, 343; Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, 415, 416; Botfield, *Notes on Libraries*, in the Philobiblon *Miscellanies*, 1-10.

ledge, and for the purpose of founding a Library of sound divinity and other learning, for the use of the Aldermen and shopkeepers. Many of the works he gave contain, in his autograph, the words:—

Tobias Eboracum.
Vita mihi Christus, Mors lucrum.

The Archbishop died in 1628, in the 83rd year of his age, after governing the See of York for twenty-two years. His fellow labourer in the foundation of Bristol Library, Robert Redwood, died two years afterwards; bequeathing, as an addition to his former gifts, ten pounds towards the further augmentation of the Library.

Early purchases by the Corporation.

The first entry of the purchase of books by the Corporation occurred in 1622, and runs thus:—"Paid Mr. Brown for 117 books for the provision of the Library, £14 10*s* 0*d*." In 1640 there is an entry of payment to an ironmonger "for 15 dozen and a half of book-chains for the Library, £3 17*s*. 6*d*." There are also other entries which show the enlargement of the Library building, and the gift of ground for the purpose by Richard Vickris, one of Redwood's Executors. A long blank ensues.

In the year 1725, the then Librarian and Vicar of St. Leonards, the Rev. Robert Clarke, called the attention of the City Council, by Memorial, to the fact that "the Library was become ruinous, the books much damaged, and in danger of being spoiled, and the building itself unsafe for persons to resort to." After nearly *fifteen years*' consideration, (the petition had been referred to a "Committee" with instructions to consider and report,) it was recommended to the Council that

the Library should be entirely rebuilt; which was accordingly done, in 1740, at an expense of £1300. In addition to the expenditure of the Corporation, private liberality appears to have enlisted itself in the undertaking. The building contains a chimney-piece which is a noble specimen of the carving in wood of Grinling Gibbons. It seems to have been one of the choice works which he had retained in his own gallery until his death, and to have been given by the subsequent purchaser.

Bequest of a descendant of Dr. Peter Heylin.

The most considerable bequest which Bristol Library has received, possesses a melancholy interest, from the death of the donor by his own hand. John Heylin was a descendant of the well-known (but by no means popular) author of *Microcosmus*, of *Cyprianus Anglicus*, and of a host of other laborious books, Dr. Peter Heylin. Although that sturdy divine, like many of his brethren, lost his Library during the Civil Wars, it seems probable that some of his lost books were recovered, and, with his subsequent acquisitions, inherited by his family. John Heylin's legacy is worded thus:—"I do hereby give to the Library in King Street in the parish of St. Leonard, in the City of Bristol, under the direction of the Mayor, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the same City, all my Father's Dr. [John] Heylin's manuscripts and manuscript sermons, and all my Library of printed books, which I judge may be about fourteen hundred in number."

The folly and scandal of converting the public-spirited foundation of Redwood and Matthew into a private Subscription Library belongs to the Town Council

Pretexts on which the Library was turned over to a private Society.

of 1773. The promoters of the new institution—laudable in itself—made it one of their first steps to obtain possession of the City Library, and in their memorial to the Corporation coolly express their persuasion that such "an attempt *to promote Literature* requires only to be mentioned in order to recommend itself to the patronage and support of the Magistracy." Quite as coolly the pliant Corporation accedes to the request by granting the "use of the Library House, and of the books therein deposited," and by expending the sum of a hundred and sixty pounds in fittings and bookbinding, prior to the transfer. Four years later, a further sum of three hundred pounds is expended in the removal of a coachhouse and stables, in order to "lay open the said Library." Shortly afterwards, the entrance money, the payment of which became the preliminary of access to the Library, was advanced by the Society to four guineas. Another demand on the public purse kept by the City Council followed, and was as successful as before. Well may the historian of these transactions note that they evince "the natural tendency of power unrestrained, or not subject to public controul, to creep into abuse." The Corporations created by the Carolinian politicians were, in truth, so many snug little coteries. The gentlemen to whose discretion the Bristol Corporation had thus yielded up a sacred trust, displayed their capacity to deal with it by passing a formal Resolution, "That no person keeping a lodging-house, inn, tavern, coffeehouse, or other place of public entertainment, be permitted to subscribe to this Society." So that had William Roscoe been born in Bristol, his

father would have been precluded from securing for him the advantage of access to books, which had been given to the townspeople at large, by Redwood, by Archbishop Matthew, and by Heylin, even had he been willing to pay for it an entrance fee of four guineas, in addition to an annual subscription. The Archbishop, too, we may call to mind, expressly designates "shopkeepers," as among those he purposed to benefit. Some of the authors of this notable resolution were themselves simply shopkeepers of a larger growth—dealers in wool, tobacco, or sugar in bulk. But they probably thought with "Yellowplush:" "*We must draw the line somewhere.*" And the race is by no means extinct, or confined to Somersetshire.

Attempt, in 1815, permanently to alienate the City land.

Encouraged by so much success, attained by their predecessors, a subsequent Committee waxed bolder still, and applied, in 1814, for such a lease of the ground as would give the Society "a permanent interest" in it. "The Citizens," says Mr. Tovey, the recent historian of the Library, "had a narrow escape." The Library Society had no money, ... or Redwood's Library, given to the City, would have been signed, sealed, and delivered to a *private* Society for a thousand years, at two shillings and five pence per annum."[1] Eleven years later, this admirable Society capped its proceedings by addressing a letter to the Mayor (signed "Samuel Seyer," and dated 3 May 1826), requesting "permission to remove the City books from the City bookcases," to some less conspicuous part of the building, as it would seem, "in order to make room for books

[1] Tovey, *The Bristol City Library, its founders and benefactors*, 37.

belonging to the Society." This was too much for the complaisance, even of the old Corporation, and "it was ordered that the said letter do lie upon the table."

Memorial of Citizens on the state of Redwood's Library, in 1848.

In the year 1848,—the date as will be seen hereafter, of a greatly increased interest in Town Libraries, in many parts of England,—the attention of the Bristol Town Council was called by a Memorial of Citizens to the unsatisfactory condition of their Library. It led to the preparation, by a Sub-Committee, composed of the then Mayor and some of the leading Councillors, of a Report in which it was stated that "the Council consider the books as open to the inspection of the Public, and that, on application to the Librarian, any inhabitant of the City is entitled to peruse them, in that part of the Library appropriated to the custody, avoiding interference with the Bristol Library Society, or prejudice to the grants made to that body." The Council took no further steps, at that time, in the matter. What has subsequently occurred belongs to the History of the "Public Libraries Acts" of 1850 and 1855.

It may be well, however, to add, in this place, that the "Library Society" has received from the public purse of the Citizens of Bristol nearly three thousand pounds, in addition to the use, for upwards of eighty years, of the City Library, built in 1740, at the cost of thirteen hundred pounds. To the books thus alienated from their purpose,—that, namely, of becoming the foundation of a Public Library duly augmented, from time to time, in proportion to the means which a City Council, honestly discharging its self-accepted trust, would have found

available,—no addition worthy of mention has been made during these eighty years. The last accession having accrued by the bequest, in 1778, by the Rev. Alexander Catcott, of a small but curious collection of "Hutchinsonian" books, and of works on "Natural History," as it was then cultivated. This bequest made the total number of volumes belonging to the City, about two thousand. Amongst them are important groups of books in Theology, Ecclesiastical History, and seventeenth-century French literature. The works of the Mystical divines (which attracted so remarkable an amount of attention in England a hundred years ago) are numerous, as are also the foreign editions and versions of the Holy Scriptures. For early English Bibles, the curious "stranger in Bristol" must visit the Baptist College, or obtain an introduction to the collection of Mr. Francis Fry.

Catcott's bequest.

§. 3. The Town Library of Leicester.

The fine old Town of Leicester—a corporation from the beginning of the thirteenth century, if not from an earlier date, and even at that time rich in historical associations—can boast that its Corporation had intellect and forethought enough to found a Library, at the public charge, in the year 1632. The indefatigable Archbishop Williams (at that time Bishop of Lincoln) whom we have so often met in this path of enterprise already, incited the Town Councillors to the effort, and held out to them his ever open hand. "There was," says the annalist, "a general and voluntary collection

The Town Library of Leicester.

throughout the Corporation, ... and likewise amongst the Ministers and Clergy in every Deanery in the county." Amongst the donors were John Angell, "publique lecturer for the sayd burrough," Sir Arthur Haslerig, Lady Beaumont of Coleorton, Sir Trevor Williams of Langriley, William Heyricke of Beaumanoir, and Thomas Hayne, one of the schoolmasters of Christ's Hospital.[1] The latter, whose character and learning won the regard of Selden, is described as "a prime benefactor, who, for the love and zeal he had for the advancement of learning and affection to this Library .... gave by his last Will.... all his books [a few excepted which were bequeathed to the Chapter Library, *then* the Public Library, be it remembered, of Westminster], amounting to above six hundred, ... being worthy books both divine and moral, and also many ancient and modern Chronicles and Historians, books of Philosophy and Poetry, Dictionaries, and divers other Tractates and Treatises."

There was already in Leicester, attached to St. Martin's Church, a small Library which had been founded by Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of York, and, with subsequent augmentations, placed in that Church "for the help and benefit of ministers and scholars." With the Bishop of Lincoln's hearty approval, this little collection was added to the new

[1] Hayne was a native of Thrussington in Leicestershire. There does not exist, I think, any warrant for the statement in the local guide-book that he was its "Rector." There is a portrait of him over the Library door, with the following inscription:

"M. S. HAYNE, qui inter eruditos et optimos nominari meruit, ... et præter multa piæ libertatibus testimonia passim collata, Bibliothecam hanc supellectile libraria munificè adornavit.—Ob. 27 Jul. 1645, ætat. 64."

Town Library. Angell now made a catalogue of the latter, which he thus classified:—

Libri Theologici.
Libri Historici.
Libri Oratorii et Poetici.
Libri Philosophici, Medici, Grammaticales, et Mathematici.

The aggregate number of *Works* included in this catalogue was 876. Among them were the Nuremberg Latin Bible of 1549; Stephanus' Greek Testament of 1550; the English Bibles of Tyndale and Cranmer; the Rheims New Testament of 1582, and some other versions.

Sir Henry Savile's Chrysostom was given by Sir Thomas Dolman, in 1668. Walton's Polyglott Bible, with various biblical Commentaries and Concordances, were given by Dr. Lazarus Seaman; shortly afterwards, Archbishop Tenison added Castell's Lexicon, in 1696. An anonymous donor gave what are enigmatically entered as "Two MSS. of foreign nations," which have since disappeared. A few years later, the name of Humphrey Wanley appears as the donor of Gale's Antoninus. Finally, in 1743, many valuable books were bequeathed by the Rev. John Harryman.

From the latter part of the seventeenth century, the Library seems gradually to have sunk into careless guardianship and ultimate neglect. The character of the guardianship will be sufficiently inferred from the fact that we find it gravely recorded in the Annals of the Corporation that a certain Librarian was "*promoted*" to be macebearer. Barefaced depredations were committed. From a MS. Latin Bible (on vellum) many leaves were cut out, by and for visitors, and by way of

"keepsakes." An Arabic MS. was similarly treated, and a copy of Purchas' Voyages almost entirely destroyed. Nor can such doings excite the smallest surprise when we read in the *History of Leicestershire* that several hundreds of books were removed from their places, and thrown into a confused heap, in 1793, in order to increase the accommodation for the company invited by a magistrate of more than usual hospitality to the "Mayor's feast;" the books still remaining in that chaotic state when the fact was published ten years afterwards.

The Codex Leicestrensis.

But the chief treasure of the Library, the famous *Codex Leicestrensis* of the Greek Testament, ascribed to the fourteenth century, has happily escaped. This fine MS. was part of the bequest of Thomas Hayne. It had formerly belonged, with other MSS. of the same class, to William Clarke, the ejected fellow of Peterhouse. Thirty years ago, the Town Council acquired the elaborate collation of this MS. with the Oxford edition of the Greek text, published in 1685,—a collation which had been made by John Jackson (the editor of Novatianus), with the help of Tiffin and Gee; became afterwards the property of Cæsar de Missy; and by him was lent to Wetstein.[1] The Codex is in cursive letters, and is partly on vellum and partly on paper.

With the exception of the volume just mentioned, no addition appears to have been made to the Leicester Library for half a century. Then came a donation from the late Commissioners on the Public Records of a

[1] This volume is thus described in the Sale Catalogue of De Missy's Library (1776), No. 1617: "*Collatio Codicis Leicestrensis per Rev. J. Jackson adscripta margine N. T. Græce, impressi Oxonii* 1675. *Hoc est originale e quo variantes lectiones suo N. T. inseruit Wetsteinus.*"

selection from their publications; and a few minor gifts. The Town Council then put this Library into good condition, but did nothing to augment it. The Records of the Town itself are of great interest. They extend from the reign of King John, and are bound in about forty volumes, but—somewhat strangely, I think—are kept in another Library. Very recently, the Commissioners of Patents have presented their valuable publications,—rich in matter both of commercial and of scientific interest,—but there is a wide gap between the old staple and this new importation, which must be filled up by local exertion, if either the one or the other is to be of permanent utility to the good old Town.[1]

[1] Nichols, *History of Leicestershire*, i, pt. 5, 505-510; *Catalogue of the books in the Town Library, Leicester* [1846]; *Thirty-second Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities* [1837], pt. 5, 7; Thompson, *Hand-book of Leicester*, 61; Wetstein, *Prologomena in Nov. Test. Gr.*, 53; Tregelles, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 210; MS. notes with which I have been obligingly favoured by Mr. Plant of Salford.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PAROCHIAL AND QUASI-PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES OF ENGLAND.

....Per secondare l'istruzione delle scuole, e dar ogni ajuto al clero studioso, avevano le Chiese le loro Biblioteche, che de' più opportuni libri procurovano fossero arricchite. Di Panfilio Martire dice San Girolamo, che nell' ardore di ben corredare la sacra Biblioteca non voleva cedere alle premure di Demetrio Falereo e di Pisistrato per cercare ogni sorta di buoni libri. La Chiesa Gerosolimitana conservava una copiosa Libreria, di cui era stato fondatore il vescovo Alessandro, e dagli scritti di questa aver ricavata Eusebio gran parte delle storiche sue notizie egli stesso confessa. *etc.*

ANDRES, *Dell' origine, de' progressi e dello stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*, i, 159-160. (Ed. of 1783.)

The simple words of our good old English Bible are consecrated sounds; they ring in the depths of our heart like the holiest memories; ..... are associated with fields of conflict; with meek and patient martyrdoms; with successful missions; with all that is dearest and deepest, and most stirring in the great battle of the Christian life.

CUMMING, *Revision .... of the Bible*, 290.

BOOK III. Chapter XVI. The Parochial Libraries of England.

IT is more than probable that throughout all Christendom the earliest Libraries were Church Libraries. The necessity that those whose lives were to be spent in teaching and preaching should themselves continue to be taught and exhorted, sustained and comforted, by books, must everywhere have made itself apparent.

When the great Reformation introduced new relations between priests and people, the Churches, and pre-eminently our English Churches, came to be in a special sense the Libraries of the Laity. It was there that the popular mind first became deeply imbued with the precepts, the discipline, and the consolations of the Bible, not alone by listening to pulpit exposition, and thus "receiving the word with all the readiness of mind," but by "searching the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so."

Within a few years of that bitter hostility to the very idea of a Bible for the people which had driven Tyndal across the Channel in order to work, with all his soul, at his translation, the demand for one—whatever the motive—came from the royal lips. Henry VIII. told the Bishops that if Tyndale's translation was bad, they must make a better. Delays and evasions were multiplied. At length, Cranmer sent a portion of Tyndale's version to each Bishop for correction. One refused; nine promised or insinuated compliance; but none set to work. They doubtless well remembered that, but a little while before, the very books they were called upon to revise had been publicly burnt in St. Paul's, and the adventurous importers of them episcopally and regally anathematized. Coverdale was now officially commissioned to go abroad to seek Tyndale's aid in the collection and revision of the various portions. It was probably not until the year 1536 that the first complete English Bible was fully printed.[1] There was prefixed to it a

Translation of the English Bible.

[1] The colophon notwithstanding: ... ("fynished the fourth daye of October 1535.) Additions appear to have been made at an English press.

highly imaginative frontispiece in which (amidst other groups) the Almighty is represented in the clouds; a scroll proceeds from his mouth towards the kneeling monarch, with the inscription: "*I have found me a man after my own heart who shall fulfil all my will.*" Henry is made to ejaculate in answer: "*Thy word is a lantern unto my feet.*" But a long delay was yet to intervene, before the common people entered into the really free and publicly authorized enjoyment of the sacred volume. It has, indeed, been frequently asserted that in this very year (1536) a royal injunction was addressed by the Vicar General Cromwell to the Clergy throughout the realm, directing that "every parson or proprietary of any Parish Church within the realm shall on this side the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and also in English, and lay the same in the Quire for every man that will to read and look therein; and shall discourage no man from reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or in English." But there is great reason to doubt that this part of the injunctions of 1536 was ever issued. The probabilities seem to be that such a clause was contemplated and drafted; but struck out prior to the promulgation. The clause does not appear in Archbishop Cranmer's Register; it is not printed in the *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*; Burnet did not himself print it, although in the Oxford edition of the *History of the Reformation* of 1829 it is inserted, but with a marginal note pointing out its doubtful authenticity.

I believe that the suggestion for placing Bibles in the Churches so that they might be read of all men,

was highly displeasing to Henry VIII., and that repeated efforts had to be used in order to overcome his repugnance. In the autumn of 1537, Grafton was evidently in fear that the Bibles then on his hands would be slow of sale. He implores Cranmer to obtain the King's consent "that every Curate have one of them; yea, and that every Abbey should possess six to be laid in six several places." The Archbishop then writes to Cromwell: "I pray you, my Lord, that you will exhibit the books unto the King's Highness, and to obtain of His Grace, *if you can*, a license that the same may be sold and read of every person without danger of any Act, Proclamation, or Ordinance to the contrary, ... *until such time that we the Bishops shall set forth a better translation, which, I think, will not be till a day after Doomsday.*"[1] Then, at length (September, 1537), came the published injunction: "Item, That ye shall provide... a book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in

Efforts in 1537 to obtain the King's assent to the free circulation of the English Bible.

[1] Jenkyns, *Remains of Thomas Cranmer*, i, 197, seqq.; Wilkins, *Concilia*, 845; Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, Appendix of Records, i, part 2, 254; Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, i, 517, seqq. Comp. Froude, *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey*, iii, 76, seqq. There is, I fear, not the smallest evidence to warrant us in substituting, for the memorable words attributed during so many generations to the illustrious Tyndale, at the stake (6 Sept. 1536)—*Lord, open the King of England's eyes*,—Mr. Froude's bold hypothesis: "He lived to see the Bible no longer carried by stealth into his country, where the possession of it was crime, but borne in by the solemn will of the King, solemnly recognized as the word of the Most High God" (*ut supra*, 84). In other respects, Mr. Froude has spoken worthily of the noble-hearted man, whose martyrdom did not begin at Brussels. It can *now* but with partial truth be said of Tyndale:—

"With his name
No bard embalms and sanctifies his song;
And History, so warm on minor themes,
Is cold on this."

English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said Church, that ye have cure, where your parishioners may the most commodiously resort to the same and read it; *the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between You, the Parson, and the Parishioners aforesaid.* Thus was laid the first rude foundation of the Parochial Libraries of England.

The deposit of Bibles the germ of our Parochial Libraries.

If we accept Bishop Berkeley's test of the greatness of a benefaction,—namely, that it is rather in proportion to the number and want of the receivers, than to the liberality of the giver,"[1]—we can hardly estimate too highly the value of the measure which was thus at length reluctantly conceded by the capricious Monarch. It had been won by the blood of voluntary martyrs; by the toils of obscure Bible printers, some of them working amidst the perils of a vagrant exile, others amidst those of pestilence embittered with mental anxieties; and by the long-continued efforts of well-meaning men in high place (then, perhaps, most of all to be pitied) who could discern no way of doing what they knew to be God's work, save at the cost of often flattering the pride, and occasionally winking hard at the crimes of a King, incapable of curbing his own basest appetites, yet bent on governing the thoughts, and controlling the aspirations, of all his subjects.[2]

The people flocked in such crowds to read the Bibles that a choice had to be made of certain of their number to read aloud to the rest. Other books were occasion-

[1] *Proposal of a College*, etc. (Works, 209.)

[2] *E. G.* "We will have no more thwarting, no more contentions.... We will, in any case, that all preachers agree." ... Henry VIII. to the Bishops,—MS. in the Rolls' House, d. 15. (Froude, iii, 245.)

ally added, by like authority, as, for instance, Erasmus' Paraphrase of the New Testament, and the work (*The Institution of a Christian man*), known as "The Bishops' Book." Then, the battle of the "Old Learning" and the "New Learning" waxing hot and earnest, the appeals and concessions to opinion and open speech were repented of. Reading aloud was first forbidden; afterwards the reading in any wise of certain translations and editions. At length, the Bible was to be accessible only under restriction as to age, sex, and social rank. Under Queen Mary the very *possession* of some of the books which a few years before had been placed in the Churches became a capital offence, punishable "by martial law."[1] Well may the infant Libraries have been checked and stunted in their growth.

Parochial Library of Langley Marish, Buckinghamshire.

I am ignorant of any proofs of the foundation of Parochial Libraries by individual beneficence, of prior date to the formation of the existing Library in the Church of Langley Marish, Buckinghamshire, by Sir John Kederminster, in the year 1632. It is placed at the West end of the Kederminster Chapel, in which there is an ancient tablet, recording that the above-named donor (Lord of the Manor of Langley) "made and gave to this town for ever the adjoining Library." His Will (dated 2 Feb. 1631) directs that books to the value of twenty pounds should be placed in the Library so prepared; and that the key should be strictly kept by certain almspeople of his endowment, under regu-

[1] Proclamations of 14 June 1555, and 6 June 1558; quoted by Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, iii (pt. 1), 418; (pt. 2) 130, 131.

lations which are specified with curious minuteness. The Charity Commissioners describe this small collection as consisting of "500 or 600 volumes of ancient divinity, in good preservation." The Curate of Langley, Mr. Nash, writing in 1849, says: "The Library consists of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and the chief works on the Reformation Controversy.... There is no provision for adding to it.... The room in which the books are, was evidently the South Porch, and perhaps a Priests' Room to the Church, and is of as early a date as 1500."[1]

Halifax Church has an old Library of nearly contemporaneous date, as it would seem, from the vague mention of it in the ponderous *History and Antiquities of Halifax*, by Watson.[2] Boston, in Lincolnshire, has another which dates from 1635. Wotton Wawen, in Warwickshire, has one founded in 1645 by the then Vicar George Dunscomb, M. A.[3] The Church Libraries of this period are usually founded in accordance with the principle which governed Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell; namely, as depositories and centres of the dominant Theology of that day. Perhaps no better instance of the object in view can be exemplified, than that afforded by the Will of Humphrey Chetham of Manchester (16 Dec. 1651), already quoted for a different purpose. The passage we are here concerned with runs thus:—

[1] Lipscomb, *History of Buckinghamshire*, iv, 542-543; *Twenty-fifth Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities*, 95-99; *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxii, 1181; W. D. Cooper in *Notes and Queries* for June, 1856; MS. Correspondence.

[2] pp. 258, seqq.; Comp. Gough, Additions to Camden's *Britannia*, iii, 275.

[3] *Notes and Queries*, *ubi supra*.

"Also I do hereby give and bequeath the sum of two hundred pounds to be bestowed by my Executors in godly English books, such as Calvin's, Preston's, and Perkins' works, comments and annotations of the Bible, or some parts thereof; or such other books as... [the said Executors] shall think most proper for the edification of the common people; to be ... chained upon desks... or in other convenient places, in the Parish Churches of Manchester and Boulton-in-the Moors, and in the Chapels of Turton, Walmesley, and Gorton, in the said county of Lancaster, within one year after my decease" [which happened in 1653].

Church Libraries in Lancashire, founded by Humphrey Chetham.

The trust was faithfully and liberally carried out by the Executors. A considerable collection of the works of Protestant Divines was purchased. It included those of Baxter, Bolton, Brightman, Anthony Burgess, Burroughes, Calvin, Cartwright, Chillingworth, Peter Du Moulin, Foxe, Greenhill, Jewell, Peter Martyr, Mede, Morton, Perkins, Reynolds, Thomas Taylor, Ursinus, Ussher, Francis White, John White, and Willet.

Besides the *Acts and Monuments* of Foxe there were, in the section "Church History," Knox's *Reformation in Scotland*, Luther's *Table Talk*, and Paolo Sarpi's *Council at Trent*. Fine old carved oak book-cases still exist at Turton and at Gorton, both of which are inscribed:—"*The Gift of Humphrey Chetham, Esquire, 1655.*"

The books belonging to Bolton and to Walmesley have long since been dispersed, and no trace of them is now recoverable. Those of Manchester Church had been suffered to fall into neglect and dilapidation—not, however, until they had obviously rendered good

service in their day,—and it was thought "expedient," some twenty years ago, "to dispose of them to a dealer in Shudehill," rather than to repair and preserve them. Some of the volumes thus sold were subsequently purchased from the dealer by Mr. Crossley of Manchester, in whose valuable collection they are now safely housed.

Restoration of the small Library at Turton.

The number of volumes remaining at Turton is fifty-two; at Gorton, fifty-six. The former have recently been well and thoroughly repaired by public subscription. The latter will probably receive the like good offices in their turn. It appears probable from accounts still preserved in the Chetham archives that about four hundred were originally bought for distribution amongst these Parochial Libraries, by Chetham's Executors, at an average-cost, in the money of that day, of about eight shillings a volume.[1] The books at Turton and at Gorton are still chained, but in a manner that admits of their convenient use. The restoration at Turton is at once a mark of the respect rightly due to a most worthy man, and an honour to those who have been the means of effecting it.

Parochial Libraries in the eastern counties.

The Records of the parish of Wisbeach in the county of Sussex tell us that "about the time of the Restoration, the ten Capital Burgesses, towards the encouragement of learning, prepared the chamber over the Church porch ... for the reception of books; and several other gentlemen, at the same time, liberally contributed both money and books.[2] At Shipdham, in Norfolk, there is

[1] Chetham MSS.; *Bibliographical notices of the Libraries at Turton and Gorton* (Chetham Society, 1855).

[2] *Catalogue of the Parochial Library of Wisbeach* (1718), preface.

an old Church Library, of uncertain date, which contains, I believe, some early printed books of considerable rarity. At Beecles, too, in the neighbouring county, there are some old books—amongst them the first book of Common Prayer, of King Edward VI.,—long grossly neglected, but of late years put into good order. "About 1835," wrote the Rev. J. J. Smith, in 1849, "I saw the Library in the Church in a lamentable condition. In 1840, I went there again, and found a room in the town of good size and well fitted up, with a large number of goodly volumes. The beginning had been made by transferring the Church Library, under proper conditions.[1]

Tenison Library in St. Martin's, Westminster.

Archbishop Tenison, in March 1684, applied to the Vestry of St. Martin's, in the Fields, of which he was then the exemplary and beloved Vicar, for permission to erect "at his own proper costs and charges," upon certain ground belonging to the parish, "a fabrick for a public Library,"... to be for "public use, but especially for the Vicar and Lecturer of the said parish, and the parsons of the parish churches of St. James's and St. Anne's, Westminster;" etc. The application was of course gratefully acceded to. A building was erected, and a deed of settlement executed. Besides building the Library and a schoolhouse beneath it, and presenting a considerable and valuable series of books, the munificent Archbishop gave a thousand pounds in money towards the support of the Library and School. John Evelyn, Sir Paul Ricaut, and Dr. Edmund Gibson,

[1] MS. Correspondence.

afterwards Bishop of London, also gave books. At present, the collection amounts to about three thousand volumes; includes many books of high value; and extends over most of the classes usually comprised within a Library of the seventeenth century. But the additions to it have been trivial. There is, in fact, no fund for purchases. Among the MSS. are the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, a finely illuminated volume of the eleventh century; the *Versarium* of Fortunatus, of similar date; and some Biblical codices, amongst which is an imperfect copy of Wycliffe's Bible. These MSS. are about seventy in number. The general condition of the Library has been greatly improved by the exertions of the Rev. Philip Hale, the present Librarian; but the one practical step which alone will vivificate and fructify Archbishop Tenison's bequest has yet to be taken. Here, as in many other parishes and towns of Britain, clergy and people will have to ponder and discuss Thomas Cromwell's suggestion of the sixteenth century,—that "the charges shall be rateably borne,"—and to bring to the consultation the experience and the legislative appliances of the nineteenth.

Exertions of Thomas Bray, D.D., for the formation of Parochial Libraries.

In the reign of William and Mary, Dr. Thomas Bray (the founder of the well-known Society for the propagation of the Gospel) commenced the strenuous exertions for the preservation and increase of Parochial Libraries which in his lifetime were attended with con-

[1] Vestry Reports of the Parish of St. Martin's in the Fields (1835); Catalogue of the MSS. in Tenison's Library by S. Ayscough, among the "*Additional MSS.*" in Brit. Mus., No. 5017; *Statutes at large*, I. Annæ Reg. (1702); MS. Correspondence.

siderable success, and have ever since been systematically carried on, although with somewhat less breadth of view than his own. A man of great energy and insight, he was not slow to perceive that the true way to magnify his office lay in redoubling clerical labour, rather than in retaining a surplice, or lighting up an altar, or even in composing elaborate treatises on the "apostolical succession." He saw that for parish work a goodly series of shelves filled with well chosen books were better auxiliaries than the most imposing array of singing-boys that were ever set to chant without knowing how to read. He knew that an unlearned clergyman was nine times in ten an unsuccessful clergyman, and very often an indolent one; that for ministerial work the full head must accompany the soft heart.

Circumstances, not of his own choice, gave a colonial direction to his first conspicuous labours in forming Parochial Libraries. The Commissaryship of Maryland had been pressed upon him. Before accepting the office, he represented to the Bishops, "That none but the poorer sort of clergy could be persuaded to leave their friends, and change their country for one so remote; that such persons could not be able sufficiently to supply themselves with books; that without a competent provision of books they could not answer the design of their mission; that a Library would be the best encouragement for studious men to undertake the service." The great inducement to himself to go, he added, was that he might do as much good as he could: and that, "if they thought fit to encourage and assist him in providing Parochial Libraries, he would then accept the

Commissary's office." In his labours to this end, he was not unfrequently met with a remark, the force of which he well knew already: "We have poor clergy in England; we want parish Libraries here. Why not begin at home?" He determined to do his utmost for both objects at once. Before setting out for Maryland, he had been the means both of improving old Libraries and of founding new ones in various parts of Britain. Happening on his outward voyage to be driven by stress of weather into Plymouth Sound, he turned the detention to good account by recovering from dust and neglect an old Library[1] in that seaport, which contained, and—probably as the result of what he then did—still contains, some valuable MSS.

In several other instances after his return from Maryland, Dr. Bray augmented church collections which had been founded long before. This, for example, was the case at Whitchurch in Hants, where part of the Library of the old family of Brooke—one of whom was the host of Charles I., at an early stage of the great Civil War,—subsequently augmented by a Vicar of the parish, had been preserved. At one time it included some rare books, but of these few now survive. There is still a valuable assemblage of good divinity and Church History; and not a few curious tracts. The collection extends to 750 volumes, and has been carefully catalogued. It is placed in a vestry, over the door of which is this

Library at Whitchurch, Hants.

[1] A reader desirous of information about this old Library would turn in vain to the marvellous farrago, printed in 1853, and entitled *Catalogue of the Ancient and Modern MSS. in the Public Library, Plymouth.* Notwithstanding its title, no intelligible sentence on the subject is there to be found.

inscription: "For any book borrowed out of this place, the full value thereof shall be laid down in money, untill the same is returned safe and unblemish'd. 1725." This was five years after the augmentation from Bray's fund, which consisted chiefly of the British divines of the seventeenth century, as Tillotson, Whitby, Blackhall, Dr. Henry More, and the like. Whitchurch Library has long been safe from the grosser injuries which had befallen it in other times; but there is no present prospect of its enlargement. That slenderly endowed vicarage is one of many illustrations of the sad consequences which have followed the spoliation of the national church for the aggrandizement of lay impropriators.

I do not know whether Dr. Bray—himself a Shropshire man—had or had not any direct connection with the foundation, in 1697, of a Parochial Library by Gervase, Lord Pierpoint, who, by an indenture, dated the 23d October in that year, granted certain rents and tithes to Trustees, and, amongst other covenants, directed that the Minister of Tong, for the time being, "might hold and enjoy a certain chamber in Tong Castle, as the same was then furnished with presses and books, together with the free use of the said books, and of such other books as he, the said Lord Pierpoint, should appropriate to the use of the said Minister and his successors." Another deed of 14th August, 1725, sets forth that Evelyn, Duke of Kingston, "hath built a house in Tong ... with a convenient room for a Library. ... And hath caused a catalogue to be made of the books remaining with the Minister, and hath delivered

the said books to him for the use of himself and his successors. The catalogue thus referred to contained 554 volumes. The Charity Commissioners of 1820 state that "the Library is understood to have been augmented by Mr. Peitier, a former incumbent. It was removed several years ago to the vestry-room. Some additions are occasionally made to it,... but it does not seem heretofore sufficiently secure against losses."[1]

Library of All Saints Church, Maidstone.

Maidstone possesses a Library of some antiquity, preserved in the vestry of All Saints Church. At Dr. Bray's death, it was notified that his valuable collection of the works of the Fathers would, in accordance with the direction of his Will, be presented to any town in England, where, within three years after his death (which occurred in 1730), a sum of fifty pounds should be collected for its augmentation. This condition was fulfilled at Maidstone. A catalogue of the collection was made, and published shortly after the receipt of Bray's bequest, which appears to have increased the number of volumes to about eight hundred. Amongst them were *two* copies of Walton's Polyglott Bible.[2] Here, too, I regret to add, the losses appear to have been very serious.

In the aggregate, sixty-one Church Libraries in England and Wales had been either founded or enlarged by Dr. Bray in his lifetime, with the help of the associates who had joined him in this work, and in that of the American and West Indian missions. To secure the perpetuity of these collections he had induced Lord Chancellor King to prepare and to carry into law an

[1] *Report of the Charity Commissioners*, iii, 258-261.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, vi, 559.

Act of Parliament "*for the better preservation of Parochial Libraries in that part of Great Britain called England* (7th of Q. Anne c. 14, 1709). The preamble recites that... "several charitable and well-disposed persons have ... erected Libraries within several parishes and districts in England and Wales, but some provision is wanting to preserve the same, and such others as shall be provided in the same manner, from embezzlement." Amongst the enactments to this end are the exaction of security from incumbents, and of inspection from the Ordinary; the making of systematic catalogues, and the provision of powers for the recovery of books withheld, or their value." But the Act leaves these Libraries just as it found them, in respect to that best security of all,—when conjoined with due publicity,—the provision, namely, of some permanent means of increase, the one condition of continued usefulness.

Act for the preservation of Parochial Libraries, 1709.

The "Associates of Dr. Bray" continue to be a Corporation. They possess £7500 in the funds, and an estate in Philadelphia. In 1850, the annual income was £454, the greater part of which was applied to the maintenance of colonial schools. At this date, the total number of those small Church Libraries which had been founded or enlarged was one hundred and forty-four.[1]

One of the most extensive and efficient Parochial Libraries now in existence, is of comparatively recent foundation. A Countess of Bridgewater (the widow, I

[1] *Statutes at large* (Raithby's edition), iv, 18, 19; Smith, *Life of Thomas Bray, D.D.*, passim; *Report for the year* 1850 *on the institutions established by the late Dr. Bray and his Associates*, passim; MS. Correspondence.

believe, of John, third Earl, who died in 1701) purchased what Mr. Botfield describes as "a beautiful Library, from one of the Prestons, and left it as an heirloom to the living." This collection was largely augmented by Francis Henry, Earl of Bridgewater (the donor of the "Egerton MSS." in the British Museum), who, at his death in 1825, bequeathed to the Rector of Whitchurch, in Shropshire, for the time being, the printed portion of his valuable Library; together with the proceeds which might accrue from the sale of the wines in his cellars at Whitchurch, and a further sum of one hundred and fifty pounds to be invested in the name of such Rector, and the dividends expended in the augmentation of the Library. "It consists," wrote the Rev. W. H. Egerton, Rector of Whitchurch," in 1849, "chiefly of Divinity, although there are many valuable works in History, Biography, etc. The Library is not accessible to the Public, except by permission of the Rector, who would probably always rejoice in the circulation of the books among those who would make a careful and proper use of them." The number of volumes is now between three thousand and four thousand (nearly a thousand of these folios), and among them are books of great value.[1]

Library at Whitchurch, Salop.

The Library of Bamburgh Castle, founded by Nath. Crewe, Bishop of Durham.

Upon a famous spot on the rock-bound coast of Northumberland, there is a Library of considerable value which is accessible to all householders within a district some twenty miles in breadth. Bamburgh Castle stands upon a rugged triangular rock which rises a hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea, and is

[1] MS. Correspondence; Botfield, *Notes on Cathedral Libraries*, *ut supra*, preface.

richly bestrewn with lichens. A place of great strength both from natural position, and skilful fortification, it is on many accounts memorable. It was vainly besieged by William Rufus; was chosen by Edward II. for the hiding-place of Gaveston; was the object of a terrible assault after the battle of Hexham; and was the scene of some of the plottings which resulted in the futile Rebellion of 1715. In recent times, it has been devoted to the shelter and solace of shipwrecked mariners, and to other good works, by the bounty of its last owner, Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, who was Bishop of Durham at the epoch of the Revolution of 1688, and held that See until 1721.

It should, perhaps, rather enhance than lessen the respect due to the public-spirited foundations of this Prelate that they may, to some extent, be regarded as an atonement for serious errors in political conduct during those critical times which preceded the Revolution. Not only did Lord Crewe offer no resistance to the mad projects of that consummate Stuart, James II., but he lent them active furtherance. He had, however, wisdom enough to bend timelily before the storm, and to turn the comparative quietude of his remaining days to better account. He became a munificent friend to Oxford. He set a worthy example of openhanded beneficence and forethought to his successors in the See of Durham. By the purchase of Bamburgh Castle, when forfeited by Thomas Forster, he secured the preservation of an interesting monument of our national history, and connected it for ever with works of civilizing charity.

But here, and now, we have to do only with the literary part of Bishop Crewe's foundations. By his last Will, dated 24 June 1720, he bequeathed his manors at Bamburgh and Blanckland, then of the yearly value of £1312 13*s.* 5*d.* (but in 1830 producing a net value of £8126) to Trustees, for various educational and charitable purposes. In the year 1778, the then Trustees under this Will laid the first foundation (according to their own statement) of the Library of Bamburgh Castle, by the purchase of the entire collection of the Rev. Thomas Sharpe, curate of Bamburgh, then lately deceased; and were thus enabled to offer to the neighbourhood, and particularly to the clergy, the use of a considerable number of books in all branches of literature. This purchase was made at the expense of £360, and a Librarian was afterwards appointed, as well for the care of the books as to attend to such applications as might be made for them. Some additions were occasionally made in subsequent years, by the gifts of the Rev. Dr. John Sharpe; but it was not until after his death, which happened April 28, 1792, that the trust acquired the largest and most valuable part of this literary treasure.

Description of that portion of Lord Crewe's bequest which relates to the Library.

In this liberal donation (then valued at £808 16*s.* 9*d.*) is comprehended the most valuable part of the Library of John Sharpe, Archbishop of York. Besides a very comprehensive collection of the most esteemed works in Theology and Ecclesiastical History, the best editions of all the classic authors and of our own historians, it contains a very curious assemblage of tracts and pamphlets, chiefly historical and

Acquisition of the Library of Archbishop Sharpe.

controversial, during a period of more than thirty years.

Dr. Sharpe by his Will, dated April 19, 1792, bequeathed his Library in the following terms: "I give and bequeath to the Trustees of Nathaniel, late Lord Crewe, all my books in my Library at Hartburn, and in my house at Durham (excepted as before and hereinafter excepted), which contains the most valuable part of my grandfather's collection, to be kept in Bamburgh Castle. As also all music-books which shall be found at Hartburn and Durham at the time of my decease."

The Regulations for the extension of the use and benefit of the Library at Bamburgh Castle, published about 1810, state that every book may be consulted or read in the room, on the day and within the hours limited for that purpose. No book shall, on any pretence, be lent out of the room to any person who is not qualified as hereafter mentioned; viz. "A well-known housekeeper, usually residing within twenty miles of Bamburgh Castle; a clergyman of the Church of England, dissenting minister, or Roman Catholic priest, appointed to serve any church, chapel, or place of worship within the said distance, though such clergyman, minister, or priest should not be a housekeeper. Every book lent out shall be subject to the demand of any of the Trustees.... All books not demanded shall be returned on or before the 1st of November in every year."[1]

[1] *Catalogue of the Library at Bamburgh Castle* (Durham 1810), preface; *Twenty-third Report of the Charity Commissioners*, 130-148; Hutchinson, *History of Durham*, i, 560: *An examination of the life of Nathaniel, Lord Crewe*, passim.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE HISTORY OF THE "PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACTS" OF 1850 AND 1855.

> A willing Legislature could say very many things... with effect. And to whatsoever vested "Interest," or such like, stood up, gainsaying merely "I shall lose profits,"—the willing Legislature would answer "Yes; but our sons and daughters will gain health, and life, and a soul."
>
> CARLYLE. *Past and Present.* 355.

> Our Ancestors legislated; we write Treatises on Legislation. Without knowing how, they made laws which lived for centuries, and promise to live for centuries to come. We know how,—at least, we *do* not doubt it,—and yet one seldom expects that any law enacted during the last Session will escape without either revision or repeal the next; beyond which it would be invidious to ask how many members of our Legislature project their minds.
>
> HARE, *Guesses at Truth*, ii, 10.

BY the middle of the nineteenth century it had come to be obvious to many minds that if the advantages of Public Libraries were really to be popularized in Britain; some new machinery must be employed. Three hundred years had elapsed, since Bishop Bale's lament that there was not in each English shire, at least one Library "for the preservation of noble works, and preferment of good learning." Another century passed on

with all its mighty changes, but in this particular the most competent witness of that generation had still to note that "we in England are so defective of good Libraries, both 'among the gentlemen and in our greatest towns,' that 'Paris alone, I am persuaded, is able to show more than all the three nations of Great Britain.'" These, it will be remembered, are the words of John Evelyn. Yet another hundred years roll on; by that time, many Englishmen had become great collectors; but again a man whose life had been devoted to books, Thomas Carte, prefixes to one of the chief fruits of his long labours the earnest record of his regret that "there is scarce a great city in those parts of Europe, where learning is at all regarded, that is so destitute of a good Publick Library as London.... For the most opulent city upon earth ... to labour under a defect of this kind looks as if Learning, the friend and the support of Liberty, met here with little encouragement from the Public, however it may be cultivated by private persons." At this time, the foundation of many private Libraries of the first rank had been begun. Not many years afterwards that of the British Museum was laid by the aggregation of some of these, but the superstructure was of tardy growth. It led to no emulative exertions in the other cities of the realm. It was for the greater part of a century managed after a very drowsy fashion. Most people looked on it as a sort of show-place, amusing and respectable, but of little public moment. Long after its establishment, Edmund Gibbon complains that the writer who "undertakes to treat any large historical subject," is still reduced to the

Concurrence of testimony from 16th to 19th centuries of the paucity of Public Libraries in England.

necessity of purchasing from his private funds "the books which must form the basis of his work,"—and he registers on an enduring page his opinion that "the greatest city in the world is still destitute of a Public Library;" in the sense, at all events, which he attached to that designation.

We have seen that many Englishmen in all ranks of life had perceived, more or less fully, the importance of such public institutions; had been ambitious of founding such; had been hopeful that those who came after would not be loth to build on their ground-work. We have also seen that not a few, whose projects were bound up with those great Universities which were and are amongst the proudest glories of our land, had had good reason for the hopes they cherished. To what, then, must we ascribe the almost uniform infelicity of so many founders of Libraries in our towns and parishes? Small, as usually were the beginnings they laid; beginnings still smaller had, both in other countries, and in our own under other circumstances, expanded into enduring usefulness. Here we seem to have in presence two groups of facts, closely akin, but of conflicting aspects.

Plausible explanations are not far to seek. But some of them, possibly, are plausible, and nothing more. Silence is often wiser than stuttering speech. One cause of many, however, can be unhesitatingly suggested for what it may be worth. Grand things have been said of Commerce, and things not more grand than true. But the good servant sometimes makes a bad master. The

predominance of the trading instincts is not and cannot be, in the main, favourable to that far-seeing public spirit which looks before *and* after. Mere wealth can command many things, but it cannot, of itself, command either insight or foresight. Without some considerable amount of honest reverence for antiquity, no man ever formed a Library worthy of the name. Without some assured provision of the means of continued increase,—as well as of simple preservation,—no man ever secured to posterity the true advantage of a public Library.

Fundamental principles of Town-Libraries.

To those persons, therefore, who took thought of such matters, two principles to start with seemed plain. The one, that the new Libraries should be formed in a Catholic spirit. The other, that they should be freed from all dependence, either on gifts or on current "subcriptions" for their permanent support. The first principle involved the corollary that the new institutions and their management should stand entirely aloof from party influences, in Politics or in Religion. The days of "Church and King Libraries" were as plainly gone by as those of "Calves-Head Clubs." The second principle involved the corollary that the maintenance must be by rate, levied on the whole tax-paying community, and administered by its elective and responsible functionaries. Both principles, in common, involved a third conclusion as obvious and inevitable as the other two: The new Libraries must know nothing of *Classes* in the community. Supported alike by the taxation of the wealthiest capitalist, and of the humblest ten-pound-householder, they must be so formed, so augmented,

and so governed, as to be alike useful to both. They must be in no sense "Professional Libraries," or "Tradesmen's Libraries," or "Working Men's Libraries," but TOWN LIBRARIES. To that end, they must contain, in fair proportions, the books that are attractive to the uneducated and the half-educated, as well as those which subserve the studies and assist the pursuits of the clergyman, the merchant, the politician, and the professional scholar. They must be unrestrictedly open to every visitor. They must offer to all men, not only the practical science, the temporary excitements, and the prevalent opinions of the passing day, but the wisdom of preceding generations; the treasures of a remote antiquity; the hopes and the evidences of the World to come.

Responsibilities involved in the opening of large Libraries to all classes.

This last clause does not close the sentence by way of a rhetorical flourish. To any man who can think soberly, the sight of a Free Library in a populous town, offering with open doors its thirty or forty thousand volumes to all who choose to enter, must surely at some time suggest the reflection that within those walls many a youth will receive impressions which, by the necessity of a God-appointed law, shall determine his character, and his influence upon the characters of others, during all time and all eternity. If this be a truth, there flows from it the direct contradiction of what has been repeatedly asserted and applauded as a sound principle in the management of Libraries to which the "working classes" are to have access, namely, that "Politics" and "Theology" should be *excluded*; or that, if they cannot be absolutely excluded, at least they

should be kept in the utmost possible degree of subordination.

It is obvious, I may presume, that when this subject was at length, in 1848, brought under the notice of Parliament, it was ripe for legislation, as well as for historical and statistical inquiry. In truth, it is a marvel that amidst the multifarious investigations by Parliamentary Committees which had been so freely set on foot, especially during the preceding forty years, this matter escaped. It had scarcely been even glanced at, save in regard to an individual institution or two. The notice for a Select Committee was given in the House of Commons, by Mr. William Ewart, Member for the Dumfries Burghs, in the autumn of 1848, for the coming Session. Returns were also moved for in relation to those Libraries which were partially supported by the Copy-tax.

Select Committee appointed to inquire respecting Public Libraries. (1849.)

During a long parliamentary career, Mr. Ewart had uniformly evinced a keen interest in questions of social science, and had already conferred eminent services on the Public in respect to not a few such. Three years before, he had carried a Bill, enabling Town Councils to maintain (although not to form) Museums of Science or Art. To the Libraries question his attention had been drawn more especially by a paper prepared for the Statistical Society of London in 1847, and printed in its *Journal*, of March 1848, under the title of *A Statistical View of Public Libraries in Europe and America*. In this paper a view of the national deficiencies on this head which had been previously enforced by a concurrence

of unexceptionable testimony from eminent authors, was thrown as much as possible into the plain language of figures. Crude in method, and very imperfect in detail, the statement fully answered its purpose by arousing more attention to the subject than had ever before been given to it in England. It was followed up by the circulation in all parts of the United Kingdom, as well as in the chief cities of the Continent, of a series of questions respecting the management, funds, extent, and results of Public Libraries, which were responded to by a mass of information that far exceeded the hopes of the seeker. The facts thus collected were laid before Mr. Ewart's Committee in the spring of 1849.

Terms of Reference to Libraries Committee of 1849, as originally proposed.

The proposed terms of reference to that Committee were thus framed by its mover: "That a Select Committee be appointed on existing Public Libraries in Great Britain and Ireland, and on the best means of extending the establishment of Libraries freely open to the Public, especially in large towns." Sir George Grey advanced certain objections to the words "existing Public Libraries in Great Britain and Ireland." He professed his acquiescence in the more general inquiry, but was pleased to criticize the mover's speech in a style which is unquestionably his own, whatever the objections may have been: "*Nothing could be worse* than the extremely vague and indefinite manner in which the Honourable Gentleman had spoken of these institutions. I do not collect from his remarks any definition of what should be considered a Public Library, and what should not. The Hon. Gentleman has referred to the Advocates

Objections of the Home Secretary to the proposed terms, as framed by Mr. Ewart.

Library of Edinburgh; the Bodleian Library, at Oxford; and to the Deanery and Parochial Libraries, but *I do not think that either of those which he has enumerated comes within the definition of Public Libraries.*"[1]

That it should have been made clearly apparent that the great National Library was not properly within the scope of Mr. Ewart's motion, was for the public advantage. To many, the exception appeared self-evident, since the existence of the Royal Commission on the affairs of the British Museum was matter of public notoriety, and had been officially announced to the House of Commons. It was obvious that no real benefit could result from inquiries by a Parliamentary Committee into matters which at the same moment were under the investigation of the Queen's Commissioners. For the same reason it was undesirable to discuss the management of the English University Libraries, except as respected the working of the Copy-tax.

But what ground was there for excluding, or attempting to exclude from the inquiry the "Library of the Faculty of Advocates," or the "Cathedral and Parochial Libraries" of the country? To the former every author and every publisher in the United Kingdom is a contributory by law. Many of the latter were expressly devoted by their founder to public uses. How little ground there was for assuming beforehand that "Parochial Libraries," for example, were under such good management as to need no examination, may be made apparent (if it be not already apparent) in few words, by the independent testimony of many recent witnesses of their

Proofs of the groundlessness of the proposed exemption from inquiry of Parochial Libraries.

[1] Hansard, Third Series, ciii, 751. (Debate of 15 March 1849.)

condition, each speaking of some church or parish with which he is familiar:—

Swaffham Library.

"About seven years ago," wrote a correspondent to the editor of *Notes and Queries*, "I found the collection of books at Swaffham, in Norfolk, in a most disgraceful state, covered with dust and the dung of mice and bats. Many of the books were torn from their bindings."[1] "About ten years since," writes another correspondent, several works with the inscription '*Reepham Church Library*,' were sold indiscriminately with the Rector's books."[2] Speaking of the Parochial Library at Boston, in Lincolnshire, "I have been informed," says the Rev. Thomas Collis, "by a gentleman that he remembers two or more cart-loads of books being sold by the Church wardens... at waste-paper price."[3] The room, says Mr. Rix, in which the Beccles Library was kept "was used as a repository for discarded ecclesiastical appliances and, latterly, for charity blankets during summer."[4] Of about 800 volumes in the Parochial Library at Maidstone "no less than one-eighth were missing or decayed."[5] Finally, Dr. Maitland, who had taken unusual pains to make himself acquainted with the contents and condition of Church Libraries, said, in 1849: "There are [or were] books up and down the country,... thousands of books, which ... have been lying rotting, and have been destroyed and made away with, in a great many instances, by those who did not

Reepham Library.

Boston Library.

Beccles Library.

Maidstone Library.

[1] *Notes and Queries*, vii, 438.
[2] Ibid. 392.
[3] Ibid. vii, 507.
[4] Ibid. viii, 62.
[5] Ibid. vi, 559.

know their value."[1] What sort of immunity was due to the managers of the old Town Libraries at Norwich, Leicester and Bristol, has been sufficiently shown already.

Under the modified terms of reference, however, the Committee was appointed. The Inquiry began on the 19th April 1849, under the presidency of Mr. Ewart (who had been called to the chair at the preliminary meeting of the 30th March). The examination of witnesses continued until the 12th of June. To give even the briefest analysis of the evidence would occupy too much space for the present purpose. It must suffice to sum up the results in the words of the Report; premising by way of an illustration of the acumen of Sir George Grey, that Her Majesty's Solicitor General for Scotland, a Member of the House, thought it so important *not* to exclude from the Inquiry the management of the "Library of the Faculty of Advocates" that he volunteered his own evidence on that branch of the subject. "It has always," he said, "appeared to me to possess one very important characteristic as a *public* Library, insofar as it enjoys a public right in the privilege of Stationers' Hall."[2]

Course of the Inquiry of 1849.

In abstracting the leading points established by the evidence, the Committee reports that of the very numerous Continental Libraries "it may be generally stated that admission is granted unrestrictedly; to the poor as well as to the rich; to the foreigner as well as to the native. .... We have, it is stated, only one Library

The Committee's Report.

[1] *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners on the British Museum* (1849), 502. Q. 7826.

[2] *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Public Libraries* (1849), 93.

in Great Britain equally accessible with these numerous Libraries abroad. ... Nor is this contrast displayed by the European Continent alone. Our younger brethren, the people of the United States of America, have already anticipated us in the formation of Libraries ... entirely open to the Public.... Every witness examined on the subject has given an opinion favourable to the grant of assistance on certain strict .. conditions, by the Government, for the formation of Public Libraries. This is one of those cases in which a comparatively small aid may accomplish a large portion of public good.... The principle is recognized in our votes for Schoolhouses, and for Schools of Design.... Your Committee further recommend that a power be given by Parliament, enabling Town Councils to levy a small rate for the creation and support of Town Libraries.... Your Committee feel convinced that the people of a country like our own,—abounding in capital, in energy, and in an honest desire, not only to initiate, but to imitate, whatsoever is good and useful,—will not long linger behind the people of other countries, in the acquisition of such valuable institutions as freely accessible Public Libraries. Our present inferior position is unworthy of the power, the liberality, and the literature of the country."[1]

On the 14th of February, 1850, Mr. Ewart moved the House of Commons for leave to introduce *A Bill for enabling Town Councils to establish Public Libraries and Museums*, by levying a rate not exceeding one halfpenny in the pound, on the general assessmount of the town.

[1] *Report of the Select Committee*, etc. *ut supra*. iv-xiv.

The Bill was introduced accordingly, and reached its second reading on the 13th of March. The debate at that stage was as curious a senatorial exhibition as the most devoted frequenter of "Mr. Speaker's Gallery," or the most patient reader of *Hansard*, could well light upon. Its cream was furnished, as might have been anticipated, by the Goulburns, the Sibthorps, and the Spooners. A little space must needs be accorded to the oratory elicited by a legislative proposal, which at this distance of time seems to have had at least the merit of inoffensiveness. Poor Colonel Sibthorp, whose like, in the House of Commons, "we ne'er shall look upon again," began the opposition by expressing his conviction that "however excellent food for the mind might be, food for the body was now most wanted for the people. *I* do not like reading at all, and hated it when I was at Oxford, but I cannot see how a halfpenny in the pound will be enough to enable Town Councils to carry into effect the immense power they are to have by this Bill. I strongly object to the clause enabling them to borrow money on the credit of the Borough Rates. ... *I should be very glad to give my mite to provide the City of Lincoln* [for which he sat] *with the benefits of a Library*;" thereupon he moved the rejection of the Bill, and was seconded by Mr. Buck, who assured the House that "the additional taxation which the Bill proposes *at a time when the nation is so generally impoverished*, is considered a great grievance by the manufacturing as well as the landed interest of the country." Mr. Goulburn kept up the ball by telling the House that "as an innocent man," he certainly had thought

Debate on second reading of Public Libraries Bill. (March 1850.)

Specimens of the Logic of the Opponents. (Debate, March, 1850.)

that "books always formed part of what was necessary for the enjoyment of a Library.... All that the fund would be able to provide would be the daily and weekly newspapers, and the Library would thus become a mere news-room which only those well-to-do people who had plenty of leisure ... would be able to avail themselves of; although the poorer rate-payers, who would have either no time for reading or might live at a considerable distance, ... would yet have to bear their full share of the expense." "But again," pursued the Rt. Hon. Ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, "suppose the Town Council had a small sum to purchase books with, who is to have the power of selection? *Shall there be an unrestricted preservation of all those publications daily emanating from the press which certainly are not calculated to promote the preservation either of public order or of public morals?* Or was there to be supervision of the different works to be introduced, thereby introducing a *kind of Censorship*?" In a word, Mr. Goulburn objected to the Bill, because it did not give sufficient powers really to form a Library, and added that he should object to it still more strongly if it did. Mr. Bernal chimed in with his fellow-obstructives by remarking that the Bill would "enable any Town Council, desirous of carrying into effect the views of any small section of the inhabitants, to tax the general body of rate-payers for an institution which might soon degenerate into a mere political club."

The distinguished statesman who at present (April, 1858) presides over the "Office of Works," Lord John Manners, assured the House that he "had himself been

desirous to introduce a Bill for providing *Greens* and places of amusement for the Public," but could not support the proposed 'Libraries Bill,' because he "thought it would impose an additional tax upon—*the agricultural labourers, whose wages had been decreased by recent legislation.*" Mr. Spooner's benevolent anxieties on the other hand, were chiefly aroused on the behalf of "Farmers and other out-residents in a borough, who could not use the Library, but would be taxed for its support;" and "he almost feared that by the institution of lectures hereafter, these Libraries might be converted into Normal Schools of Agitation;" and in this fear, Sir Robert Harry Inglis expressed his participation. Finally, Mr. Roundell Palmer was "most apprehensive that the moment the *compulsory* principle was introduced, a positive check would be imposed upon the voluntary self-supporting desire for knowledge which at present existed amongst the people." After this brilliant exhibition of Parliamentary logic, a division was taken. The Ayes were 118; the Noes 101.[1]

Further Debate. (April 1850.)

On the motion for going into Committee (10th April), another division gave 99 Ayes, and 64 Noes; Mr. Buck having previously announced that "if the Bill proceeded, he should certainly demand the exemption of the Agricultural Interest from the liabilities it created.[2] The opposition was pertinaciously continued at every subsequent stage, but the patience of the reader need scarcely be further taxed with its dreary jargon. That of the promoters was sorely tried. The Bill did not

[1] Hansard, cix, 838-851.

[2] Ibid., cx, 154-164.

pass the House of Commons until the end of July. Four additional divisions were taken (making six in all), and several modifications were thrust into the Bill (some of which, as we shall see, had to be removed by subsequent legislation). The measure, however, went at length to the House of Lords; passed that House without opposition; and received the Royal assent, on the 14th of August. In all respects it was a law simply permissive.

The working of the new Act will form the subject of the following chapter. Here, it may suffice to say that, with all its imperfections, it was the germ of much good. The most glaring omission, that namely, which left the formation of the Library to chance gifts by precluding the purchase of a single book with municipal funds, whilst the guardians of those funds were permitted, if they pleased, to incur a lavish expenditure for buildings and bookcases, was, sometimes, (as respects individual towns,) remedied by the obtainment of special powers under Local Acts. The remedy, of course, was both clumsy and costly. But it was felt that the Libraries Act, however crude, contained the seeds of a wiser legislation for the future; of a legislation, in a word, that sooner or later would place rate-supported Schools, side by side with rate-supported Libraries and Museums.

Connection of the principle of the Libraries Act with the Education Controversy.

It was needless, and would have been injudicious, under such circumstances, to have widened the discussion to its true dimensions. But save on the hypothesis that some of the opponents perceived the bearings of the Libraries Bill on the bitterly contested question of

National Education, the pertinacious obstruction of an enactment which simply *permitted* the burgesses of a Town to maintain a Library, out of their own funds, by the affirmative vote of a two-thirds majority, would scarcely be intelligible. If, however, a rate for Libraries should in its working prove a wise and beneficent measure; could a rate for Schools be the reverse? If, on the other hand, it be right to keep our Schools in the murky atmosphere of a narrow and jealous Sectarianism, why should our Libraries be brought into the free air of a broad and trustful Catholicism? This, in truth, was the question which tacitly underlay the whole controversy.

The only main points in the machinery of the Act of 1850, not already indicated, are these:—(1.) The initiative was left in the hands of the Town Councils who, giving proper notice and complying with the prescribed forms, could poll the burgesses on the question: 'Will you adopt the Libraries Act,—Aye or No?' (2.) The amount expended in any one year must not exceed one halfpenny in the pound "on the annual value of the property in the borough rateable to the borough-rate." (3.) The Town Councils might borrow money to buy lands or erect buildings, on the security of the borough-rates.

The most prominent defects in the Act were these:—I. The narrow limits assigned to the rate: (1.) in its maximum point; (2.) in its application; II. the restriction of the Act to Corporate Towns; III. the further restriction of it to such Corporate Towns only as contained a population of 10,000 inhabitants.

On the 20th March 1854, Mr. Ewart moved for leave to introduce a "Bill to amend and extend an Act for enabling Town Councils to establish Libraries and Museums, freely open to the Public;" but various delays and difficulties prevented the successful prosecution of the measure until the next session of Parliament. When the discussion was then resumed, the tone of official men was singularly changed. Sir George Grey was silent. The Rt. Hon. President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Cardwell) expressed his conviction that "the whole country was greatly indebted to the Hon. Gentleman for the pains he had taken with this subject." The Rt. Hon. President of the Poor Law Board was of opinion that "these institutions had been most beneficial;" and added that his constituents "were extremely anxious for the extension of the principle." Mr. Lowe gave similar testimony. The active opposition was almost confined to Mr. Spooner and to Mr. Buck. The latter resisted any reduction in the limit of population. The former characteristically opposed the extension to "newspapers" of the powers of *purchase* proposed to be conferred on Town Councils by the new Bill. It might have, he said, a "tendency to convert the Libraries into mere Newspaper Reading-Rooms and Sedition Shops." On this objection a division was taken. The Ayes (in favour of the Bill as it stood) were 64; the Noes 22.[1]

Discussion on Second Libraries Act (for England), 1850.

The new Act received the Royal assent on the 30th of July 1855. It is entitled, *An Act for further promoting the establishment of Free Public Libraries and Museums in*

[1] Hansard, cxxxviii, 207-221.

Municipal Towns, and for extending it to Towns governed under Local Improvement Acts, and to Parishes. This Act applies (first), to all Municipal Boroughs in England, the population of which, at the latest Census, shall have exceeded *five thousand persons*; (secondly), to all Districts possessing a Board of Improvement Commissioners, or any body of Trustees, by whatever name they may be designated, acting in the execution of any statute for cleaning, paving, lighting, or other similar purposes, and having a like population exceeding 5000 persons; (thirdly), to any parish having such a population; and (fourthly), to any two or more neighbouring parishes having an aggregate population exceeding five thousand persons, the vestries of which parishes may choose to unite for the purpose of establishing a public Library. It repeals the preceding English Act of 1850, but enacts that all Libraries founded under that Act shall be maintained under the provisions of the present Act.

Principal Provisions of the Present Public Libraries Act (for England).

In order to the adoption of the Act in any such Borough, District, Parish, or union of Parishes, a public meeting,—in Boroughs, of the burgesses; in Districts, of the persons assessed to the Improvement Rate; in Parishes, of the persons assessed to the Poor Rate;—must have been duly convened, after at least ten days' notice (by the Mayor, Commissioners, or Overseers of the Poor, as the case may be,) and the proposition for its adoption must have been voted for by at least *two-thirds* of the persons then present. Immediately after such a vote, duly recorded, the Act comes into operation. If the decision of the meeting be adverse, one year

must elapse before the re-mooting of the question; but, whatever the decision, the expenses of the meeting are to be defrayed out of the Borough Fund, Improvement Fund, or Poor Rates, respectively.

The Act having been adopted in a Borough or Improvement District, the Town Council or Improvement Board may defray the expenses of carrying it into execution out of the Borough Rate or Improvement Rate, or they may levy a separate Rate, to be called the "Library Rate," provided that in either case such expenses, or such separate Rate, shall not exceed *One Penny in the Pound* on the rateable value of the property assessed. If the Rate be a separate one, the modes of levy, appeal, and recovery, are to be subject to the Clauses of the "Towns' Improvement Clauses Act" of 1847. In all cases the Library accounts must be separately kept, and be publicly accessible.

When the Act shall have been adopted in a Parish, the Vestry must appoint not less than three nor more than nine rate-payers, to be Commissioners for carrying the Act into execution, and such Commissioners become a body corporate, and are designated "*The Commissioners for Public Libraries and Museums for the Parish of* ——." One-third of such Commissioners must go out of office yearly by ballot, but are re-eligible. They must meet monthly, must keep minutes and accounts, which latter must be duly audited and reported to the Vestry. For defrayment of the expenses, the vestry must levy a Rate (not exceeding One Penny in the Pound) in like manner as a Poor-Rate, but with a proviso that occupiers of lands used solely for agri-

culture shall be rated only for one-third part of the net annual value. If adopted by the Vestries of two or more contiguous parishes, no more than three Commissioners shall be appointed for each parish.

The general management and control of Libraries and Museums thus established, and all real and personal property therein, are, in a Borough, vested in the Council; in a District, in the Board; in a Parish, in the Commissioners. The Council, Board, or Commissioners may delegate their powers to a Committee (the members whereof may or may not be members of such Council, &c.,) "who may from time to time purchase Books, Newspapers, Maps, Specimens of Art and Science, Fuel, Lighting, and other similar matters," and may "appoint salaried officers and servants, and dismiss the same, and make Rules and Regulations for the safety and use of the Libraries and Museums, and for the admission of the Public," which admission, however, must be "free of all charge." Powers are also given to rent or purchase lands (subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Treasury), to erect new buildings, or to purchase, adapt, and fit up old buildings for the reception of books or other collections; and to borrow money on mortgage in order thereto; subject to the provisions of the "Companies Clauses Consolidation Act," 1845. And there is a further clause making special provision for the adoption of the Act in the City of London, with the sanction of a meeting duly convened (by the Lord Mayor) of all persons rated to the Consolidated Rate, out of which rate all the expenses of carrying the Act into execution are to be defrayed.

How these Acts of 1850 and 1855 have borne the tests of time and experience, and what results have, thus far, accrued under their operation, it will be the purpose of the succeeding chapter to indicate.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE WORKING OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACTS OF 1850 AND 1855.

Separation between "Class" and "Class" is the great curse of British society; for which we are all more or less, in our respective spheres, responsible. It is more complete in Manufacturing than in Agricultural districts. ... But I am afraid we all of us keep too much aloof from those beneath us; and this encourages them to look upon us with suspicion and dislike..... The great want of English society is the mingling of class with class; the want of sympathy.

TALFOURD *(Charge to the Grand Jury at Stafford* [at the moment of his death], 13 March 1854.)

In educational matters, it is the best economy in the end to make "Saving" not the principal but a secondary consideration. A man, whose mind is always bent upon "Saving," will be sure to do things imperfectly and insufficiently; to leave errors and arrears; and to provoke a certain re-action towards lavish expenditure.

THE TIMES (23rd March 1857).

§ 1.—GENERAL VIEW OF THE RECEPTION OF THE ACT IN ENGLISH TOWNS.

THE first Library established under the "Public Libraries Act," of 1850, was that of Manchester. The preliminary subscription towards the expenses of its foundation had been set on foot, whilst the Bill was still pending in the House of Commons, by Sir John Potter, now one of the Representatives of the City, of

First steps taken towards Free Libraries, in 1850.

which he was then Mayor. Small but useful collections of books had previously been formed, chiefly by donation, at Warrington and at Salford (both in Lancashire), as appendages to Museums maintained under the provisions of the "Museums Act" of 1845. The Town of Warrington adopted this Act in 1848, and obtained the transfer to the Corporation of a Museum of Natural History, and of a small Library (formed in 1760), both of which had belonged to Societies. The Borough of Salford adopted the Museum Act in 1849, mainly at the recommendation of its late esteemed Member, Mr. Brotherton, who from the first had taken a keen interest in the inquiries of the Public Libraries Committee, of which he was an assiduous member. Mr. Brotherton wisely thought that whether it were, or were not, strictly legal to maintain, for a time, a Library out of the Museum rate, it could not be wrong to lay a foundation, the means for building on which were sure to come ere long. And his project was warmly supported and efficiently carried out by the Mayor and Council of the Borough, with the help of a liberal public subscription.

Liverpool speedily followed the example of its neighbours. Here, the Town Council took the initiative, by granting on the motion of Mr. J. A. Picton, a Committee "to inquire into and report on the propriety of establishing a Free Public Library in the Town of Liverpool." Here, also, a subscription was raised under the auspices of the Town Council, with a view to opening and maintaining the Library under "Ewart's Act" of 1850. But in the mean time, the munificent bequest by Edward, thirteenth Earl of Derby, of a Museum of

Natural History, rendered it desirable to obtain larger powers. The Local Act, known as the "Liverpool Library and Museum Act," was therefore obtained in May 1852, and under its provisions, the *Library* was formally opened on the 18th of the following October. The *Museum* was opened on the 8th March 1853, the centenary of the birth of William Roscoe, a celebration which will not easily be forgotten by those who had the gratification of taking part in it.

The first English city, out of Lancashire, in which the adoption of the Act of 1850 was proposed, was Norwich, where a poll was taken on the 27th September in that year. The votes for the adoption of the Act were 150; the votes against it, 7. A few months afterwards, a similar proposal was made in another Cathedral City,—Exeter. The Burgesses were polled on the 27th of March 1851, when 971 votes were recorded; of which 118 were in favour of the adoption of the Act, and 853 were against it. The proposal was therefore negatived by a majority exceeding seven to one.

In the course of 1851 and the subsequent years, the Burgesses of the following Cities and Towns (with those of some lesser places) were polled upon the same question:—Winchester; Sheffield (twice); Cambridge; Birmingham; Bolton; and Oxford. The poll at Manchester was not taken until August 1852, when a Library of 21,000 volumes had been gathered, chiefly by purchase, and was in complete working order. The several results of these polls will be most compactly shown in a tabular form, which may include those already mentioned. The statement will then run thus:—

BOOK III. Chapter XVIII. Working of the Public Libraries Acts.

Comparative statement of the Polls taken under the Libraries Acts.

POLLS TAKEN ON THE PROPOSAL TO ADOPT THE ACT OF 1850.

Date of Poll.	Name of City or Town.	Votes taken:—		
		For.	Against.	Total.
September 27, 1850	NORWICH	150	7	157
March 27, 1851	EXETER	118	853	971
. 1851	WINCHESTER	337	13	350
. 1851	SHEFFIELD	104	294	398
March 26, 1852	BOLTON	662	55	717
April 7, 1852	BIRMINGHAM	363	534	897
August 20, 1852	MANCHESTER	3,962	40	4,002
March 1, 1853	CAMBRIDGE	873	78	951
. 1853	OXFORD	596	72	668
October 6, 1853	SHEFFIELD [2. Poll]	838	232	1,070
October 17, 1854	HERTFORD	62	4	66
February 26, 1856	KIDDERMINSTER . . .	108	11	119
May 19, 1856	ST. MARGARET & ST. JOHN WESTMINSTER	81	3	84
December 15, 1856	LEAMINGTON	94	20	114

Under the Act of 1855, a poll is not necessary to the legal decision of the question, "Shall the Act be adopted?" The vote of a duly-convened meeting is sufficient. But the former is the preferable mode, and it is now evident that on this point the alteration was no improvement. By such a vote,—that is, by simple show of hands, the several proposals to introduce the Act into the City of London; into the Metropolitan Parishes of Islington, Paddington, and Marylebone, and into the Borough of Chettenham, have been, for the time, negatived. As respects the City of London, the failure of the proposal, in the hands which then dealt with it, was inevitable. Great lack of judgment (not to say, with some, mere puerile vanity,) led to the proposal being thrust upon the citizens during the last four days of a Mayoralty,—that of Sir F. G. Moon,-

Obstruction of the proposal to introduce the Act into the City of London. (5 Nov. 1855.)

without the employment of the most ordinary means of arousing opinion amongst the Livery, of securing the expression of that opinion in the Common Hall, or even of ensuring the attendance there of any adequate number of the prominent citizens, known to be friendly to the measure. In a word, had the "arrangements" been an "invention of the enemy," they would have merited eulogy for skilful adaptation to their end. Amongst the arguments adduced by the opponents, the following is noticeable:—Mr. Alderman Sidney "feared that the rate of £4000, if levied, would not benefit 2000 persons, as all the literary institutions hitherto established in the City had been signal failures. *The fact was that the Working Classes required no patronage from the Middle or any other Class, and would be best pleased in being permitted to act independently for themselves.*" Here we have but a reproduction, with variations, of "arguments" which had been previously ventilated in a more conspicuous assembly.

Untruthful objections to good measures have not infrequently vitality enough to do harm, even when they have failed of their immediate purpose. As far as concerns those large towns in which the Libraries Act is, for a long time to come, likely to have its chief influence, no misrepresentation could be more certain to impede its efficient working than this. To trick it out as a measure of "patronage" and "gratuity," was at once to arouse class jealousies, and to strike at the root—the common advantage, namely, of *all* classes—which can alone permanently vindicate such legislation. Under any circumstances it would have had to stand

the brunt of the dislike of the smaller shopkeepers (often really struggling under heavy local burdens), and of the still more inveterate aversion of a majority of the owners of what is termed, in many places, "cottage property." This last-named section of the Community is usually, and in the main, the implacable opponent of every thorough-going sanitary or educational improvement; the sure stronghold of ignorant prejudice and obstinate donothingism. To add to this adverse influence, so powerful in itself, another in the shape of the reasonable dislike of the artisan population to be "patronized," was an effective combination. It was occasionally aided by the mistakes of some good friends to Free Libraries, whose zeal had not been sufficiently seconded by mature reflection.

Principles which must govern the levying of a Library Rate.

It cannot be too often repeated that the levying of a Library rate on the whole body of rate-payers, for the benefit of one section only of that body, would be unsound in principle. Such a measure can be permanently justified solely on the ground that the existence of Town Libraries is for the benefit of the whole body of townspeople; that a rate is the cheapest, the fairest, and the most enduring method of support; and that to prefer to it the old system of proprietary shares and annual subscriptions, or of those mingled (as in the case of so many "Literary Institutions," and the like,) with occasional appeals to private bounty, is a conclusion which is already in a fair way to be esteemed a mark of as wise a love of "independence," as would be evinced in trusting our street-paving to voluntary contributions, and exchanging our system of gas-lamps

for a few charitable lanterns. It is from this point of view that I believe the proviso which requires a majority of not less than two-thirds of all who vote, before the Act in question can be adopted, to be a judicious one. The step once taken cannot be retraced. It ought not, therefore, to be taken by a mere surprise, or piece of temporary adroitness; but should be a deliberate act, adopted after ample discussion. The necessity of obtaining a very decided majority will usually prove an excellent stimulus towards the creation of an enlightened public opinion.

Subsequently to the adverse decision in London, the Libraries Act has been adopted at Lichfield, Birkenhead, and Leamington. At Hull its proposed adoption was negatived in a very turbulent meeting, where great use was made of "arguments" closely resembling those employed by Mr. Alderman Sidney. At Preston (Lancashire), preliminary steps for the introduction of the Act have been taken.—"At the present time," wrote the Town Clerk, in April 1857, "the inhabitants of Preston have raised, by voluntary subscriptions, upwards of £2000, and as soon as the sum of 3000 is raised, it is intended to take some steps under the Public Libraries Act."

On the whole, therefore, it will appear that the Act has been already adopted in seventeen towns, including our greatest seaport, our largest inland City, and both the old University-Towns of England. Its adoption has been negatived in eight. The Libraries established under it in Manchester, Salford, and Liverpool are con-

siderable enough to warrant some special details. How the infant Libraries of other towns have worked, thus far, may be briefly indicated by a few sentences, chiefly from returns recently laid before the House of Commons:—

Testimony as to the working of the smaller Libraries established under the Act.

At Cambridge the "Committee of the Town Council have every reason to be satisfied with the general results which have been obtained. They contemplate the formation of a Lending Library in addition to the present Library of Reference." At Oxford, the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Alderman Sadler, says: "I have pleasure in declaring that the establishment of the Free Public Library has, in my judgment, proved of more real benefit, and has rendered more solid advantages, ... than any other measure which has been adopted during the forty years of my public life." "We need in Oxford," writes also a distinguished member of the University, Dr. Acland (Radcliffe Librarian), "nothing more at present, in this respect, except increased space for the City Library, and the further developement of its resources."[1] "The general results of the establishment of the Library," says the Corporation of Bolton, "have been most satisfactory, and the increased provision lately made by the Legislative will be of great advantage." And that of Sheffield: "The results hitherto have been most cheering and satisfactory." And again that of Hertford: "The results have been favourable; the attendance in the reading-room large; and the demand for books very general. It is proposed as soon as possible to construct a suite of rooms for the purposes of the Library."

[1] Acland, *Memoir on the Cholera at Oxford*, 152 (4to, Oxford 1855).

§ 2.—The City Library of Manchester.

The public subscription which was raised for the *foundation* of this Library, and for placing it in a freehold building, fully adapted for its purpose, and in working order, amounted to £12,823. Of this sum nearly £5000 was raised by the personal exertions of Sir John Potter, and £2000 was contributed by the Overseers of the Township of Manchester, being part of a larger sum which had accrued in their hands from interest-monies on unexpended balances. The subscription-list included persons of every degree in the Community and neighbourhood, and sums which varied from five hundred pounds to one shilling. Clergymen and Dissenting Ministers of all denominations lent their aid to the project, which from the first had also enlisted the earnest advocacy of the local newspapers of all shades of opinion, without exception.

Almost the first step taken was the purchase of a suitable building and site, for the sum of £2147 (which was somewhat less than the estimated value of the "chief" or ground-rent). The cost of adapting it to its new purpose was £3700, and that of supplying it with shelves and furniture, nearly £1200. The total original expenditure, under these heads, amounted to £7013.

Curious history of the Library building.

The building chosen possessed a curious history. It, too, had been raised by a large subscription; chiefly amongst artisans and mill-workers, in those palmy days of "Owenism," when the old Christian world was about to give place to a "New Moral World," constructed on the unpatented inventions of Robert Owen. Mr. Owen

himself had laid, with great solemnity, its foundation-stone. In those days, we were gravely assured that Commerce would speedily make way for Communism; an imperfectly developed Christianity for an avowedly anti-christian but enlightened pursuit of self-interest. Ultimately, all men were to live in strict equality, in "parallelograms," built after one pattern, and differing only in being dotted more or less thickly over the length and breadth of the country. Vice was to disappear simply by improving men's "circumstances." Churches were to become superfluities; Libraries to be restricted within very small dimensions. In a word, the Past was to be forgotten; and the Future to take care of itself.

In Manchester, as elsewhere, this marvellous scheme of social polity had an existence noisy but brief. The temple of the "New Morals" soon fell into bad hands, and was applied to practices involving gross immorality, and unhappily of an antiquity but too notorious. When acquired for the proposed Library, it had become an almost intolerable public nuisance.

Character and cost of the books purchased in 1851.

The number of volumes purchased out of the original fund as the nucleus around which the future Library was to be gathered, amounted to 18,028. Their cost was £4156, a sum which in the opinion of competent judges would have fallen far short of acquiring so valuable a collection, but for the marked effect produced on the book-sales of 1851, by the engrossing interest of the "Great Exhibition." It included an extensive series of works on British History; sets of the chief political and literary journals in the English language; an excellent selection of books on the literature of Com-

merce, and about two thousand volumes of "Voyages and Travels." In every other department of literature and science, it had but the mere rudiments of a collection.

From the first there was an earnest effort to make the new Library pre-eminently strong in the department of "Politics," using that term in the expanded sense which includes "Commerce" as one of its branches. Besides the vast importance of this subject, and its bearings on the staple pursuits and prominent interests of the Community immediately concerned, the choice was a right one also on the ground that no class of literature had been so little cared for in the pre-existing Libraries of the Town. Marked as "the Manchester School" of Politics,—if I may use a phrase very popular, but not very accurate,—had recently become, there were not many places in which it was so hard a task, a few years ago, to meet with political information. Occasionally, the hasty pursuit of knowledge "under difficulties" might there have been curiously illustrated.

Some favourable opportunities offered for the collection, in and after 1851, not alone of the political literature of our own day, but of that of past generations, and more especially for gathering the materials of that future "History of British Commerce," almost every chapter of which has yet to be written.

The Magens Commercial Library

About a century and a half ago, there came to London an industrious Dane, with very few pence in his pocket, but with a good head on his shoulders, and with habits of steady perseverance in work. Mr. Nicholas Magens prospered in his commercial enterprises, and studied commerce, both as a calling and as a science.

He assisted in the formation of the well-known *Commerz Bibliothek* at Hamburgh. At his death, he left to his heirs a considerable fortune, and also a considerable commercial Library, rich in those ephemeral tracts which throw light on some of the problems and obscurities of history, and which, if not cared for, when to common eyes they seem worthless, are usually lost for ever. This collection continued in the family, by way of heir-loom, until the death of the late Mr. Dorrien Magens, a well-known banker. The bulk of it was then acquired for the City Library of Manchester. The exception consisted in a few extremely curious tracts on the colonial affairs of British North America, which were now to travel thither, as so many of their companions had already done.

To this foundation were added considerable selections of political tracts from the Library of Mr. Thomas Harrison, a late Commissioner of Inland Revenue; of Lord Langdale, the late Master of the Rolls; of Mr. Drummond Hay; of Mr. Francis Place; of Mr. James Thomson, of Clitheroe; and from some minor collections.

Since the transfer of the Library to the Corporation, advantage has been taken of every opportunity of increasing this tract collection, that came within the scope of the small means which alone were available for the purpose. But in this direction, even slight funds, if combined with constant watchfulness, may do much. The collection in question has been nearly trebled within the last five years; selections having been made from the Libraries of the late Lord Bexley (for many years Chancellor of the Exchequer); of John Percival, second Earl of Egmont (the eminent politician of the middle

period of the "Georgian era"); and of some other statesmen and financiers. It now includes upwards of 13,000 distinct pieces, bound in 2086 volumes (exclusive of printed collections on similar subjects); the arrangement of which is as follows:—

COLLECTION OF POLITICAL TRACTS.		(JANUARY, 1858.)	
No. of the Section.	—Subjects:	No. of Vols.	No. of Tracts, or separate works.
.... 1.	—General Treatises on GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, or POLITICAL ECONOMY	79	122
.... 2.	—Constitution, Functions, and Privileges of PARLIAMENT	45	315
.... 3.	—LAW and Law Reform	94	395
.... 4.	—CRIME, Police, and Punishment	46	190
.... 5.	—TRADE and COMMERCE:—		
..... 1.	General Treatises	78	178
..... 2.	Agriculture and the Corn Trade	76	485
..... 3.	Coal and Iron Trades, Mining, etc.	12	125
..... 4.	Cotton, Woollen, and Silk Trades	36	215
..... 5.	Fisheries	8	61
..... 6.	Other Branches of Trade and Commerce	127	840
..... 7.	Wages, Combinations, and Regulation of Labour	14	129
..... 8.	Industrial Exhibitions	16	536
.... 6.	—ANNUITIES, Assurances, Savings Banks, and Provident Societies	17	120
.... 7.	—CURRENCY, Banking, Interest of Money, etc.	98	560
.... 8.	—CHURCH Affairs	13	737
.... 9.	—MUNICIPAL and Local Affairs	33	373
....10.	—POOR and Poor Laws	80	307
....11.	—EDUCATION AND PUBLIC CHARITIES	140	780
....12.	—ARMY and NAVY; PEACE and WAR	56	267
....13.	—PUBLIC WORKS and SANITARY AFFAIRS	70	578
....14.	—Affairs of IRELAND and SCOTLAND in particular	51	274
....15.	—COLONIES and Dependencies:—		
..... 1.	Affairs of British India	138	545
..... 2.	Colonial Affairs, generally	78	340
..... 3.	Slavery	33	215
....16.	REVENUE, Taxation, and Public Debts	142	738
....17.	—FOREIGN Affairs	160	769
....18.	—Miscell. Treatises on Polit. Questions and Public Affairs (other than those specially enumerated)	346	2,255
	Total of Volumes and of separate Tracts in the Class POLITICS	2,086	12,449

The Free City Library of Manchester

It may not, perhaps, be without utility to subjoin an abstract of the expenditure of the whole of the original establishment-fund. It runs thus:—

Abstract of the expenditure of the original fund.

		£
I.	BUILDING:—	
	Purchase Money	2,147
	Repairs, Fittings, and Furniture	4,866
II.	BOOKS:—	
	Purchases	4,156
	Binding	140
III.	EXPENSES OF FORMATION AND ARRANGEMENT:—	
	Salaries and Wages	665
	Printing and Stationery (including Account-Books)	357
	Petty Expenses	433
	Total	£12,764

Books presented.

About 3200 volumes of books were presented by various donors. The most valuable of these were gifts from Public Boards and Departments, and from Learned Societies, amounting to 500 volumes. Of the remainder, four-fifths were of very small value. The whole experience of this Library in that respect, as of so many more, tends to confirm the opinion elsewhere expressed that casual Donation is a totally untrustworthy source for the formation of Public Libraries, under any circumstances.

The Manchester Library was not only the first Library established under "Ewart's Act," but was the first Institution within the United Kingdom, however supported, which combined a Free Library of Reference, open to all comers, with a Free Library of Circulation, open to all persons whose responsibility was sufficiently vouched for. The 21,000 volumes with which the Institution opened were thus distributed between the two Departments:—

Classification of the books with which the Library opened.

Classes:—	No. of Volumes in Reference Department.	No. of Volumes in Lending Department.	Volumes in the Aggregate.
I., II. Theology and Philosophy.....	655	169	824
III. History	6,707	2,187	8,894
IV. Politics.....	2,705	266	2,971
V. Sciences and Arts ..	1,310	394	1,704
VI. Literature and Polygraphy	4,626	2,289	6,915
Totals....	16,003	5,305	21,308

Increase during the five years 1853-57.

During the five years that have elapsed, the 21,000 volumes have become 36,000; and 9,000 additional volumes have been purchased towards the formation of three Branch Lending Libraries in various parts of the City. The classification of the contents of the Chief Library runs thus:—

Classes:—	Volumes in Reference Department.	Volumes in Lending Department.	Aggregate No. of Volumes.
I., II. Theology and Philosophy	1,626	340	1,966
III. History.....	9,422	3,672	13,094
IV. Politics.....	6,560	779	7,339
V. Sciences and Arts ..	2,297	733	3,030
VI. Literature and Polygraphy	5,953	4,505	10,458
Totals....	25,858	10,029	35,887

It will be seen that in the recent accessions the predominating character of the Reference Library, as mainly one of History and Politics, has been well preserved. Only in this way of selection can anything be achieved, with small means, which in time will deserve to be

called a "Library,"—a collection of books, namely, tending to *make* students as well as to serve them.

From the 6th of September 1852, the day on which the Library was first opened, to the 31st of December 1857, a period of five years and a quarter, the aggregate number of volumes issued, both to Readers in the Reference Department, and to Borrowers from the Lending Department, was 864,104; or on the average of the whole period, 523 volumes daily for each day during which the Library has been open to the Public.

Issues from the Library, 1852-57.

Of this large issue, 409,908 volumes have been delivered to Readers in the Reference Department. Their classification is as follows:—

Classes.	Volumes.
I. Theology	9,676
II. Philosophy	7,488
III. History	111,014
IV. Politics	51,276
V. Sciences and Arts	50,253
VI. Literature and Polygraphy	180,201
Total	409,908

In this department of the Library, the principle I have advocated as that which ought to be fundamental in our free Town Libraries,—namely, that they should be made alike useful for *all* classes of the community,—has been to a large extent realized in practice. It is habitually frequented by persons of all social grades, from those of least up to those of greatest education. Merchant and Artizan, Mill-worker and Clergyman may be seen reading at the same tables; and as this is (in

Britain) the most novel, so assuredly will it prove, in its ultimate consequences, to have been one of the most pregnant results of Rate-supported Libraries. In these days, many causes are at work which tend rather to widen the social gulfs of separation than to bridge them over. Mammonworship, indeed, has met with sad discredits, but it is very tenacious of life, and very Proteuslike in its disguises. One good safeguard against its evil consequences will be to enlarge that PUBLIC DOMAIN in which some of the noblest results of genius, of persevering toil, and of wisely expended wealth, are placed within the reach of the poorest, not by charity, but of right; not by the accidents of bounty, how praiseworthy soever, but by the farsighted provisions of public opinion, deliberately resolving to do at the common charge and for the intellectual culture what has long been done (more or less thoroughly) for many of the corporeal accommodations of the Community. In establishing Rates for Libraries, we are, after all, but halting far in the rear of other Englishmen who two centuries ago set us the example in Massachusetts by levying Rates for Schools. The recent experience of Manchester shows that true liberality will never find itself restrained by acts of prudent foresight on the part of a Community which it designs to benefit. To give to the Public, (as has been done, once or twice at least,) the sweepings of our private collections is no act of generosity. To bequeath to the Public a collection which it has been a man's pride to gather, and his happiness to use, has often been and will yet often be the impulse of liberal minds. Nor is it easy to imagine

any institutions which are so likely to commend themselves to such liberality, as Libraries which have already a sure maintenance, by the regular payments of all classes, for the permanent use, the mental delight, and the spiritual elevation of them all.

The Working of the Lending Department of the Manchester Library.

The *Lending* Department of the Manchester Library opened (as has been shewn) with 5300 volumes, and now contains 10,000. This Department was wisely made as attractive as possible to persons hitherto cut off from such advantages, except in the poorest and least satisfactory form. It has been in practice largely used by artizans, mill-workers, and by "operatives" (to employ the local term) of all sorts, and their families. Probably, such readers form a majority which comprises more than three-fifths of the entire number. Shopkeepers, clerks, pupil-teachers, professional students, boys at school, and persons not in any employment make up the remainder. During the first five years 13,484 tickets of admission were issued. The general character of the books issued will be seen by a glance at the following table, which records and classifies the issues of *four* years and a quarter (1852-3; 1854-5; 1855-6; 1856-7):—

Classes.	Volumes.
I. Theology	5,159
II. Philosophy	2,255
III. History	85,269
IV. Politics	3,271
V. Sciences and Arts	18,296
VI. Literature and Polygraphy	261,819
Total of four years and a quarter	376,069

There is here a great contrast, in character, with the above-recorded issues of the Reference Department of the Library. The first five classes speak sufficiently for themselves. The sixth will be better appreciated by the help of sub-division. The issues in this class are somewhat more than two-thirds of the aggregate issue. Taking, for the sake of brevity, a period of only half-a-year, I find the deliveries of books classed as "Literature and Polygraphy" to have been 31,838 volumes. Of this number, 21,450 volumes were "Novels and Romances." It appears that 2437 other volumes were popular Magazines the staple of which is also Fiction in prose. It follows that of the issues to borrowers, in the Class "Literature and Polygraphy," more than four-fifths were "Novels and Romances." Of the aggregate issues in all the classes, collectively, such works form nearly five-eighths.

Popular demand for Works of Fiction.

It will, perhaps, be almost superfluous to say that the works of Fiction which have been placed in the Lending Department of this Library usually rank amongst the best of their class. They comprise all the standard master-pieces of British Novelists, and many works of recent date which will hereafter take rank as classics in this kind. It may, too, be truthfully said that at no previous period in the history of English literature has Prose-Fiction been made in so great a degree as of late years, the vehicle of the best thoughts of some of the best thinkers. Nor, taking it as a whole, was it ever before characterized by so much general purity of tone or loftiness of purpose. But, whatever weight may fairly attach to considerations like these,

it is still the fact that reading of this class is, in the main, reading for mere pastime.

Careful observation and inquiry have made it evident that the chief obstacle which impedes the Lending Departments of our Free Public Libraries in effecting their due share in the work of popular education, is the utter insufficiency of that amount of command over the mere implements of education which is commonly imparted in popular schools. A large proportion of the *borrowers* at the Manchester Library are youths and boys who still attend schools of some sort, or who have but just left them. It is by their good effect in course of time upon such that the best fruits of Popular Lending Libraries should display themselves. But in very many cases it is found that the outcome of the "schooling" has been a bare ability to read, and even that but stumblingly, with an utter absence of the mental training which turns the power to good account. Youths, with a taste for reading, are attracted by the titles of good books; ask for them; soon bring them back; and limit their future demands to the flimsiest "light-reading" the collection may afford. Their schooling has failed to give the habit of intellectual application, or even to create that moderately discriminating mental appetite, to which perpetual novel-reading would become nauseous, as surely as a table spread every day with confectionery, and with nothing else, would pall upon the healthy appetite for food.

But even at this early stage of their history, these Lending Libraries have done much good. They have placed in the hands of hundreds of Artizans and others, not only

the books which solace the intervals of toil, but those which put new meaning in the toil, and new life in the toiler, by disclosing its principles; facilitating its improvement; lighting up its before unseen relations with other work, and remote workers. They have done better still, in many cases, by arousing attention to interests and realities which reach beyond this world. They have brought for the first time into hundreds of homes such books, as Milton has called "the life-blood of master spirits, stored up on purpose to a life beyond life."

§ 3.—The Free Borough Library of Salford.

The Borough Library of Salford.

This Library opened in 1850 with barely 7000 volumes. It now possesses 20,503 volumes, of which 13,750 form the Reference Department, and 6753 the Lending Department. They may be classified thus:—

Classes:—	Reference Department. Volumes.	Lending Department. Volumes.	Aggregate No. of Volumes.
I. Theology and Philosophy	587	396	983
II. History	4,689	1,449	6,138
III. Politics	2,363	48	2,411
IV. Sciences and Arts	3,385	697	4,082
V. Literature and Polygraphy	2,726	4,163	6,889
Totals	13,750	6,753	20,503

In Salford, the levying of the Rate for the support of the Museum under the Act of 1845 was the first step taken. The maintenance charges of the Library have always been defrayed out of the proceeds of this Rate. For the enlargement of the building, the purchase of

books for the Library, and of specimens for the Museum, a public subscription was raised which eventually amounted to £6677. A Lending Department was formed in May 1854. The total issues in both Departments, up to the 31st of October 1857, amount to 579,788 volumes; namely, from the Reference Department 400,063; from the Lending Department 179,725.

In its latest Report, the Committee of the Borough Council records the gratification experienced at "the continued prosperity and progress which have been manifested during the past year, both in the Library and Museum," and rejoices to "find that the appreciation by the Public of the instruction and important advantages thus afforded, has been evinced in a most gratifying manner, far surpassing all former experience in the history of the institution."

§ 4.—The Free Town Library of Liverpool.

Free Library of Liverpool.

The Free Library of Liverpool was opened to the Public on the 18th of October 1852, with about 12,000 volumes. The first Rate was levied prior to the opening. A further sum of £1400 was raised by subscription. One year later, two Branch Lending Libraries were established in opposite quarters of the town, with about 1000 volumes in each. In October 1857, the Reference Library had grown to 24,000 volumes, and the Lending Libraries, collectively, to 17,000 volumes. In the first year of the working of the Reference Library, the aggregate issues were 128,628 volumes. In the fifth year they were 166,346 volumes. The issues

from the Lending Branches were in the first year 35,978 volumes, and in the fourth year 308,200 volumes.

The books which form these several Libraries may be thus classed:—

Classes:—	Reference Library. Volumes.	Lending Libraries. Volumes.	Aggregate No. of Volumes.
I. Theology and Philosophy	1,538	750	2,288
II. History	6,902	4,435	11,337
III Politics	2,439	207	2,646
IV. Sciences and Arts	3,411	1,064	4,475
V. Literature and Polygraphy	9,698	10,546	20,244
Totals	23,988	17,002	40,990

The aggregate issues during the whole period (18 Oct. 1852 to 31 Aug. 1857) have amounted to 1,382,609 volumes; namely, from the Reference Library, 710,062; and from the two Lending Libraries, 672,547. Those of the last year (ending 31st Aug. 1857) may be classed thus:—

Classes:—	Reference Library (one year). Volumes issued.	Lending Library (one year). Volumes issued.	Aggregate issue of Volumes.
I. Theology and Philosophy	6,581	8,723	15,304
II. History	22,240	48,561	70,801
III Politics	1,923	1,416	3,339
IV. Sciences and Arts	15,889	13,244	29,133
V. Literature and Polygraphy	119,713	236,256	355,969
Totals	166,346	308,200	474,546

The predominating character of the issues to readers differs a good deal, it may be noticed, from those of

Distinctive character of the issues from Liverpool Library.

the Manchester Library. This is partly the result of the different composition of the Library. In Liverpool, no less than 4000 volumes of "Novels and Romances" form part of the Reference collection. In Manchester, just one tenth of that number. On the other hand, the Liverpool Library has greatly the advantage in books on the Fine Arts, and on Natural History. In illustrated works generally it is very rich; and, as a whole, has been collected with great judgment and liberality. In both Libraries special attention has been bestowed on the collection of the local Topography. In this section, Liverpool is especially rich, having had the good fortune to obtain a private collection which was the fruit of the persevering researches of twenty or thirty years.

Munificent gift to Liverpool of Mr. W. Brown, MP.

The rapid growth of the Library, and the extraordinary extent to which it is used by the Public, have rendered a new and much larger building indispensable. By the munificence of a Liverpool merchant, Mr. William Brown, (one of the Members of Parliament for South Lancashire,) a noble edifice, capable of affording ample accommodation both for the Free Library, and for the Derby Museum, is in course of erection at his sole charge, This building will cost at least £25,000. The site for it has been provided by the Corporation. And there is abundant security that when completed, it will be well-filled. The able Chairman of the City Council Committee, Mr. J. A Picton, possesses just and vigorous conceptions of what the collection ought to become. At a recent public Meeting, (20 February 1858,) he "took occasion to correct a mistake which some

"persons had fallen into .... that it was principally a "Library for the 'Working Classes.' That never had "been the idea of those who had taken a great interest "in the establishment of the institution. From that "time to the present, the desire and aim of the Com- "mittee had been to make it *a Library for all classes, and* "*that it should contain the best works to be obtained on* "*every subject of human inquiry.* It would be quite a mis- "take to suppose that in these matters the Community "could be parcelled out into 'Classes.' ... We are all "part of the great Republic of Letters." In Liverpool, as elsewhere, it is seen that right conceptions on this point have become vital to the true usefulness and enduring prosperity of the new institutions.

To sum up, in few words, the first results, apparent at a glance, whilst these Libraries are still in the cradle:—In the nine or ten towns, in which the Act has been not only adopted, but already fairly set to work, 150,000 volumes of books have been permanently secured for public use; with ample funds for their preservation, increase, and well-ordering, and also for the replacement, from time to time, of such as become worn out. These books have been made thoroughly accessible, under proper regulations, to every respectable inhabitant of the towns to which they belong; are actually used to so large an extent that, on the average, each volume of the 150,000 is either delivered to readers, or lent to borrowers, (as the case may be,) ten times within each year. The management of these Libraries has been made wholly independent of sect,

party, or clique, in Religion or in Politics. Their permanence has been made in like manner independent of charitable gifts, or of fluctuating subscriptions. They may be governed without noise; used without favour; maintained and improved without claptrap appeals to public benevolence, or compulsory recourse to ephemeral excitements. Their truest work will lie in helping to educate the Educators; and in facilitating the placing of Rate-supported Free Schools, side by side with Rate-supported Free Libraries, throughout the country. The best fruits of that work will not be seen until those who have striven earnestly to initiate and to carry into effect the Legislation which alone has made such institutions possible in England, shall have been long in their graves. But those labourers will take with them the sure confidence that—

> "No earnest Work
> Of any honest Worker, howbeit weak,
> Imperfect, ill-adapted, fails so much
> That 'tis not gathered, as a grain of sand,
> To enlarge the sum of human action used
> For carrying out God's end."

APPENDIX TO VOLUME I.

I. PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACT.—ENGLAND. (18° & 19° Vict. c. 70; 30 July, 1855.)

II. PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACT.—IRELAND. (18° & 19° Vict. c. 40; 26 June, 1855.)

III. PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACT.—SCOTLAND. (17° & 18° Vict. c. 64; 31 July, 1854.)

IV. DUBLIN NATIONAL GALLERY AND PUBLIC LIBRARY ACT. (17° & 18° Vict. c. 99; 10 August, 1854.)

The above are the Acts now in force, in each Country, respectively.

ANNO 18° & 19° VICT. CAP. LXX.

An Act for further promoting the Establishment of Free Public Libraries and Museums in Municipal Towns, and for extending it to Towns governed under Local Improvement Acts, and to Parishes.

[30th *July* 1855.]

Appendix to Volume I. 18 & 19 Vict. Cap. 70.

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend and extend the Public Libraries Act, 1850: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, as follows:

13 & 14 Vict. c. 65. repealed.

I. The Public Libraries Act, 1850, is hereby repealed; but such Repeal shall not invalidate or affect anything already done in pursuance of the same Act, and all Libraries and Museums established under that Act or the Act thereby repealed shall be considered as having been established under this Act, and the Council of any Borough which may have adopted the said Act of One thousand eight hundred and fifty, or established a Museum under the Act thereby repealed, shall have and may use and exercise all the Benefits, Privileges, and Powers given by this Act; and all Monies which have been borrowed by virtue of the said repealed Acts or either of them, and still remaining unpaid, and the Interest thereof, shall be charged on the Borough Rates, or a Rate to be assessed and recovered in the like Manner as a Borough Rate to be made by virtue of this Act.

Short Title of Act.

II. In citing this Act for any Purposes whatever it shall be sufficient to use the Expression "The Public Libraries Act, 1855."

Interpretation of Terms.

III. In the Construction of this Act the following Words and Expressions shall, unless there be something in the Subject or Context repugnant to such Construction, have the following Meanings assigned to them respectively; that is to say, "Parish" shall mean every Place maintaining its own Poor; "Vestry" shall mean the Inhabitants of the Parish lawfully assembled in Vestry, or for any of the Purposes for which Ves-

Appendix to Volume I. 18 & 19 Vict. Cap. 70.

tries are holden, except in those Parishes in which there is a Select Vestry elected under the Act of the Fifty-ninth Year of King *George* the Third, Chapter Twelve, or under the Act of the First and Second Years of King William the *Fourth*, Chapter Sixty, or under the Provisions of any Local Act of Parliament for the Government of any Parish by Vestries, in which Parishes it shall mean such Select Vestry, and shall also mean any Body of Persons, by whatever Name distinguished, acting by virtue of any Act of Parliament, Prescription, Custom, or otherwise, as or instead of a Vestry or Select Vestry; "Ratepayers" shall mean all Persons for the Time being assessed to Rates for the Relief of the Poor of the Parish; "Overseers of the Poor" shall mean also any Persons authorized and required to make and collect the Rate for the Relief of the Poor of the Parish, and acting instead of Overseers of the Poor; "Board" shall mean the Commissioners, Trustees, or other Body of Persons, by whatever Name distinguished, for the Time being in Office and acting in the Execution of any Improvement Act, being an Act for draining, cleansing, paving, lighting, watching, or otherwise improving a Place, or for any of those Purposes; "Improvement Rates" shall mean the Rates, Tolls, Rents, Income, and other Monies whatsoever which, under the Provisions of any such Improvement Act, shall be applicable for the general Purposes of such Act.

Town Councils of certain Boroughs may adopt this Act if determined by Inhabitants.

IV. The Mayor of any Municipal Borough the Population of which, according to the then last Census thereof, shall exceed Five thousand Persons, shall, on the Request of the Town Council, convene a Public Meeting of the Burgesses of the Borough, in order to determine whether this Act shall be adopted for the Municipal Borough, and Ten Days Notice at least of the Time, Place, and Object of the Meeting shall be given by affixing the same on or near the Door of every Church and Chapel within the Borough, and also by advertising the same in One or more of the Newspapers published or circulated within the Borough, Seven Days at least before the Day appointed for the Meeting; and if at such Meeting Two Thirds of such Persons as aforesaid then present shall determine that this Act ought to be adopted for the Borough, the same shall thenceforth take effect and come into operation in such Borough, and shall be carried into execution in accordance with the Laws for the Time being in force relating to the Municipal Corporation of such Borough: Provided always, that the Mayor, or, in his Absence, the Chairman of the Meeting, shall cause a Minute to be made of the Resolutions of the Meeting, and shall sign the same; and the Resolutions so signed shall be conclusive Evidence that the Meetings was duly convened, and the Vote thereat duly taken, and that the Minute contains a true Account of the Proceedings thereat.

Expenses of carrying Act into

V. The Expenses incurred in calling and holding the Meeting, whether this Act shall be adopted or not, and the Expenses of carrying this Act

into execution in such Borough, may be paid out of the Borough Fund, and the Council may levy by a separate Rate, to be called a Library Rate, to be made and recoverable in the Manner herein-after provided, all Monies from Time to Time necessary for defraying such Expenses; and distinct Accounts shall be kept of the Receipts, Payments, and Liabilities of the Council with reference to the Execution of this Act.

execution in a Borough to be paid out of the Borough Fund.

VI. The Board of any District, being a Place within the Limits of any Improvement Act, and having such a Population as aforesaid, shall, upon the Requisition in Writing of at least Ten Persons assessed to and paying the Improvement Rate, appoint a Time, not less than Ten Days nor more than Twenty Days from the Time of receiving such Requisition, for a Public Meeting of the Persons assessed to and paying such Rate in order to determine whether this Act shall be adopted for such District, and Ten Days Notice at least of the Time, Place, and Object of such Meeting shall be given by affixing the same on or near the Door of every Church and Chapel within the District, and also by advertising the same in One or more of the Newspapers published or circulated within the District, Seven Days at least before the Day appointed for the Meeting; and if at such Meeting Two Thirds of such Persons as aforesaid then present shall determine that this Act ought to be adopted for the District, the same shall thenceforth take effect, and come into operation in such District, and shall be carried into effect according to the Laws for the Time being in force relating to such Board.

Board of any District within Limits of any Improvement Act may adopt this Act if determined by Inhabitants.

VII. The Expenses incurred in calling and holding the Meeting, whether this Act shall be adopted or not, and the Expenses of carrying this Act into execution in any such District, shall be paid out of the Improvement Rate, and the Board may levy as Part of the Improvement Rate, or by a separate Rate to be assessed and recovered in like Manner as an Improvement Rate, such Sums of Money as shall be from Time to Time necessary for defraying such Expenses; and the Board shall keep distinct Accounts of their Receipts, Payments, Credits, and Liabilities with reference to the Execution of this Act, which Accounts shall be audited in the same Way as Accounts are directed to be audited under the Improvement Act.

Expenses of carrying Act into execution by Improvement Commissioners to be charged on Improvement Rate.

VIII. Upon the Requisition in Writing of at least Ten Ratepayers of any Parish having such a Population as aforesaid, the Overseers of the Poor shall appoint a Time, not less than Ten Days nor more than Twenty Days from the Time of receiving such Requisition, for a Public Meeting of the Ratepayers in order to determine whether this Act shall be adopted for the Parish; and Ten Days Notice at least of the Time, Place, and Object of the Meeting shall be given by affixing the same on or near the Door of every Church and Chapel within the Parish, and also by advertising the same in One or more of the Newspapers published or cir-

Certain Parishes may adopt this Act, with the Consent of Two-Thirds of the Ratepayers.

culated within the Parish, Seven Days at least before the Day appointed for the Meeting; and if at such Meeting Two Thirds of the Ratepayers then present shall determine that this Act ought to be adopted for such Parish, the same shall come into operation in such Parish, and the Vestry shall forthwith appoint not less than Three nor more than Nine Ratepayers Commissioners for carrying the Act into execution, who shall be a Body Corporate by the Name of "The Commissioners for Public Libraries and Museums "for the Parish of in the County of ", and by that Name may sue and be sued, and hold and dispose of Lands, and use a Common Seal: Provided always, that in any Parish where there shall not be a greater Population than Eight thousand Inhabitants by the then last Census, it shall be lawful for any Ten Ratepayers to deliver a Requisition by them signed, and describing their Place of Residence to the Overseers or One of the Overseers of the said Parish, requiring the Votes of the Ratepayers at such Meeting to be taken according to the Provisions of the Act passed in the Fifty-eighth Year of the Reign of King *George* the Third, Chapter Sixty-nine, and the Votes at such Meeting shall thereupon be taken according to the Provisions of the said last-mentioned Act of Parliament, and not otherwise.

The Vestry to appoint Commissioners for carrying the Act into execution, who shall be a Body Corporate.

One-Third of such Commissioners to go out of Office yearly, and others to be appointed, but those retiring may be re-appointed.

IX. At the Termination of every Year (the Year being reckoned from and exclusive of the Day of the First Appointment of Commissioners) a Meeting of the Vestry shall be held, at which Meeting One Third or as nearly as may be One Third of the Commissioners, to be determined by Ballot, shall go out of Office, and the Vestry shall appoint other Commissioners in their Place, but the outgoing Commissioners may be re-elected; and the Vestry shall fill up every Vacancy among the Commissioners, whether occurring by Death, Resignation, or otherwise, as soon as possible after the same occurs.

General and Special Meetings of Commissioners.

X. The Commissioners shall meet at least once in every Calendar Month, and at such other Times as they think fit, at the Public Library or Museum or some other convenient Place; and any One Commissioner may summon a Special Meeting of the Commissioners by giving Three clear Days Notice in Writing to each Commissioner, specifying therein the Purpose for which the Meeting is called; and no Business shall be transacted at any Meeting of the Commissioners unless at least Two Commissioners shall be present.

Minutes of Proceedings of Commissioners to be entered in Books.

XI. All Orders and Proceedings of the Commissioners shall be entered in Books to be kept by them for that Purpose, and shall be signed by the Commissioners or any Two of them; and all such Orders and Proceedings so entered, and purporting to be so signed, shall be deemed to be original Orders and Proceedings, and such Books may be produced and read as Evidence of all such Orders and Proceedings upon any judicial Proceeding whatsoever.

Distinct Accounts to be kept by Commissioners, and duly audited.

XII. The Commissioners shall keep distinct and regular Accounts of their Receipts, Payments, Credits, and Liabilities with reference to the Execution of this Act, which Accounts shall be audited yearly by the Poor Law Auditor, if the Accounts of Poor Rate Expenditure of the Parish be audited by a Poor Law Auditor, but if not so audited, then by Two Auditors not being Commissioners, who shall be yearly appointed by the Vestry, and the Auditor or Auditors shall report thereon, and such Report shall be laid before the Vestry by the Commissioners.

Expenses of executing Act in any Parish to be paid out of Poor Rate.

XIII. The Expenses of calling and holding the Meeting of the Ratepayers, whether this Act shall be adopted or not, and the Expenses of carrying this Act into execution in any Parish, to such Amount as shall be from Time to Time sanctioned by the Vestry, shall be paid out of a Rate to be made and recovered in like Manner as a Poor Rate, except that every Person occupying Lands used as Arable, Meadow, or Pasture Ground only, or as Woodlands or Market Gardens, or Nursery Grounds, shall be rated in respect of the same in the Proportion of One Third Part only of the full net annual Value thereof respectively; the Vestry to be called for the Purpose of sanctioning the Amount shall be convened in the Manner usual in the Parish; the Amount for the Time being proposed to be raised for such Expenses shall be expressed in the Notice convening the Vestry, and shall be paid, according to the Order of the Vestry, to such Person as shall be appointed by the Commissioners to receive the same: Provided always, that in the Notices requiring the Payment of the Rate there shall be stated the Proportion which the Amount to be thereby raised for the Purposes of this Act shall bear to the total Amount of the Rate.

Vestries of Two or more neighbouring Parishes may adopt the Act.

XIV. The Vestries of any Two or more neighbouring Parishes having according to the then last Census an aggregate Population exceeding Five thousand Persons may adopt this Act, in like Manner as if the Population of each of those Parishes according to the then last Census exceeded Five thousand, and may concur in carrying the same into execution in such Parishes for such Time as they shall mutually agree; and such Vestries may decide that a Public Library or Museum, or both, shall be erected in any One of such Parishes, and that the Expenses of carrying this Act into execution with reference to the same shall be borne by such Parishes in such Proportions as such Vestries shall mutually approve; the Proportion for each of such Parishes of such Expenses shall be paid out of the Monies to be raised for the Relief of the Poor of the same respective Parishes accordingly; but no more than Three Commissioners shall be appointed for each Parish; and the Commissioners so appointed for each of such Parishes shall in the Management of the said Public Library and Museum form One Body of Commissioners, and shall act accordingly in the Execution of this Act; and the Accounts of

the Commissioners shall be examined and reported on by the Auditor or Auditors of each of such Parishes; and the surplus Money at the Disposal as aforesaid of such Commissioners shall be paid to the Overseers of such Parishes respectively, in the Proportion in which such Parishes shall be liable to such Expenses.

Rates levied not to exceed One Penny in the Pound.

XV. The Amount of the Rate to be levied in any Borough, District, or Parish in any One Year for the Purposes of this Act shall not exceed the Sum of One Penny in the Pound; and for the Purposes of the Library Rate all the Clauses of the Towns Improvement Clauses Act, 1847, with respect to the Manner of making Rates, to the Appeal to be made against any Rate, and to the Recovery of Rates, shall be incorporated with this Act; and whenever the Words "Special Act" occur in the Act so incorporated they shall mean "The Public Libraries Act, 1855;" the Accounts of the said Board and Commissioners respectively with reference to the Execution of this Act shall at all reasonable Times be open, without Charge, to the Inspection of every Person rated to the Improvement Rate or to the Rates for the Relief of the Poor of the Parish, as the Case may be, who may make Copies of or Extracts from such Accounts, without paying for the same; and in case the Board or the Commissioners, or any of them respectively, or any of their respective Officers or Servants having the Custody of such Accounts, shall not permit the same Accounts to be inspected, or Copies of or Extracts from the same to be made, every Person so offending shall for every such Offence forfeit any Sum not exceeding Five Pounds.

Accounts of Board and Commissioners to be open to Inspection.

Power to Council, &c. to borrow on Mortgage.

XVI. For carrying this Act into execution the Council, Board, or Commissioners respectively may, with the Approval of Her Majesty's Treasury, (and as to the Commissioners, with the Sanction also of the Vestry and the Poor Law Board,) from Time to Time borrow at Interest, on the Security of a Mortgage or Bond of the Borough Fund, or of the Rates levied in pursuance of this Act, such Sums of Money as may be by them respectively required; and the Commissioners for carrying into execution the Act of the Ninth and Tenth Years of Her Majesty, Chapter Eighty, may from Time to Time advance and lend any such Sums of Money.

Provisions of 8 & 9 Vict. c. 16. as to borrowing, extended to this Act.

XVII. The Clauses and Provisions of "The Companies Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845," with respect to the borrowing of Money on Mortgage or Bond, and the Accountability of Officers, and the Recovery of Damages and Penalties, so far as such Provisions may respectively be applicable to the Purposes of this Act, shall be respectively incorporated with this Act.

Lands, &c. may be appropriated, purchased, or

XVIII. The Council of any Borough and the Board of any District respectively may from Time to Time, with the Approval of Her Majesty's Treasury, appropriate for the Purposes of this Act any Lands vested, as

the Case may be, in a Borough, in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, and in a District in the Board; and the Council, Board, and Commissioners respectively may also, with such Approval, purchase or rent any Lands or any suitable Buildings; and the Council and Board and Commissioners respectively may, upon any Lands so appropriated, purchased, or rented respectively, erect any Buildings suitable for Public Libraries or Museums, or both, or for Schools for Science or Art, and may apply, take down, alter and extend any Buildings for such Purposes, and rebuild, repair, and improve the same respectively, and fit up, furnish, and supply the same respectively with all requisite Furniture, Fittings, and Conveniences.

rented for the Purposes of this Act,

XIX. "The Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845," shall be incorporated with this Act; but the Council, Board, and Commissioners respectively shall not purchase or take any Lands otherwise than by Agreement.

Provisions of 8 & 9 Vict. c. 18 incorporated with this Act.

XX. The Council, Board, and Commissioners aforesaid respectively may, with the like Approval as is required for the Purchase of Lands, sell any Lands vested in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, or Board, or Commissioners respectively, for the Purposes of this Act, or exchange the same for any Lands better adapted for the Purposes; and the Monies to arise from such Sale, or to be received for Equality of Exchange, or a sufficient Part thereof, shall be applied in or towards the Purchase of other Lands better adapted for such Purposes.

Lands, &c. may be sold or exchanged.

XXI. The general Management, Regulation, and Control of such Libraries and Museums, Schools for Science and Art, shall be, as to any Borough, vested in and exercised by the Council, and as to any District in and by the Board, and as to any Parish or Parishes in and by the Commissioners, or such Committee as such Council or Board may from Time to Time appoint, the Members whereof need not be Members of the Council or Board or be Commissioners, who may from Time to Time purchase and provide the necessary Fuel, Lighting, and other similar Matters, Books, Newspapers, Maps, and Specimens of Art and Science, for the Use of the Library or Museum, or School, and cause the same to be bound or repaired when necessary, and appoint salaried Officers and Servants, and dismiss the same, and make Rules and Regulations for the Safety and Use of the Libraries and Museums, and Schools, and for the Admission of the Public.

General Management to be vested in Council, Board, or Commissioners.

XXII. The Lands and Buildings so to be appropriated, purchased, or rented as aforesaid, and all other Real and Personal Property whatever presented to or purchased for any Library or Museum established under this Act, or School, shall be vested, in the Case of a Borough, in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, in the Case of a District in

Property of Library, &c. to be vested in Council, Board, and Commissioners respectively.

the Board, and in the Case of a Parish or Parishes in the Commissioners.

If any Meeting determine against Adoption of Act, no other Meeting to be called for a Year.

XXIII. If any Meeting called as aforesaid to determine as to the Adoption of this Act for any Borough, District, or Parish shall determine against the Adoption, no Meeting for a similar Purpose shall be held for the Space of One Year at least from the Time of holding the previous Meeting.

Act may be adopted in the City of London if Two-Thirds of Persons rated to the Consolidated Rate, assembled at a Public Meeting, assent.

XXIV. The Lord Mayor of the City of *London* shall, on the Request of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common Council assembled, convene a Public Meeting in manner hereinbefore mentioned of all Persons rated and assessed to the Consolidated Rate in the City of *London*, in order to determine whether this Act shall be adopted in the said City; and if at such Meeting Two Thirds of such Persons then present shall determine that this Act ought to be adopted for the City of *London*, the same shall thenceforth take effect and come into operation in the City of *London*, and shall be carried into execution in accordance with the Laws for the Time being in force relating to the City of *London:* Provided always, that the Resolution of such Public Meeting, signed by the Lord Mayor, shall be reported to the said Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled, and entered on the Minutes thereof, and that such Entry shall be Evidence; the Expenses incurred in calling and holding the Meeting, whether this Act shall be adopted or not, and the Expenses of carrying this Act into execution in the City of *London*, shall be paid out of the Consolidated Rate, and the Commissioners of Sewers of the City of *London* may levy a Part of the Consolidated Rate, or, by a separate Rate, to be assessed and recovered in like Manner as the Consolidated Rate, all Monies from Time to Time necessary for defraying such Expenses, and distinct Accounts shall be kept of the Receipts, Payments, and Liabilities of the said Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons with reference to the Execution of the Act.

Museums to be free.

XXV. The Admission to all Libraries and Museums established under this Act shall be open to the Public free of all Charge.

Extent of Act.

XXVI. This Act shall not extend to *Ireland* or *Scotland*.

ANNO 18 & 19° VICT. CAP. XL.

An Act for further promoting the Establishment of Free Public Libraries and Museums in *Ireland*.

[26th *June* 1855.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the Act of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Years of Her present Majesty, Chapter One hundred and one, and to give greater Facilities for the Establishment in *Ireland* of free Public Libraries and Museums or Schools of Science and Art: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, as follows:

Appendix to Volume I. 18 & 19 Vict. Cap. 40.

I. The said Act of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Years of Her present Majesty, Chapter One hundred and one, and Section Ninety-nine of the Towns Improvement Act (*Ireland*), 1854, are hereby repealed; but such Repeal shall not invalidate or affect anything already done in pursuance of either of such Acts; and all public Libraries and Museums established in *Ireland* under either of those Acts shall be considered as having been established under this Act.

16 & 17 Vict. c. 101. and Sec. 99. of 17 & 18 Vict. c. 103. repealed.

II. In citing this Act for any Purpose whatever it shall be sufficient to use the Expression "The Public Libraries Act (*Ireland*), 1855."

Short Title.

III. In the Construction and for the Purposes of this Act (if not inconsistent with the Context or Subject Matter) the following Terms shall have the respective Meanings herein-after assigned to them; that is to say, "Town" shall mean and include any City, Borough, Town, or Place in which Commissioners, Trustees, or other Persons have been or shall be elected or appointed under the Act of the Ninth Year of King *George* the Fourth, Chapter Eighty-two, or the "Towns Improvement Act (*Ireland*), 1854," or any Local or other Act or Acts for paving, flagging, lighting, watching, cleansing, or otherwise improving any City, Borough, Town, or Place, for the Execution of any such Act or Acts, or super-

Interpretation of Terms.

Appendix to Volume I. 18 & 19 Vict. Cap. 40.

intending the Execution thereof, and in which there shall not be a Town Council or other such Body elected under the Act of the Third and Fourth Years of Her present Majesty, Chapter One hundred and eight, or any other Charter granted in pursuance of such Act, or any Act passed for the Amendment thereof; "Town Commissioners" shall mean the Commissioners, Trustees, or other Persons for the Time being elected or appointed under any such first-mentioned Acts as aforesaid; "Town Fund" shall mean the Town Fund, or the Rates or Property vested in and under the Control and Direction of any Town Commissioners, and applicable to the Purposes of any such Acts; "Town Rate" shall mean the Rate or Rates authorized to be levied by any such Town Commissioners; "Mayor" shall include Lord Mayor; "Clerk" shall mean, as regards an incorporated Borough, the Town Clerk of such Borough, and as regards a Town in which there shall be Town Commissioners the Clerk appointed by the Town Commissioners; "Householder" shall mean a Male Occupier of a Dwelling House, or of any Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments within any Town or incorporated Borough, and entitled for the Time being to vote at Elections of Commissioners, Aldermen, or Councillors in such Town or Borough.

Act may be adopted in any incorporated Borough or any Town.

IV. The Council or Board of Municipal Commissioners of any incorporated Borough in *Ireland* regulated under the said Act of the Third and Fourth Years of Her present Majesty, Chapter One hundred and eight, or any Charter granted in pursuance of such Act, or any Act passed for the Amendment thereof, the Population of which, according to the then last Census thereof, shall exceed Five thousand Persons, or the Town Commissioners of any Town in *Ireland* having such a Population as aforesaid, may, if they think fit, appoint a Time for a Public Meeting of the Householders of the Borough or Town, as the Case may be, in order to determine whether this Act shall be adopted for the Borough or Town, and Ten Days Notice at least of the Time, Place, and Object of the Meeting shall be given by affixing the same on or near the Door of every Church and Chapel within the Borough or Town, and also by advertising the same in One or more of the Newspapers published or circulated within the Borough or Town Seven Days at least before the Day appointed for the Meeting; and if at such Meeting Two Thirds of such Persons as aforesaid then present shall determine that this Act ought to be adopted for the Borough or Town, the same shall thenceforth take effect and come into operation in such Borough or Town, as the Case may be, and shall be carried into execution, in accordance with the Laws for the Time being in force relating to the Municipal Corporation of such Borough, or relating to such Town.

Expenses of carrying Act into execution in

V. The Expenses incurred in calling and holding the Meeting, whether this Act shall be adopted or not, and the Expenses of carrying this Act into execution in such Borough, shall be paid out of the Borough Fund,

and in such Town out of the Town Fund; and the Council, or Board of Municipal Commissioners, or Town Commissioners, may levy as Part of the Borough Rate or Town Rate, as the Case may be, or by a separate Rate to be assessed and recovered in like Manner as the Borough Rate or Town Rate, all Monies from Time to Time necessary for defraying such Expenses; and distinct Accounts shall be kept of the Receipts, Payments, and Liabilities of the Council with reference to the Execution of this Act.

a Borough or Town to be paid out of the Borough Fund or Town Fund.

VI. Such Accounts shall be audited in the same Way as all other Accounts of such Borough or Town respectively are audited, and the said Council or Board or Town Commissioners shall, within One Month after the same shall have been audited, transmit to the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of *Ireland* for the Time being a true and correct Copy of such Accounts; and shall also within the Time aforesaid cause a Copy of such Accounts to be deposited in the Office of the Clerk; and the said Accounts shall be open to the Inspection of all Householders of such Borough or Town respectively, and Copies thereof shall be delivered to any such Householder applying for the same, upon Payment of a reasonable Charge for the same, to be fixed by the Council or Board or Town Commissioners, as the Case may be.

Accounts to be audited, and sent to Lord Lieutenant, &c,: to be deposited and open to Inspection.

VII. The Town Commissioners of every Town adopting this Act shall for the Purposes thereof be a Body Corporate, with perpetual Succession, by the Name of "The Commissioners for Public Libraries and Museums "for the Town of in the County of ," and by that Name may sue and be sued, and hold and dispose of Lands, and use a Common Seal.

Commissioners of Towns adopting this Act to be incorporated for Purposes of Act.

VIII. The Amount of the Rate to be levied in any Borough or Town in any One Year for the Purposes of this Act shall not exceed the Sum of One Penny in the Pound, and in any such Borough shall be assessed, raised, collected, and levied in the same Manner as the Borough Rate, and in any such Town shall be assessed, raised, collected, and levied in the same Manner as the Town Rate.

Rate not to exceed One Penny in the Pound. Houses and lands to be differently rated.

IX. The Council or Board of any Borough and the Town Commissioners of any Town respectively may from Time to Time, with the Approval of Her Majesty's Treasury, appropriate for the Purposes of this Act any Lands vested, as the Case may be, in a Borough in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, and in a Town in the Town Commissioners, and may also, with such Approval, purchase or rent any Lands or any suitable Buildings, and the Council or Board and Town Commissioners respectively may, upon any Lands so appropriated, purchased, or rented respectively, erect any Buildings suitable for Public Libraries or Museums

Lands, &c. may be appropriated, purchased, or rented for the Purposes of this Act.

or Schools of Science and Art, or both, and may apply, take down, alter, and extend any Buildings for such Purposes, and rebuild, repair, and improve the same respectively, and fit up, furnish, and supply the same respectively with all requisite Furniture, Fittings, and Conveniences.

Provisions of 8 & 9 Vict. c. 18. incorporated with this Act.

X. "The Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845," shall be incorporated with this Act; but the Council or Board, and Commissioners respectively shall not purchase or take any Lands otherwise than by Agreement.

Lands, &c. may be sold or exchanged.

XI. The Council or Board and Commissioners aforesaid respectively may, with the like Approval as is required for the Purchase of Lands, sell any Lands vested in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, or Board, or Town Commissioners respectively, for the Purposes of this Act, or exchange the same for any Lands better adapted for the Purposes; and the Monies to arise from such Sale, or to be received for Equality of Exchange, or a sufficient Part thereof, shall be applied in or towards the Purchase of other Lands better adapted for such Purposes.

General Management to be vested in Council or Board, or Town Commissioners.

XII. The general Management, Regulation, and Control of such Libraries and Museums or Schools of Science and Art shall be, as to any Borough, vested in and exercised by the Council or Board, and as to any Town, in and by the Town Commissioners, or such Committee as they respectively may from Time to Time appoint, who may from Time to Time purchase and provide the necessary Fuel, Lighting, and other similar Matters, Books, Newspapers, Maps, and Specimens of Art and Science, for the Use of the Library or Museum, and cause the same to be bound or repaired, when necessary, and appoint salaried Officers and Servants, and dismiss the same, and make Rules and Regulations for the Safety and Use of the Libraries and Museums or Schools of Science and Art, and for the Admission of Visitors.

Property of Library, &c. to be vested in Council, Board and Commissioners respectively.

XIII. The Lands and Buildings so to be appropriated, purchased, or rented as aforesaid, and all other Real and Personal Property whatever presented to or purchased for any Library or Museum or School of Science and Art established under this Act, shall be vested, in the Case of a Borough, in the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, and in the Case of a Town in the Town Commissioners.

If Meeting determine against Adoption of Act, no fresh Meeting to be called for One Year.

XIV. If any Meeting called as herein-before provided to consider as to the Adoption of this Act for any Borough or Town shall determine against such Adoption no Meeting for a similar Purpose shall be held for the Space of One Year at least from the Time of holding the previous Meeting.

Museums to be free.

XV. The Admission to all Libraries and Museums established under this Act shall be open to the Public free of all Charge.

XVI. Upon the coming into operation of this Act in any Borough it shall, as regards such Borough, be incorporated with the said Act of the Third and Fourth *Victoria*, Chapter One hundred and eight, and upon the coming into operation of this Act in any Town it shall, as regards such Town, be incorporated with the Act or Acts in force therein relating to the Powers and Duties of the Town Commissioners.

This Act to be incorporated with Local Acts in force in Borough or Town.

17° & 18° VICT. CAP. LXIV.

An Act to amend an Act of the last Session for extending the Public Libraries Act, 1850, to Ireland and *Scotland*. [31st *July* 1854.]

Appendix to Volume I. 17 & 18 Vict. Cap. 64.

Present Act extends to *Scotland* only.

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the Act of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Years of Her present Majesty, Chapter One hundred and one, so far as the same relates to Scotland, and to give greater Facilities for the Establishment there of Public Libraries and Museums: Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, as follows:—

Interpretation of Terms.

I. In the Construction of this Act the following Words and Expressions, shall have the Meanings hereby assigned, if not inconsistent with the Context or Subject Matter; that is to say, the Expression "Parliamentary Burgh" shall mean a Burgh or Town to which Magistrates and Councils were provided by the Act of the Third and Fourth Years of King William the Fourth, Chapter Seventy-seven; the Expression "Occupier of Premises" shall mean a Male Occupier of a Dwelling House or other Heritable Subjects of the yearly Value of Ten Pounds or upwards, not being a Lodger or a Party in the Occupation as Tenant of a Furnished House let for a less Period than One Year but in such Case shall mean the Party by whom such House is so let.

So much of 16 & 17 Vict. c. 101. as relates to Scotland repealed.

II. So much of the said Act of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Years of Her present Majesty, Chapter One hundred and one, as relates to Scotland, is hereby repealed, but such Repeal shall not invalidate or affect anything already done in pursuance of such Act; and all Public Libraries and Museums established in Scotland under the Act shall be considered as having been established under this Act.

Short Title.

III. In citing this Act for any purpose whatever, it shall be sufficient to use the Epression "The Public Libraries Act, (Scotland) 1854."

Meeting to be called for considering the Adoption of this Act in any Burgh or Town or Part thereof.

IV. Upon the Requisition in Writing of the Magistrates and Council of any Royal Burgh, Parliamentary Burgh, Burgh of Regality, or Burgh of Barony in Scotland, whose Population according to the then last Census shall exceed *Ten* Thousand Persons, the Chief or Senior Magistrate of such Burgh, or in the Case of a Burgh not being a Royal or Parliamentary Burgh, the Sheriff of the County in which such Burgh is situated, shall, within Ten Days after the Receipt of such Requisition, convene a Meeting of the Occupiers of Premises in such Burgh, or in such Part thereof within which it may in such Requisition be proposed to adopt this Act, for the Purpose of considering whether this Act shall be adopted for such Burgh or such Part thereof, such Meeting to be held in the Town Hall or other conveuient Place on a Day not less than Twenty one Days or more than Thirty Days after the Receipt of such Requisition, and Notice of the Time and Place of such Meeting to be given by affixing the same upon the Doors of the several Parish Churches within such Burgh Fourteen Days preceding the Day of Meeting.

Qualification of Voters.

V. For the Purpose of deciding as to the Adoption of this Act, all Occupiers of Premises in such Burgh or in such Part thereof as aforesaid, as the Case may be, shall be entitled to vote, and Companies or Copartnerships occupying Houses or other Heritable Subjects above the yearly Value of Ten Pounds, so as to afford more than One Qualification of Ten Pounds, may grant Authority in Writing to any one of the Partners of such Company or Copartnership to vote, but such Company or Copartnership shall not so authorize or have Right to vote by more than One Partner in respect of each Qualification of Ten Pounds afforded by such Premises; and any Dispute as to the Qualification or Identity of any Occupier of Premises shall be decided by such Senior Magistrate or Sheriff, as the Case may be, whose Decision shall be final.

Act may be adopted at the Meeting unless Poll demanded.

VI. If at such Meeting it shall be determined by a Majority of Two Thirds of the Votes of the Occupiers of Premises present that the Provisions of this Act shall be adopted in such Burgh or in such Part thereof respectively, then the same shall from thenceforth come into operation therein, unless a Poll shall be demanded in Writing at such Meeting by any five Persons present and qualified to Vote, and in that Case the Meeting shall be adjourned to a future Day for the Purpose of declaring the Result of the Poll.

Poll to be open for One Day, and state of Poll to be ascertained and declared.

VII. When such Poll shall be demanded, such Magistrate or Sheriff as afore said shall appoint the necessary Number of Clerks, and cause proper Poll Books to be prepared, and such Poll shall be proceeded in within such Period as he shall determine, not exceeding Two days from the Day of the holding of such Meeting; and the Poll shall be kept open for One Day at the Places fixed by him commencing at Nine of

the Clock in the Forenoon and ending at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and as soon after the Close of the Poll as may be, the Poll Clerks shall transmit to such Magistrate or Sheriff the state of the respective Polls, who shall sum up the same, and openly declare the Result of the total Poll at the adjourned Meeting.

Majority of Two-Thirds necessary for Adoption of Act.

VIII. If it shall appear by the Result of such Poll that Two-Thirds of the Votes given have been given in favour of the Adoption of this Act, then the same shall from theuceforth come into operation in such Burgh or such part thereof as aforesaid; and in all Cases of the Adoption of this Act the same shall be put into execution by the Magistrates and Council of the Burgh.

Assessments may be levied to the extent of One Penny in the Pound for defraying Expenses.

IX. For defraying the Expenses incurred in calling the Meeting and in taking such Poll, whether this Act shall be adopted or not, and the expenses of carrying this Act into execution, the Magistrates and Council of such Burgh shall yearly assess all Occupiers of Premises within the Burgh, or within such Part thereof where it may have been decided to adopt this Act, in the sums necessary for defraying such Expenses, but in no case to any Amount exceeding One Penny in the Pound of the yearly Rent of such Premises; and such Assessments shall be made, levied, and recovered by the Magistrates and Council of such Burgh or Town in such and the like Manner, from the same Descriptions of Persons and Property, and with and under the like Powers, Provisions, and Exceptions, as the general Assessments leviable under the Act of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Years of Her present Majesty Chapter Thirty-three, for Police and other Purposes, are authorized to be made, levied, and recovered, and as if such Magistrates and Council were Commissioners elected under that Act, and the said Assessments were Part of the general Assessments authorized to be thereby made.

Account of Magistrates and Council in relation to this Act to be open to Inspection.

X. The Magistrates and Council shall provide and keep Books in which shall be entered true and regular Accounts of their Receipts, Payments, and Liabilities with reference to the Execution of this Act, to be called "The Public Libraries Account," and such Books shall at all reasonable Times be open to the Inspection of every Person liable to be assessed by virtue of this Act, without Fee or Reward, who respectively may take Copies of or make Extracts from such Books, without paying for the same; and in case such Magistrates and Council or any of them respectively, or any of their respective Officers or Servants having the Custody of such Books, shall not permit the same Accounts to be inspected, or Copies of or Extracts from the same to be made or taken, every person so offending shall for every such Offence forfeit any Sum not exceeding Five Pounds.

Appendix to Volume I. 17 & 18 Vict. Cap. 64.

Boundaries of Burghs, &c.

XI. He Boundaries of Parliamentary Burghs, Royal Burghs, Burghs of Regality and of Barony, shall for the Purposes of this Act be the same as the Boundaries declared for such Burghs by and for the Purposes of the said Act of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Years of Her present Majesty, Chapter Thirty-three.

Lands may be appropriated, purchased or rented for the Purposes of this Act.

XII. The Magistrates and Council of any Burgh may from Time to Time appropriate for the Purposes of this Act any Land or Building vested in them, and also purchase, feu, or rent any land, and may, upon any Land so appropriated, rented, feued, or purchased respectively, erect any Buildings suitable for Public Libraries, or Museums, or both, and may alter and extend any Buildings for such Purposes, and repair and improve the same respectively with all requisite furniture, Sittings and Conveniences.

Certain clauses of 8 & 9 Vict. c. 19. incorporated with this Act.

XIII. All the Clauses and Provisions of the "Lands Clauses Consolidation Act (Scotland), 1845" with respect to the purchase of lands by agreement and with respect to the Money or Compensation coming to Parties having limited Interests, or prevented from treating, or not making a Title, and also with respect to Conveyances of Land, so far as the same Causes and Provisions respectively are applicable to the Cases contemplated by the last Section, shall be incorporated in this Act; and the Expression "the Special Act," used in the said Clauses and Provisions shall be construed to mean this Act, and the Expression "the Promoters of the Undertaking" used in the same Clauses and Provisions, shall be construed to mean the Magistrates and Council of the Burgh in question.

Lands, &c. may be sold or exchanged.

XIV. The Magistrates and Council of any Burgh may sell any Lands vested in them for the Purposes of this Act, or exchange the same for any Lands better adapted for the Purposes; and the Monies to arise from such sale, or to be received for Equality of Exchange, or a sufficient Part thereof, shall be applied in or towards the Purchase of other Lands better adapted for such Purposes.

General Management to be vested in Magistrates and Councils.

XV. The general Management, Regulations, and Control of such Libraries and Museums shall be vested in and exercised by the Magistrates and Council of the Burgh, or such Committee as they respectively may from Time to Time appoint (the Members whereof need not be Magistrates or Councillors), who may from Time to Time purchase and provide the Necessary fuel, Lighting and other similar Matters, Books, Maps, and Specimens of Art, and Science, for the use of the Library or Museum, and cause the same to be bound or repaired when necessary, and appoint salaried Officers and Servants, and dismiss the same, and make Rules and Regulations for the Safety and use of the Library and Mu-

seum, and for the Admission of Visitors; and the Lands so to be appropriated, purchased, or rented as aforesaid, and all other Real and Personal Property whatever, presented to or purchased for any Library or Museum established under this Act, shall be vested in such Magistrates and Councils.

Property of Library, &c. to be vested in them.

Admission to Museum to be free.

XVI. The admission to all Libraries and Museums established under this Act shall be open to the Public free of all Charge.

17° & 18° VICT. CAP. XCIX.

An Act to provide for the Establishment of a National Gallery of Paintings, Sculpture, and the Fine Arts, for the Care of a Public Library, and the Erection of a Public Museum, in Dublin.

[10th *August* 1854.]

Appendix to Volume I. 17 & 18 Vict. Cap. 99.

WHEREAS it is expedient to establish a National Gallery of Paintings, Sculpture, and the Fine Arts in Ireland: And whereas it is also expedient to render Archbishop Marsh's Library more conveniently accessible than it now is to the Inhabitants of Dublin: etc. etc.

. . . . . .

Governors or Guardians of Marsh's Library empowered to remove the Library to the new Building.

IV. It shall be lawful for the Governors and Guardians of Archbishop Marsh's Library (anything in an Act of the Parliament of Ireland, intituled An Act for settling and preserving a Public Library for ever in the House for that Purpose built by his Grace Narcissus now Lord Archbishop of Armagh, on Part of the Ground belonging to the Archbishop of Dublin's Palace near the City of Dublin, passed in the Sixth Year of the Reign of Queen Anne, or otherwise, to the contrary notwithstanding,) to cause the said Library to be removed to the said Building so to be erected, as soon as the said shall be completed and in a Condition to receive the said Library: Provided always that the said Governors and Guardians shall approve of the Plan and Arrangements of that Portion of the said Building to be appropriated to the Reception of a Public Library.

Governors, &c. of Marsh's Library empowered to dispose of their present Premises after such Removal.

V. It shall be lawful for the Governors and Guardians of the said Library, at any Time after the said Library shall have been removed to and deposited within the said Building so to be erected as aforesaid, from Time to Time to alien, sell and dispose of the several Buildings, Grounds, Gardens, Courts, and Premises now vested in them by virtue of the said last-mentioned Act of Parliament, or otherwise or any of them, or any Part thereof respectively anything in the said Act or

Appendix to Volume I. 17 & 18 Vict. Cap. 99.

otherwise to the contrary, notwithstanding; Provided always, that the Proceeds of all and every such Alienations, Sales, and Dispositions shall be applied by the said Governors and Guardians to make such Compensation as they shall think fit to any Officer or Officers for any Loss which such Officer or Officers shall have incurred by reason of the Removal of the said Library as aforesaid and to the Objects of their Trust, and not otherwise.

Governors, &c. of Marsh's Library to retain their exclusive Control over the Library.

VI. The Governors and Guardians of Archbishop Marsh's Library shall continue to have the same exclusive Control over the said Library which they at present possess, and shall have the entire and exclusive Possession, Occupation, and Control for the Purposes of their Trust of those Portions of the said Building so to be erected as herein-before mentioned which shall be upon the Completion of the said Building set apart by the said Building Trustees for the Accommodation of the said last-mentioned Library.

. . . . . .

After the completion of the Building, the Governors, &c. of the National Gallery, and the Governors, &c. of Marsh's Library to be a Body Corporate, as Trustees of the Building for ever.

X. The Persons who for the Time being shall compose the said respective Bodies Corporate, that is to say, the Governors and Guardians of the National Gallery of Ireland, and the Governors and Guardians of Archbishop Marsh's Library, shall be One Body Corporate, under the name of "The Joint Trustees of the National Gallery of Ireland and of Marsh's Library," and so soon as the said Building so to be erected as aforesaid shall have been completed the said Building Trustees shall declare it to be so by an Instrument under the Hands of them, or of any Three of them, and thereupon, the said Building, together with the Ground whereon the same shall have been erected, shall become and be vested in the said last-mentioned Body Corporate for ever, subject nevertheless to the exclusive Possession, Occupation, and Control of those Portions of the said Building respectively to be occupied by the said Governors and Guardians of the National Gallery of Ireland, and the said Governors and Guardians of Archbishop Marsh's Library, for the Purposes of their respective Trusts as aforesaid.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Power to Governors, &c. of Marsh's Library to admit any other collection of Books into the same Building.

XIV. It shall be lawful for the Governors and Guardians of Archbishop Marsh's Library to admit into that Portion of the Building to be erected as aforesaid which shall be appropriated to the Reception of a Public Library any Books which any public Body or private Individual or Individuals may desire either to present or give to the said last-mentioned Governors and Guardians, or may desire to deposit there for the Use of the Public, upon such Terms nevertheless as to the Arrangement of such Books, the Mode of Access thereto, the Accommodation of

Readers, and the Management and Control of said Books, as may be agreed upon between the said last-mentioned Governors and Guardians and such public Body or private Individual or Individuals so giving or depositing such Books as aforesaid: and all such Books as shall be so given presented or deposited shall until Parliament shall otherwise provide be and remain under the Care and Management and in the Possession of the said last-mentioned Governors and Guardians, and such other Person or Persons as shall be agreed on between them and the Body or Bodies, Individual or Individuals, giving, presenting or depositing such Books, or in such other Care, Management, and Possession as shall be agreed on between the said last-mentioned Guardians and such Body or Bodies, Individual or Individuals, so giving, presenting, or depositing as aforesaid.

END OF VOLUME I.

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